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THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ST. PATRICK

IT is well known that the birthplace of our national saint has been the subject of much controversy; but up to the present we hardly thought that his burial-place was open to reasonable doubt. This, however, is an age not only of inquiry, but of scepticism; and hence we are not so much surprised that the ancient traditional claim of Downpatrick to possess the remains of St. Patrick, has been rather lightly set aside, and it is sought to bestow on Armagh¹ the double honour of his tomb and of his "kingdom." It is worth while, therefore, in the first place, to examine the evidence in favour of the Ulidian claim; and then to weigh the newly-found arguments in favour of Armagh. The subject is surrounded by many difficulties, and even so capable and impartial a critic as the late lamented Bishop Reeves admitted that the evidence in favour of Downpatrick was "not altogether unexceptionable." We shall, therefore, briefly examine the evidence and the exceptions, such as they are; and, at the same time, we shall touch on the wider question, whether the relics of Bridget and Columcille also repose in the sacred soil of Downpatrick.

In our opinion the oldest, though perhaps not the clearest, reference to St. Patrick's burial at Down, is contained in Fiacc's Hymn, which is older even than Muirchu's memoir

¹ See the Rev. T. Olden's paper, read before the Royal Irish Academy, 27th February, 1893.

contained in the *Book of Armagh*. The arguments hinted at by Todd and Stokes, against the authenticity of this hymn, will be found to disappear on close examination. Fiacc says:—

“ In Armagh there is a kingdom, it long ago deserted Emain
 “ A *great church* in Dun-leth-glaisse; that Tara is a waste, is
 not pleasant to me.”¹

The Lives of St. Patrick generally declare that the angel told him his “kingdom,” or spiritual sovereignty, was to remain in Armagh, but that his body was to rest in Downpatrick; that is, of course, Dun-leth-glaisse, or, as it has been written in later times, Dun-da-leth-glaisse; that is, the Fort of the Two-Half-Chains—alluding, it is said, to the broken fetters of the two sons of Dichu, who were kept in bondage by King Laeghaire, but whose bonds were broken miraculously by St. Patrick, and carried by them to their father’s stronghold at Down. The only meaning of the reference to the *great church* of Down in this couplet, in connection with our apostle, must arise from the fact that he was buried there. Its church cannot be conceived as *great* for any other reason in connection with St. Patrick. His spiritual sovereignty continued in Armagh, but his body remained at Down.

Still more explicit is Muirchu’s statement in the *Book of Armagh*, dating at least from the end of the eighth century. This author, writing in that very book which was always esteemed as the most cherished treasure of the Church of Armagh, declares expressly that, when Patrick felt the hour of his death approaching, he was anxious to return to Armagh so that he might die there, “because he loved it before all other lands.”² But the angel Victor sent another angel to the saint to tell him to return to Saul, where he was then staying; that his petitions to the Lord were granted; and that at Saul—his earliest foundation—he was

¹ “ In Ard Macha fil rigi iscian doreracht Emain, isell mor Dun-Lethglaisse, nindil ciddithrub ‘Tema’r.” See Stokes’ text, and translation as above.

² “ Quam prae omnibus terris dilexit.”

destined to die. As the end approached, Tassach of Rathcolp gave him the "sacrifice," and there the saint gave up his holy soul to God. But the same angel told them to harness, after the obsequies, two wild steers to a waggon, and let them go whither they would with the saint's body. This was done, and "they came, by divine guidance, to Dun-leth-glaisse, where Patrick was buried.¹ Then we are told of the contest with the men of Oriel for his remains. It is impossible to have more explicit testimony than this of the burial in Down.

Then in the *Tripartite* we have the same testimony in a somewhat different form. "Go back," says Victor, "to the place from which thou hast come, namely, to Saul (the barn church); for it is there thou shalt die, and not in Armagh." "Let," he added, "two unbroken young oxen, of the cattle of Conall, be brought out of Findabair, that is from Clochar, and let thy body be put into a little car behind them, and be thou put a man's cubit into the grave, that thy remains and thy relics be not taken out of it." Thus was it done after his death. The oxen brought him as far as the stead, "wherein to-day standeth Dun-leth-giasi, and he was buried in that place with honour and veneration."²

Now here is practically the same statement given by our two most ancient and perfectly independent authorities—one written in Latin, and the other in Gaelic; and the substance of that statement is: first, that St. Patrick, feeling his end approaching, wished to return to Armagh, the city of his love, that he might die there; secondly, that, instead, he was commanded to return to Saul, which shows that he was already on the road for Armagh; thirdly, that he died at Saul; and, fourthly, that he was buried not there, but some two miles distant at Dun-da-leth-glaisse, or Downpatrick.

It is worth noting also that a command was given to bury him deep in the ground—five cubits according to one account, or a man's cubit according to this *Tripartite*

¹ "Et exierunt Deinrutu regente, ad Dun-leth-glaisse, ubi sepultus est Patricius."

² See Rolls' *Tripartite*, vol. i., p. 254.

account; which seems to mean the height or depth that a man standing up could reach with his arm, that is, between seven and eight feet in either case. And the reason is given: "that thy remains may not be taken out of the grave," either by the men of Oriel or by any other marauders: a very wise and necessary precaution, as subsequent events clearly proved.

The later Lives of St. Patrick, by Probus and Josceline—the former writing in a German monastery in the ninth century, and the latter in an English monastery of the twelfth—repeat the same statements, which at least go to prove that the tradition in favour of Downpatrick was universal and unquestioned in the time of those writers. Moreover, there is collateral evidence of a very early date. Usher quotes from an early *Life of St. Brigid* a paragraph which states that St. Patrick was buried in Dunleth-glaise, and that his body will remain there until the day of judgment.¹ And in the *Testamentum Patricii*, a work also of very ancient date, we have in Irish and Latin the couplet:—

"Dun i mbia m-eseirgi a Raith Celtair Mic Duach,"

"Dunum, ubi erit mea resurrectio in colle Celtaris filii Duach,"

in which the saint proclaims that it is in Down his resurrection will be.

The "hill" of Celtar, to which this verse refers, is the great rath a little to the north of the modern cathedral of Downpatrick, which still rises to a height of about sixty feet above the plain with a circumference of more than seven hundred yards, surrounded by a treble line of circumvallations. A right royal fort it was in size and strength, and fitly took its name from Celtar of the Battles, who was either its builder or its most renowned defender. This hero was one of the knights of the Red Branch, who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era. His fort was called Dun-Celtair, and sometimes Rath Celtair, and also

¹ "Sepultus estin Aree *Ladglaisse*, vel *Leathglaysse*, et ibi usque a diem iudicii corpus ejus permanabit." (Works, vol. vi., p. 457, as quoted by Reeves.)

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Aras Celtair, or the habitation of Celtair. This "habitation," or *civitas*, as it is called in Latin, is described in the *Life of St. Brigid*, by Animosus, as situated *in regione Ulteriorum prope mare*, which explains the statement of Tirechan, who describes the church of St. Patrick's grave as *juxta mare proxima*, close by the sea, because at that time a small arm of the sea from Strangford Lough flowed almost quite up to the ancient Dun and the church beneath it. There are other considerations also which leave no reasonable doubt that St. Patrick was buried at Downpatrick.

The men of Orior and the Hy Niall around them, though very anxious to possess the body of St. Patrick, and quite ready to engage in a bloody conflict to order to secure it, never claimed to have succeeded in their purpose. On the contrary, the *Book of Armagh*, belonging to their own great church, whose prerogatives it would naturally exalt, expressly testifies that the saint was buried, not at Armagh, as he wished, but at Downpatrick; and that too by the direction of an angel. If there was any doubt about the matter, if they had even a shadow of claim in their favour, is it likely that the scribes who wrote the *Book of Armagh*, and certainly make the most of its privileges and rights, would not also claim this great honour instead of yielding the glory to Downpatrick? They certainly never failed to exalt the prerogatives of their own church, as they had a right to do; but, on the other hand, they never claimed to possess the body of their great apostle, which is of itself a conclusive argument that history and tradition always pointed to Down as the place of his burial. And the fact that the authors of the *Book of Armagh* so distinctly admit it, is a strong proof of their honesty as historians; for we may well believe them in other things, when they are so truthful in what tells against the renown of their own royal city. In Armagh was his "kingdom," as Fiacc says, but in Down was the "great church" that contained his remains.

Now this brings us to examine the objections or arguments on the other side, if we can call them such. First of all, there is Tirechan's statement in the *Book of Armagh*, where he says Patrick was in four things like to Moses;

and the fourth is, that "where his bones are no one knows."¹ Therefore it certainly follows that they were not in Tirechan's time known to be in Armagh; in fact, Armagh, as we have seen, never claimed to possess them. Tirechan, however, explains what he means clearly enough in the following paragraph, which has not been faithfully rendered by Rev. Mr. Olden, in his paper read before the Royal Irish Academy, and which is meant to be explanatory of the statement that "no one knows where his bones are":—

"Two hostile bands [he says] contended during twelve days for the body of the blessed Patrick, and they saw no night intervene during these twelve days, but daylight always; and on the twelfth day they came to actual conflict; but the two hosts, seeing the body on its bier with each party, gave up the conflict. Columcille, inspired by the Holy Ghost, pointed out the sepulchre of Patrick, and proves where it is; namely, in Saul of Patrick; that is, in the *church nigh to the sea*, where the gathering of the relics is—that is, of the bones of Columcille from Britain, and the gathering of all the saints of Erin in the day of judgment."

As this is an important passage, we append the Latin text below, as given by Dr. Stokes in his edition of the *Tripartite*.² This passage gives rise to several very interesting questions. Its author at the outset declares that Bishop Tirechan wrote these things (in the *Book of Armagh*) from the oral information (*ex ore*) or from the Book (*vel libro*) of Bishop Ultan, whose *alumnus* or disciple he was. Bishop Ultan, of Ardraccan, died in A.D. 655 or 676, according to Usher; and, therefore, Tirechan, who was certainly his disciple, and in all probability his successor, must have written the annotations afterwards copied into the *Book of Armagh* before or shortly after the death of the saint; that is, at the latest, towards the close of the seventh century. As they are

¹ "Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit."

² "Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit. Duo hostes duodecim diebus corpus Sancti Patricii contenderunt, et noctem inter se duodecim diebus non viderunt sed diem semper; et in duodecima die ad praelium venierunt, et corpus in grabato duo hostes viderunt apud se, et non pugnauerunt. Columcille, Spiritu Sancto iustigante, sepulturam Patricii ostendit, (et) ubi est confirmat, id est, in Sabul Patricii, id est in ecclesia juxta mare proxima, ubi est conductio martirum, id est ossuum Colum Cille de Britannia, et conductio omnium sanctorum Hiberniae in die judicii." (Vol. ii., p. 332.)

now found in the *Book of Armagh*, they appear to be in the handwriting of Ferdomnach, who wrote, it is generally said, in 807. What puzzles Reeves and Todd is how in that case there could be reference to the "conductio" of the bones of Columcille from Britain, which they assume to have taken place during the ninth century; and, therefore, they think this transcript in the *Book of Armagh* is not earlier than the beginning of the tenth century. But Dr. Stokes says that all the *Book of Armagh* seems to be the work of the same scribe, *i.e.*, Ferdomnach; and, therefore, Reeves' supposition can hardly be admitted. Were the bones of Columcille brought to Ireland before the death of Tirechan? We have no other evidence of the fact but the statement here; and, what is more strange still, Adamnan makes no reference to it, although in all probability his *Life of Columba* was written about that period; for he was only a novice in 650, and did not become abbot until 679; yet his relics, we are told, were carried to Ireland in 726; that is, about twenty-two years after his death; and why might not the relics of Columba have been carried to Ireland before 655; that is, nearly sixty years after his death? We shall return to the question again.

The meaning of Tirechan, however, is clear enough, although the Latin is rather rude. No one knew the *exact* place where Patrick's bones were deposited until Columcille pointed out the spot; and that spot is, in Saul, *that is*, in the church near to the sea, where the relics of Columcille were brought, and where all the saints of Ireland will be gathered, doubtless as assessors to Patrick, who is to judge the Irish on the day of judgment. "In Saul" here clearly means in the neighbourhood of Saul, for it is explained to mean the church very near the sea, whither the relics of Columcille were brought from Britain. - Downpatrick is only two miles from Saul; the church very near the sea is, as we have already shown, the church of Downpatrick. Saul had no church quite close to the sea, and it was to that church of Downpatrick the relics of Columcille and Bridget were afterwards brought to the very spot which Columcille himself had pointed out as the grave of Patrick.

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Taking this account of Tirechan in connection with the other early accounts given in the *Tripartite*, and in the *Book of Armagh*, we can fairly judge what took place after the death of Patrick. He died at Saul, as all admit, and news of his illness first, and afterwards of his death, was quickly carried over all the north, and bishops, priests, and people came in crowds from all quarters to be present at the obsequies of their beloved father in God, to whom they owed their salvation. The obsequies were prolonged for twelve days, to give them all time to arrive, and the lights in the little church around his body and without the church, where "the elders of Ireland were watching him with hymns, and psalms, and canticles," were so many and so bright, that "there was no night in Mag Inis;" or, as it is elsewhere said, there was *almost* no darkness, but rather a bright angelic radiance, which is certainly not unlikely.

But meantime the men of Orior from Slieve Gullion to the Bann, and the fierce Hy Niall of Lough Neagh, had resolved, when the obsequies were over, to carry home, at any cost, the body of their beloved Patrick to his own cathedral of Armagh; and, on the other hand, the proud Ulidians were as sternly resolved to prevent them. With themselves he founded his first church in Erin, that very Barn, where his remains now lay; with them he came to die by direction of God's angel; and with them he would be buried in spite of all the warriors of Orior. The two parties were watching each other all the time that the priests were praying; but as soon as the body was moved, the strongest party would try to carry it off. The men of Orior and O'Neilland were gathered on the northern shore of the estuary running up to Downpatrick from Strangford Lough, now called the Quoile river; the Ulidians stood watching them on its southern shore between Saul and Down. When all was ready, the body was placed by divine direction, it is said, on a wain drawn by two unbroken steers, and it was to be buried at the spot where the steers would stop of their own accord. And now a battle was imminent, but the Ulidians wisely took the opportunity of setting out, when there was a high tide in the estuary, and Providence divinely interposed

and raised still higher the swelling waves, so that the men of Armagh could not cross the ford at the Quoile bridge, as it is now called, or Drumbo, as it seems to have been called at that time.¹ So the Ulidians utilized the favourable time; probably they had the grave already made nigh to their own royal fort, and before the tide receded they had the saint's body buried seven feet deep with a huge flag over it, and the earth and the green sward over all, so as to leave no visible trace of the exact spot, for they feared that the men of Orior might come and remove it either by stealth or by the strong hand.

Still, however, the men of Armagh were resolved to cross the ford, and fight for the sacred treasure, which the Ulidians were guarding; when suddenly, to their great joy, there appeared amongst the men of Orior that very identical waggon drawn by two steers and bearing the saint's body, which they had seen coming from Saul to Drumbo. It was the saint himself, as they thought, gave his body to Armagh, so they set out with great joy to return home; but, alas! when they came near to Armagh, to the river called Cabcenne, the steers and waggon and body suddenly disappeared from their eyes, and were seen no more. Then the men of Orior and the Hy Niall knew that it was God's will that the saint's body should not be in his own city on Macha's height, so they made no further attempt to recover it. Whether the appearance of the second waggon was a real miracle, or a pious ruse to prevent bloodshed, or a later invention to gratify the disappointed vanity of the Hy Niall, it is now impossible to ascertain. The story, however, is quite consistent and natural, and clearly shows why for greater security the saint was buried at Down near the royal fortress rather than at Saul, and why in a few years no man knew the exact spot where his bones were laid, until Columcille revealed it sixty years later, in A.D. 552. In that year we are informed by the scribe of the *Ulster Annals*—a

¹ Father O'Laverty has, in our opinion, left no doubt as to the exact site of Drumbo—the *Collis Bovis* of the *Book of Armagh*.

high authority—who quotes from the *Book of Cuanu*, that:—

“The relics (*minna*) of Patrick were placed in a shrine at the end of threescore years after Patrick’s death by Columcille. Three splendid *minna* were found in his tomb; to wit, his Goblet, and the Angel’s Gospel, and the Bell of the Testament. Columcille, at the bidding of the angel, gave the Goblet to Down, the Bell of the Testament to Armagh, and kept the Angel’s Gospel for himself; and the reason it is called the Angel’s Gospel is, because it was from the angel’s hand that Columcille received it.”

The first scribe of the *Book of Cuanu* was probably as ancient as Tirechan himself.

This entry is very interesting, because it not only explains and confirms Tirechan’s statement regarding the burial of the saint, but also goes to prove that the date of his death was 493, since his relics were enshrined threescore years after his death. The word *coach*, which has been translated “goblet,” means a cup, and usually a wooden cup. The cup found by Columcille in the grave of St. Patrick was probably a chalice, and perhaps a wooden chalice, although the word *cailech*, obviously a loan word from the Latin, is that which is used for “chalice” in the Irish *Tripartite*. Chalices, both of glass and wood, were certainly used, although, of course not exclusively in the early ages of the Church.¹ St. Boniface² is reported to have said that in old times they had wooden chalices but golden priests; now, however, there were golden chalices but wooden priests. It was the custom too in the earlier ages of the Church, and to some extent the custom is still preserved, to bury with the deceased the insignia of his office. It would be more pagan than Christian-like to bury an ordinary drinking goblet with the saint, and the clergy who stood round his bier would never permit it. But to bury a chalice with him—perhaps the very one he first used in the Barn-church at Saul—would be appropriate, if not usual. The three splendid *minna* found by Columcille in Patrick’s grave would thus be the appropriate insignia of his high office—the chalice

¹ See Ducange’s *Glossary*, sub voce.

² By Walafudus Strabo, in his *Vita Bonafacii*, c. 24.

would typify the sacrificing priest, the Gospel the preacher, and the bell was always taken in the early Irish Church to signify the jurisdiction of the saint, which extended at least as far as its sound could be heard.¹

There seems to have been no church in Down when Patrick was buried there; but the church was afterwards built around his grave, although the exact spot where his body lay seems to have been doubtful. For we are told that the workmen, when digging the foundations of the church, suddenly beheld flames issuing from the grave, and thereupon withdrew fearing the burning fire.² The grave was, doubtless, then closed in again, and no one dared to disturb it until Columcille was inspired to enshrine the holy relics.

Another reference to the alleged burial of the saint at Saul occurs in Colgan's *Fourth Life*, where:—

“It is related [says Rev. Mr. Olden] that a boy playing in the churchyard there lost his hoop in a chink in St. Patrick's grave, and having put down his hand to recover his plaything was unable to withdraw it. Upon this Bishop Loarn of Bright, a place near at hand, was sent for, and on his arrival addressed the saint in the following words:—‘Why, O Elder, dost thou hold the child's hand?’”

This entire passage is founded on a mis-translation of an incident, which is correctly recorded in the *Tripartite*:—

“Then Patrick went from Saul southwards, that he might preach to Ross, son of Trichem (the brother of Dichu of Saul). He it is that dwelt in Derlus, to the south of Downpatrick—there stands a small town there to-day, namely, Bright—ubi est episcopus Loairn, qui ausus est increpare Patricium tenentem manum pueri ludentis ecclesiam juxta suam.”

The incident occurred during the lifetime of St. Patrick, for Loarn was of his *familia*, and probably died before him; and, as Dr. Stokes observes, the phrase *tenentem manum* in the Latin seems to be a translation of the Irish *gabail lama*, which is constantly used in the *Tripartite* to signify expelling or driving away—showing one off the premises. Loarn was Bishop of Bright, three miles south-east of Down, and the

¹ See *Life of St. Brendan*, c. xiv.

² See Muirchu, in the *Book of Armagh*, p. 298, Stokes' edition.

south of Saul. We are told that St. Patrick often resided at Saul during the intervals of his missionary labours; the boy doubtless disturbed him, and the saint drove him away, perhaps with too much severity; and, therefore, his disciple "rebuked" him for his harshness to the child. This story is intelligible, and even probable, for Patrick, if we can believe the *Tripartite*, was not always meek and patient. But the incident, as recorded in Colgan's *Fourth Life*, is evidently due to the imagination of a scribe who did not understand the record from which he was copying. The author of the *Tripartite* was apparently so much afraid of scandalizing anybody by the story, that he narrates the incident in Latin, and not in the vernacular. When Loarn was in Bright and Patrick in Saul there was, as we have said, neither church nor bishop in Downpatrick. That church became famous because it was Patrick's burial-place; and hence the first prelate of Down of whom we know anything is "Fergus, Bishop of Drumlethglas," who died in 583; that is, thirty years after Columcille had revealed St. Patrick's grave.

In Colgan's Latin *Tripartite*, as quoted by Bishop Reeves,¹ there is a passage which might be easily misunderstood. The angel Victor is described as saying to Patrick: "Revertere ad monasterium Sabhallense, unde veneras, ibi et non Ardmachae migrabis ad Deum, tuumque sepelietur corpus." But the last clause is not in the Irish *Tripartite*, as we have it; and if it were it could only mean in the neighbourhood of Saul; for on the same page it distinctly states that the oxen carried his body from Saul to Dun-lethglaisse, and that he was buried there with honour and veneration.

There is also a strange entry in the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1293. "It was revealed to Nicholas MacMaelisa (Coarb of Patrick), that the relics of Patrick, Columcille, and Bridget were at Sabhall; they were taken up by him, and great virtues and miracles were wrought by them, and after having been honourably covered were deposited in a shrine." The Dublin copy of the Ulster *Annals* have a

¹ *Antiquities of Down and Connor*, p. 224.

similar entry. These entries seem to ignore the celebrated invention and translation of the same relics, which took place in the Cathedral of Down, in 1185, in presence of the Papal Legate, the Bishop of Down and John de Courcy. Could the shrine have been lost or stolen in the meantime? Or was it, as some writers suggest, an Irish Invention of the relics got up from Armagh, as a set-off against the Anglo-Norman Invention by John de Courcy in Down? Or, what is much more probable, was the Saul, of which there is question, the church of that name which undoubtedly existed at Armagh, and which contained relics of the three saints originally brought from Down, but forgotten or hidden there during the wars of the Danes, and the subsequent disturbances in the primatial city?

There are several other arguments put forward by Rev. Mr. Olden in favour of the saint's burial at Armagh. One of them, but not his main argument, is based on the assumed identity of our national apostle with Sen Patrick, who is said to have died at Armagh. This is not a question into which we can now enter; but, inasmuch as no attempt is made to prove this identity, and the epithet itself implies distinction from the great St. Patrick, we may dismiss this argument without further discussion.

Then we are treated to another line of reasoning in favour of Armagh. Both Muirchu and Tirechan, it is said, agree in stating that "at the time of his (Patrick's) death, Armagh claimed to possess his remains." We could not find the least foundation for this extraordinary statement. On the contrary, both writers state that at or after the obsequies the men of Orior tried, but tried in vain, to secure the precious treasure. And hence Bishop Reeves, who was so well acquainted with the contents of the *Book of Armagh*, says that the claim of Down was in the early ages conceded by Armagh; that the *Book of Armagh* would scarcely introduce a fiction in favour of Down or Saul; and that the church of Armagh would never have acquiesced in a mock translation at Down in the twelfth century, if the general belief had not given sentence in favour of Down. Besides neither Muirchu nor Tirechan anywhere state that "Armagh

claimed to possess his remains at the time of his death." Muirchu distinctly states that he was buried in Down; and then adds that, through the mercy of God and the merits of Patrick, the sea swelled up between the opposing hosts of Orior and Uladh, so that bloodshed was prevented. "Seduced," he adds, "by a lucky deception, they fancied they had secured the waggon and oxen that bore the saint's blessed body, but when they came to the River Cabenne the body disappeared."¹ We have already explained Tirechan's statement at length, in which he declares that the burial-place of Patrick was shown by Columcille to be near Saul, in the church close to the sea, whither the relics of Columcille were also brought from Britain.

But it is urged that frequent reference is made to the shrine of Patrick, which was in the custody of his successors at Armagh during the ninth century. Yes; but it is beyond all reasonable doubt that the shrine in question contained not any part of the saint's body, but the celebrated "Bell of the Will," which, as we have already seen, was given to Armagh by Columcille. That bell was the symbol of the primatial jurisdiction; and it was deemed so sacred and so precious, that it had a hereditary custodian assigned for its preservation. A new shrine was made to contain it, about the close of the eleventh century, and the inscription thereon records that it was made for Domnall M'Loughlin, King of Erin, *i.e.*, at his expense, and for Domnall M'Auley, the Comarb of Patrick, and for Cathalan O'Mailchallan, the custodian of the bell.² We know also from other sources³ that these ancient bells were deemed very sacred, and that the violation of an oath, if taken on the bell, was deemed a most terrible crime, which was sure to bring the vengeance of the outraged saint on the head of the perjurer. There can be no reasonable doubt, therefore, that the shrine

¹ "Sed felici seducti sunt fallacia, putantes se duos boves et planstrum invenire et corpus sanctum rapere aestimabant, et cum corpore . . . ad fluvium Cbacenne pervenierunt, et corpus tunc illis non comparuit." (P. 299.)

² See Reeves' *Antiquities*, p. 371.

³ See Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum*, p. 114.

of Patrick which Artri, Abbot of Armagh, carried into Connaught in 818, and which Forannen the Primate brought to Munster in 841, when driven by the Danes from his primatial city, was the enshrined Bell of the Will, the possession of which was the symbol and the pledge of the jurisdiction which he derived from St. Patrick.

As to the *obiter dictum* of St. Bernard, where he speaks of the primatial see of Patrick, "in which he presided when alive, and rests now that he is dead," it is obvious that it is a loose rhetorical expression designed rather to round the sentence than to make any definite assertion regarding the place of St. Patrick's burial, of which he probably knew nothing. And the same may be said of the statement of another foreign writer, William of Newbridge, who informs us that the primacy was bestowed on Armagh in honour of St. Patrick, and the other indigenous saints whose remains rest there. Such a statement from a foreign source is too vague to weigh for a moment against the explicit testimony of our native annalists.

Lastly, Mr. Olden finds a reference to the tomb of St. Patrick as existing at Armagh, in the *Book of Armagh*, although he admits that it has hitherto escaped notice—even the great learning and critical acumen both of Todd and Reeves were unable to detect it. In that portion of the *Book of Armagh* called the "Angel's Book," the following passage occurs:—

"The foundation of the prayer on every Sunday at Armagh on going to and returning from the Sarcophagus of the relics is 'Domine clamavi ad Te' to the end; Ut quid 'Deus repulisti' to the end; and 'Beati immaculati' to the end of the blessing, and with the twelve Gradual Psalms it finishes."¹

It is surprising what a superstructure it is sought to build up on this passage of bad Latin in the original.

The words "sargifagum martyrurum," are glossed in the margin by the Irish *du ferti matur*—that is, to the "Grave

¹ "Fundamentum orationis in unaquaque dia Dominicain Alto Machal ad Sargifagum Martyrum adeundum ab eoque revertendum id est, 'Domine clamavi ad Te' usque in finem; 'Ut quid Deus repulisti' in finem, et 'Beati Immaculati' usque in finem benedictionis, et duodecim psalmi graduum. Finit."

of the Relics." Now it is argued, this "Grave of the Relics" must have been a place of pilgrimage, for the prayers of the "Station" are here prescribed. The place which bore the name of the *Ferta* at Armagh was so called from this grave, and it was the place where St. Patrick established his first church at Armagh. He lived there a long time before he removed to the greater church on the hill; and when he died he must have been buried there, for there seems no other adequate reason for calling it the Grave of the Relics, and for making it a place of pilgrimage, than the fact that it possessed *his* relics.

It is surprising that the people who argue in this fashion did not first read the *Tripartite*, where they would find a very clear and simple explanation of the name and of the pilgrimage. *Ferta* means a grave, but as a proper name it means here the cemetery; in fact, both church and churchyard, as the following passage with reference to this very *Ferta* clearly shows:—"In this wise then Patrick measured the *Ferta*, namely, sevenscore feet in the enclosure, and seven and twenty feet in the Great-House, seventeen feet in the kitchen, and seven feet in the oratory."¹

The writer then proceeds to tell us that an angel told Patrick "this day the relics of the Apostles are divided in Rome for the four quarters of the Globe;" and thereupon he carried Patrick through the air, and afterwards with the help of a ship of Bordeaux, brought the saint to Rome, whence Patrick carried away as much as he wanted of the relics.

"Afterwards these relics were taken to Armagh by the counsel of God, and the counsel of the men of Ireland. Three hundred and threescore and five relics, together with the relics of Paul, and Peter, and Laurence, and Stephen, and many others. And a sheet was there with Christ's Blood, and with the hair of Mary the Virgin. And Patrick left the whole of that collection in Armagh according to the will of God, and of the Angel, and of the men of Ireland."

Furthermore a letter was brought to him from the Abbot of Rome, directing that there should be "watching of the

¹ Vol. i., p. 237.

relics with lamps and lights in the night always, and mass and psalm singing by day, and prayer in the night, and that they should be exposed every year for the multitudes (to venerate them"). These relics were, of course, kept in the only church then to be had at Armagh; that is, the church afterwards called the *Ferta*, and which on that account came to be called *Ferta Martyr*, or the *Fertae Martyrum*, as Muirchu has it, or the *Sarcophagus Martyrum*, as the Book of the Angel has it. Thus the simple narrative of the *Tripartite* overthrows all the ingenious speculations put before the Royal Irish Academy as to the origin of the name. St. Patrick had numbers of churches and altars to consecrate, for which purpose he needed relics; he either sent for them or brought them from Rome; they were kept in his church at Armagh in a *Ferta*, or sarcophagus, or sepulchre made for the purpose, hence called *Ferta Martyrum*, which name afterwards passed to the church itself as it became a place of public pilgrimage for the faithful to venerate the relics.

In our next paper we shall discuss the alleged preservation of the remains of St. Columkille and St. Bridget, together with those of St. Patrick in the Cathedral of Down.

✠ JOHN HEALY, D.D.

INFINITE LOVE

"Solus amor est quo convertimur ad Deum, transformamur in Deum, adhaeremus Deo, unimur Deo, ut simus unus spiritus cum eo et beatificemur, hic in gratia, et ibi in gloria, ab eo et per eum."--ALBERTUS MAGNUS, *De adhaerendo Deo*.

WHAT the sun is in the material order, that love is in the social and moral order. As the sun burnishes the tips of the mountains, lights up the valleys, and converts seas and rivers into liquid gold, making a Paradise where but a moment ago, all was cheerless and dark; so love casts a charm over the commonest life, and infuses warmth and colour, and beauty and pathos, into the most ordinary and humdrum existence. The newly-born infant lives,

developes, and grows strong as it basks in the sunshine of its mother's love; and even grown-up men and women turn as naturally and as eagerly towards the friend that loves them, as the sunflower is said to turn towards the sun.

Of all topics that can engross the mind, the only one, of which men never seem to tire or grow weary, is love. It forms the very warp and woof of romance and of story. It is the soul and vivifying principle of poetry and fiction. It is the unfailing inspirer of art, and painting, and music, and song. It creates the valour of the soldier, the daring of the explorer, the plodding perseverance of the scholar, and the unflinching courage of the martyr. Under its influence the weak become strong; the despondent hopeful, and the niggardly generous. It changes, transforms, and ameliorates whatever it touches; and infuses a nobler and higher impulse wherever its influence penetrates.

It is so congenial to man, so completely in accordance with his natural temperament, that he cannot wholly dispense with it, unless indeed by God's grace he rise altogether above nature. If, in sooth, there be in this world one poor sufferer more sure than another of exciting compassion and awakening sympathy, it is the lonely and desolate heart, who has no one to befriend it, no one to address it a kind word. What notion indeed do we instinctively form of heaven itself, but a place of pure unclouded love? And what is the worst picture we can draw, of hell, but a place where love is stifled and extinguished, and cursed hate and jealousy hold sway and rule supreme.

This would prove a sad and dreary world but for the bright, warm sunshine shed by loving hearts. For love illuminates our darkness: it causes the desert itself to blossom as a garden; weaves threads of golden splendour into the dull texture of a cheerless life, and creates a veritable paradise even on the confines of hell. It is sweet to be loved even by the dumb unconscious beast. The shepherd tending his flock on the lonely mountain side finds solace in the friendly whelping of his dog; and the Arab in his tent feels

the arid desert less lonesome, and the night less drear, when the familiar neighing of his tethered steed breaks upon his ear.

But higher, by an immeasurable distance, is the joy that kindles at the delicious intercourse of man with man. The doting parent positively beams with happiness, when his children press around his knees, the love-light gleaming on every feature, and lips all eloquent with endearing words. Yet, greatest of all mere earthly delights, is the delight of the bridegroom as he leads his bride triumphantly to the altar to swear eternal friendship to her in presence of God and man.

Yes! Even human love is full of beauty and of gladness. And why? Simply and solely (as it seems to me), because it is a shadow; a poor, unworthy and feeble shadow, indeed, but yet, a real shadow of one of the most tremendous and sublime realities, viz., God's overpowering love of us.

If the love that is born of creatures can be so welcome, so cheering, so gladdening, and so soul-inspiring, what are we to say, what indeed *can* we say, of the love of Him who is not a creature at all, however perfect and however exquisite, but the Infinite and the Uncreated? What is all earthly affection compared with the fierce consuming fire of divine love burning in the Sacred Heart of the world's Redeemer? In this earth we hardly dare expect to gain the affection of anyone much above us in rank or station. A poor rough peasant scarcely looks for love from a mighty king or emperor. The utmost he dares hope for is compassion, consideration, condescension, and sympathy. Yet God, though infinitely removed above us by nature and essence, deigns to love us in the fullest and truest sense of the term, and in a far more generous measure than any creature ever did or ever can. In plain truth, all love, such as we find among men, is but a dim and uncertain reflection of the insatiable love of the Creator for His creatures. The impassioned sense of tenderness of a fond mother for her only child; or of the fiery bridegroom for his youthful bride, scarce merits the name of love; nay, it is (even when purest

and deepest and most intense) but the veriest mockery of love, and no love at all, when compared with the love that God bestows even on the least soul in a state of grace.

After all, it is clear that man can love only according to the capacity of his nature ; and how cramped and strained that is! God's nature, on the other hand, is infinite and unlimited, and He loves with His whole being. Nor did His love begin in time, nor with the first dawn of our own existence. His love for you and me is like Himself, in this at least—that it is *eternal*. Throughout the unnumbered past æons and cycles He not only knew us and contemplated us in His own mind, but He loved us also. In fact, but for this love, we never could have been. It was His love, and His love only, and not the thought of any interest or advantage that He could expect to derive from our existence, that determined Him to call us from the hollow womb of nothingness into a state of actual being. Behold, “I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore have I drawn thee, taking pity on thee” (Jeremias xxxi. 3).

To anyone who at all realizes the majesty and unapproachable glory of God, on the one hand, and the ineffable tenderness and depth of His love, on the other, there is something positively intoxicating in the thought. Who would ever fear or doubt, or hesitate or despair, if he were really and indeed intimately conscious to himself that the loving arms of Omnipotence are wound about him all the day long, and that nothing in heaven or on earth can possibly approach to injure or molest him without permission from that Divine Lover : (1) whose love is infinite, and (2) whose power is commensurate with His love? To be *fully sensible* of all this is to be calm and happy, and to share in some measure in the felicity of the saints. *Sed, quis est hic, et laudabimus eum!*

There are two wondrous qualities in the love God bears towards men which can never be sufficiently realized, and which we should therefore frequently call to mind and ponder over : firstly, its intensity ; and secondly, its essentially personal character.

I.

Like a true warm-hearted lover, He is never weary of expressing His love; and, as it were, whispering into our ears fresh assurances of his enduring attachment. At one time in the most explicit terms; and at others by figures and symbols, He seeks to enforce the same sweet truth upon us, and to persuade us more and more fully of the depths of that charity, which the Apostle tells us “surpasseth all understanding” (Ep. iii. 19). “Fear not,” He exclaims, for I have redeemed thee, and called thee by thy name; *thou art Mine!*” (Is. xliii. 1). “I have loved thee with an *everlasting love*” (Is. xxxi. 3). And in what measure, and with what strength? He answers the query Himself:—“As the Father loved Me, *so I have loved you.*”

And, as though mere expressions of His unending love should not sufficiently reveal its depth and extent, He has recourse to images and figures. He represents Himself on one occasion as the devoted father of an ungrateful and prodigal son. The son has heartlessly abandoned his father, and squandered his time and his fortune, living riotously among strangers in a foreign land. Yet his dissolute life and disgraceful conduct cannot extinguish his father's love. On the contrary, he yearns to welcome him back, and to enfold him in his arms. Each day he ascends the brow of the hill, and scans the distant plain to see if he can see any traces of the well-beloved child retracing his steps. At last, after many a fruitless effort, his eyes detect a changed and care-worn figure. In spite of rags and tatters and dissolute look and disconsolate condition the father, with unerring instinct recognises his wayward boy. Yet, no thought of anger or reproach enters his heart. No words of rebuke or chiding rise to his lips. His face is not even ruffled by a scowl or a frown. All his just and righteous indignation is overpowered and drowned in the strength and vehemence of his love, which wells up from his heart and stifles every other feeling. At once he hastens to receive him. In his joy and gladness the father forgets all his son's baseness and ingratitude, and all the grief and sorrow and bitterness he has caused, and hurries

along to embrace him, and to clasp him with infinite tenderness to his bosom. He clothes him with the finest linen, he puts sandals on his naked feet, decks him out in the best he has, and places the ring upon his finger, and the staff in his hand. The fatted calf is killed, the banquet is prepared, the choicest wine flows freely; the whole household is made to share in the general rejoicing, and all feast in happiness and delight, because he that was lost is found; he that was dead has come again to life; and the poor erring son has returned once more to his father's home. What a beautiful and consoling picture of God's attitude towards sinful men!

At another time God represents Himself as a shepherd watching over his sheep, gently leading the flock to rich pastures, carefully defending them from prowling wolves and fierce beasts of prey, and going many a weary mile after those that have wandered astray. Or again, He is the Good Samaritan, who, finding a poor traveller, lying wounded and disabled on the roadside, and robbed and stripped of all his goods and possessions, descends from his own horse, and stops to tend and dress his gaping wounds, pouring in oil and wine; places him on his own beast, and lays him in a place of safety.

Indeed, our Divine Master seems to lay all nature under contribution. Even among irrational creatures, He searches for images and types expressive of His solicitude for us. He likens Himself now to the hen that gathers her little ones under her wings; now to the pelican that was believed to feed her young with the blood from her own breast; or again to the vine giving life and nourishment to the branches: "I am the vine, you are the branches." He is "the Tree of life" (Apoc. ii. 7); the "Light of the world" (Is. ix. 2); the "Bright and Morning Star" (Apoc. xxii. 16); the "Shadow of the Rock" (Is. xxii. 2); the Door of the sheepfold" (John x. 7); the "Head of the Body of the Church" (Col. i. 18); and, sweetest title of all, the true "Bridegroom" (Matt. ix. 15). An article might be devoted to the explanation of each one of the names which are applied by the Holy Spirit to God, so pregnant are they

with meaning, and so much do they tell us of Him whose special name is LOVE.

But true love never rests satisfied with words. It longs to prove itself by deeds, and cannot remain inactive. God's love is no exception to this rule. It manifests itself in ten thousand beautiful ways. It meets us at every turn. It overflows upon us from all sorts of unexpected channels and on all sorts of undreamed-of occasions. It would be worse than useless to attempt to enumerate a tithe of them here. But we must at least touch upon a few of the most remarkable manifestations of God's goodness towards us.

We have already hinted at one, viz., our creation from nothing: a wholly gratuitous act which must be traced back to God's immeasurable love, as to its true source, and to love alone. But our dependence upon Him does not end here. God not only made us, each moment He preserves us, and supports us in life; watches over us as a mother over an only child, and defends us from a thousand evils. All that we have and are, are effects of His love. Every object whose presence brings joy to us, whose beauty gladdens us, whose friendship cheers and brightens existence, is from Him. All that in any way administers to our bodily comfort or mental content all that is in any degree pleasant, delightful, and joy-yielding in social intercourse or family life; all, all without exception, are tokens and earnestings of His undying love.

But even this exuberance of generosity could not satisfy the longings of His heart. Indeed, it is the characteristic of excessive love, never to admit it has done enough. Thus, having rifled all nature of its treasures to lay them at our feet; having given us the earth for our temporary abode: the sun to illumine and warm us; birds and beasts and every living creature to subserve our interests; fire and water, and steam and electricity, and all the other powers of nature to labour for our benefit, He wished to do still more. He determined to lift us above nature; yea, as far above nature as the heavens are above the earth. His love induced Him to confer upon us a dignity, a position, and an honour surpassing the uttermost capacities of mere nature. A

dignity, in fact, which all the wealth of the material creation put together could not purchase ; viz., the dignity conferred by divine grace received in holy Baptism. Yes : wonderful to say, by grace we are made participators of the Divine Nature ; adopted sons of God ; brothers of Christ Himself ; heirs to an imperishable kingdom ; and princes of the only truly Royal House of the King of kings : a dignity too great for us in our present state to understand ; and which words cannot express ; which mind fails to conceive, and which no created intelligence is capable of *adequately* realizing—to do so would be to measure the measureless, to pour the whole ocean into the hollow of our hand.

This is a treasure too priceless to be purchased ; too magnificent ever to be really merited ; giving us a claim to Heaven itself, and to the possession of the infinitely Perfect for the whole of eternity. “ I am thy reward exceeding great ” (Gen. xv. 1). When we have said this, we can say no more. Even a Power that is measureless, and a Wisdom that is limitless, can give us nothing greater, nothing more exquisite, nothing more divinely beautiful and precious than the Infinite and the Eternal ; and in possessing Him, we, in the strictest sense of the words, possess all things. Nevertheless, He was still dissatisfied. Love seeks, as far as possible, to put itself on an equality with the beloved. Now God could not make us equal to Himself, since the idea itself involves a contradiction. It was not possible for Him to lift us up to His level, and to transform us into gods. But, though He could not place us on a level with Himself, He could at least abase Himself and sink to our level. This, His infinite love prevailed upon Him to do. He assumed our nature ; became a man as truly as we are men ; clothed Himself with our infirmities and necessities, and “ dwelt amongst us ” as one of ourselves.

Nor was this an act of passing condescension. He took upon Himself our human nature, to retain it. He is still man—verily, as truly man as He is truly God. His human body and His human soul are at this very moment rejoicing the blessed in the highest heavens ; and never for one instant, throughout the endless ages

of eternity, will He dissociate Himself from our manhood. Again and again we hear the Mystery of Incarnation spoken of and referred to; but who will give us the power of appreciating all that it means to us, men and women of the earth! In associating Himself in this truly wondrous manner, God exalts the entire race of man in a degree that cannot be measured. He ennobles, elevates, and honours every single member of the great human family. From the moment in which He "was made flesh," He is no longer our Creator merely, nor merely our Lord and Benefactor, our first Beginning and Last End; but He has entered into new relations with us, and has drawn ten thousand times nearer towards us. He has become our Elder Brother, our intimate associate, one of our own family; bone of our bone, blood of our blood, and flesh of our flesh. What a ravishing thought! that even the least of us can claim a relationship, and *such* a relationship with the Irresistible and the Omnipotent! with Him who rides on the wings of the winds; who poises the earth upon three fingers; who holds the oceans in the hollow of His hands; who can do all things whatsoever He pleases; without whose sanction nothing can stir in Heaven or on earth; and without whose actual permission and co-operation not a sparrow falls to the ground, nor a dry leaf is swept away by the hurrying storm.

Wonderful as this undoubtedly is, it is far more wonderful to note that God not only became man (which could have been accomplished without one pang of suffering), but that He became, like us, a suffering man—a "man of sorrows, acquainted with infirmity" (Is. liii. 3). His prodigal love moved Him to share not our nature only, but our distress and humiliations, our sadness and disappointments. He made Himself subject to fatigue, weariness, langour, and to the pains of hunger, thirst, cold, nakedness, labour, bodily and mental anguish, and, finally, death. And such a death! Too cruel, too full of bitterness and shame almost to think of, save with tears of sorrow and compassion. Not through any necessity—for is He not Lord and Master of all?—but through deliberate choice; out of pure love; in order to

cheer us in sorrow ; and to infuse strength and courage and a brave hope in our fainting and faltering hearts ; and to draw out the sting of our death, by dying Himself for all.

Can love extend further than this? One might think not. But love is so mysterious a power. It is so unlike all else. It possesses such unsuspected resources. It is so strangely inventive. Oh ! love will discover ways and means of encompassing its designs, which nothing but love would so much as dream of.

Jesus Christ was not content to die, and then to depart from our midst for ever. "I will not leave you orphans" (John xiv. 18). Quite the contrary. He would be more than ever with us after His crucifixion. He would multiply His corporal presence almost indefinitely. Before that awful immolation upon the cross, He was, as man, in but one place in all the earth. Now, on the contrary, He deigns to dwell in every town and city and hamlet. In the vast metropolis ; in the busy hives of industry ; in the quiet country village ; and in the humblest and remotest places of earth, He holds His court, and receives His friends. Wherever there are gathered together a few devout worshippers and a priest to administer to them, there too He is found in their midst. It is the same all over the world. As the express train, panting and throbbing under its hidden fires, hurries us along through France and Germany, Switzerland and the Tyrol, and we snatch hasty glimpses of a Catholic church tower or a cathedral spire, we know that He is there. When tarrying in foreign lands, how often the silvery notes of the Mass or Vesper bells, resounding through some sequestered valley, or across the waters of some slumbering lake or inland sea, stealing upon our ears, arrest our wandering thoughts, and lead us to muse on the love that has led God to dwell among His chosen ones in every nation.

What belated traveller in far-off climes, wending his tortuous way between rocky heights and mountain ranges, has not, while gazing as it seemed almost into the very sky, beheld the precipitous walls of a convent or monastery, perched upon the summit of some beetling eminence, or

clinging like an eagle's nest to the crags and projections of some terrific cliff, and has not thought, as he gazed, that there too the King of eternal glory dwells; where men have gone to pass their days in prayer and contemplation, far from the maddening, noisy, distracting crowd?

But this multiplied presence; this prodigality of love; this desire on the part of our Lord to be wherever a human heart beats, or an adoring soul lives, though a most astounding effect of divine charity, is surpassed by the institution of the Sacrament of Holy Communion. The great Lover of souls would be not only present, not only in the closest proximity, and, if we may so express it, face to face with His chosen ones, but in actual union with each soul His hands have made. As a mother will not merely watch and tend her helpless offspring, but will draw the puny infant to her bosom, and, not satisfied with "kissing it with the kisses of her mouth," will offer it her breast, and thus incorporate her very substance with the substance of the child, so that it lives and feeds, and develops and grows strong on the very flesh of the mother; so does God the omnipotent draw us tenderly to Himself, and as it were incorporate Himself with our very substance in the Holy Eucharist, in such wise that we live our supernatural life through Him and by Him and on Him. "My flesh is meat indeed, My blood is drink indeed. Who eateth My flesh, and drinketh My blood, abideth in Me, and I in him" (John vi. 57). He truly and actually enters our souls; occupies our hearts; reposes within us as within a living tabernacle, and so possesses our very being, when we place no obstacle in His way, that we may justly exclaim with St. Paul: "I live; no, not I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). There in the very centre of our soul He holds His court. "My delights are to be with the children of men" (Prov. viii. 31); and so intimate and close is the union that then takes place between the poor creature and the powerful Creator, that Christ Himself does not hesitate to compare it with that mysterious union which is greatest of all and absolutely unique; namely, the union between Himself and the Eternal Father. "As the living Father

hath sent Me, and as I live by the Father: so he that eateth Me, the same shall live by Me" (John vi. 58).

It is impossible for anyone to think seriously of what Holy Communion really is, without feeling, if I may so express myself, bewildered, overwhelmed, and almost confounded by the undreamed-of and wholly unparalleled depths of divine condescension it supposes. It is so profound and unfathomable a mystery, and indicates a charity so measureless and infinite, that one feels almost as though one dared not think of it, lest the thought should crush and paralyze one's heart and senses. A kind of spiritual tremor or vertigo seems to seize upon one, such as one experiences in the physical order on looking fearfully and fitfully from the beetling edge of some gigantic height down a measureless fall of sheer precipitous rock.

Oh! if our eyes were not heavy with spiritual torpor, and our senses not steeped in a lethargic sleep, I know not how we could ever dare to approach and receive into our heart of hearts Him whom the heavens cannot contain, and "who dwells in light inaccessible" (1 Tim. vi. 16). There is nothing on earth that can compare with it. No love less than infinite love could have devised or contrived half so beautiful or half so sumptuous a banquet for the weary pilgrim, wending his way along the dusty road of life to the great city of God.

Further than this we cannot go—at least not in *this* life. There is nothing between this and the Beatific Vision itself. In the adorable Eucharist we have all that we shall ever have in heaven. The differences are only accidental. When the consecrated particle rests upon our hearts, we hold within us all that constitutes the essential bliss of the saints in eternal glory; the difference is, that we fail to realize it. We possess it, but without being able to estimate what we possess. If, by some stupendous miracle, our eyes were suddenly opened, we would find that we were really in heaven; or rather that heaven itself had come down upon us, and had entered into our souls. How countless are the ways in which God proves His love for men! We have but touched upon a few of them, yet we must reluctantly pass by others, so

that a few words may be said on the *personal* nature of God's love.

II.

I know of no point of more practical interest or of more pressing importance than this. Man yearns to be loved individually and personally, and on his own account, and not merely as one of a multitude. Thus, there is a danger of our very much undervaluing God's love of us, from the very fact that we know that He loves innumerable other creatures besides. We are naturally wont to estimate a man's love at a higher and higher rate, according as it is more and more exclusive. Indeed, we are inclined to regard with a certain air of suspicion, and almost to doubt the strength and depth of a love which is shared by millions upon millions of others. We hunger after an affection which shall be not only intense but undivided.

Now, this is, no doubt, a just way of reasoning when we are dealing with mere human, and therefore finite, love. A weak human creature cannot with any possibility love a whole multitude with any degree of intensity. What is gained in quantity must by the nature of finite things lose in quality. The most fathomless ocean would soon become no deeper than a street puddle, if its waters were spread over ten million million square miles. So the deepest and intensest human affection would soon be reduced to zero, if divided amongst a vast number. True: but then we must bear in mind that this arises from the necessary limitations of human nature, which limitations can have no place in God. Such reasoning, therefore, when applied to Him is utterly fallacious. The most essentially beautiful characteristic of God's love is just precisely that it is so eminently personal and so essentially heart to heart.

We may illustrate the nature of divine love by comparing it with divine wisdom. Thus: God knows all things. He reads the secret thoughts and most intimate yearnings of all men and angels, at one and the same moment, and indeed for the matter of that, by one and the same act. He sees clearly, fully, accurately, without confusion and without effort, every creature that ever was, that is, or ever shall

be. He knows all as each, and each as all. Take any individual—say, myself, now reading this page. He knows me so intimately, so perfectly, so profoundly, and so exhaustively, that it is metaphysically impossible that He could know me a whit more perfectly than He does. Even, if *per impossibile*, He were to withdraw His gaze from all other creatures in heaven and on earth, to fix His whole mind upon me alone, and exclusively, He could add nothing whatever to the perfection of His knowledge.

With us it is very different. We can give our complete attention to one thing only at a time; we can follow but one train of thought at any given moment. Should we attempt to attend to many different things at once, indistinctness and confusion must inevitably result. Such is the difference between God's knowledge and ours. Now an exactly analogous difference exists between God's love and ours.

Let the reader thus muse within himself. God knows me and loves me, singly and individually, just as truly, just as intimately, as though He knew no other and loved no other. He loves me no whit less because He loves millions and millions besides me. He loves me because He has made me: because His own divine image—the image of the ever Blessed Trinity is indelibly impressed upon me; because He has adorned and enriched my soul by His heavenly grace, transforming it into a thing of extreme loveliness and exquisite splendour. And He loves me because I am His own child by adoption; an heir to His throne; and purchased with a great price (1 Cor. vi. 20). This anyone can say—and say with undeniable truth, if his soul be in a state of grace.¹

The fact that God loves myriads of saints and angels together with me, and much more than me, cannot in the slightest degree interfere with the genuineness of the love

¹ “Per charitatem intime ac filialiter Deo conjungimur: per hanc enim ita nobis communicatur et unitur Spiritus Sanctus, seu *ipsa divinitas*, ut ex hac unione efficiamur filii Dei, tanquam participes effecti divinæ naturæ.” (Lessius, *De N.D.*, p. 194.)

“Charitas facit homines deiformes”—is the teaching of St. Thomas, 1, 2, Q. 65, 5. c.

He bears me personally. If I alone existed, if God possessed throughout the measureless realms of possible space no other creature but myself, He would love me neither more nor less than at present, nor would His love be even the faintest shadow of a degree more personal. His love of me increases or diminishes with my own personal sanctity, but is, absolutely independent of the amount of divine love lavished upon others. St. Paul said, "He loved *me*, and delivered Himself for *me*" (Gal. ii. 20). With equal truth, I can employ similar language: *e.g.*, He watches, not over men in general—but over *me*, ceaselessly and unintermittently. I may forget Him: He can never forget me. I may lose consciousness in sleep: He never, even for a moment, relaxes His guard over me. He follows me at every step through life, with a providence so marked and so special, that it could not be greater nor more personal nor more minute, though there were no others to provide for. On the other hand, were the existing multitudes of men and angels and of living creatures of all kinds even ten thousand times more numerous than they are, their government and control would tend in no measure to render God's care and solicitude for me individually less detailed or less special. He is not like a frail creature, to be disturbed or affected by numbers or by multiplicity. The most delightful and special charm of God's love is just precisely its extraordinary individual character.

Practically, I may—indeed I ought, always to treat with God, in the same intimate way, and with the same secret familiarity as though He and I alone existed, and as though He had no one else upon whom to bestow a thought. The more earnestly I strive to carry out His will, and the more carefully I endeavour to please Him in all things, the more His love of me will deepen. Unlike the earthly lover, who may weep and sigh and pine in vain for one too distant to hear the words that breathe and the thoughts that burn, we know that God listens to every sigh, hears every sob, watches every tear, and measures every pulsation, as though no other task devolved upon Him but to contemplate the individual soul as it seeks to win His love. What a glorious impossibility!

I cannot so much as think of Him, but He rejoices at it, nor breathe an ejaculatory prayer but He hearkens to it, and blesses me for it. He is, in fact, present within me, and as absolutely and as wholly present, as though He were nowhere else. No earthly lovers were ever so closely united, or so intimately present to one another, or so undistractedly absorbed in each other's affections, as God and the soul in grace.¹ Hence we must cast aside for ever all those prevalent, though utterly false notions, which, no doubt, arise from our tendency to apply to divine love what can be true of human love alone.

It is only by realizing what an intense reality God's love is, and calling to mind its extraordinarily personal quality, that we can at all understand, I will not say the joyousness and buoyancy which habitually characterised the famous solitaries of old, but even their bare possibility. What man *could* pass ninety long years of unbroken solitude in the desert, like St. Paul of Thebes, without going mad, or, at all events growing morose and testy, unless his love of God, and God's love of him, were something eminently actual, personal, and practical? The hermits, anchorites, and solitaries of the early church, and the silent religious of various contemplative orders of the present day are inexplicable on any other supposition. But, in the midst of the cares and anxieties of an active life in the world, we too must draw our pleasure, joy, and gladness at the same unfailling source.

Oh! beautiful and consoling doctrine! Each footsore and weary wayfarer on earth may truly exclaim:—"The Infinite and the All-perfect loves me, personally, intimately, and individually—not as one of a vast indistinguishable mass; but me, N.N., with my own special character, qualities, disposition, antecedents and history; yea, He loves me with a love which is indescribable and inconceivable; which no language can express, no imagination picture,

¹As Albertus Magnus points out—"Est enim amor ipse virtutis unitivae et transformativae, transformans amantem in amatum; et e contra, ut sit unum amatorum in altero, et e converso, in quantum intimius potest." (Chap. xii.)

no mind fathom, no thought reach, no heart encompass. A love which I cannot measure; which I comprehend not, and in this life cannot comprehend: a love which outstrips all figures and symbols, defies all numerical expression, and which would dilate and rend my heart with gladness, and so terminate my physical life, were I made fully conscious of it,¹ a love, compared to which all human love is cold, and barren and hollow: in a word, He, the Almighty and Eternal, loves a soul in grace, with an infinite love: and therefore with an ardour not only above, but immeasurably above, all creatures, whether human or angelic.

It seems a bold statement to make, yet it is easily shown. To begin with; it is, by God's express declaration, infinite in duration: "I have loved with an everlasting love." But more than that, it is also infinite² in intensity; though only, of course, in the sense explained by the angel of the schools, the gifted St. Thomas Aquinas.

What is meant by love! To love a person is to wish him well.³ If, for instance, a man desires that another

¹ Lessius says:—"Saepe amor potest esse tam vehementis, ut sequatur mors, omni spiritu vitali, prae nimia cordis dilatatione, diffuente. Sic multi putant B. Virginem vi amoris mortuam!" (*De Nom. Dei*, p. 212.)

² The love God bears His rational creatures is correctly spoken of as "infinite." Yet the term may prove misleading unless accompanied by some explanation. It may not be unprofitable, therefore, to remind our readers that while the love is infinite on the part of the Giver, it is necessarily finite on the part of the receiver. This love receives no limitation from the divine nature, for it is identical therewith; yet it is *de facto* limited by the very condition of the creature. Thus: God gives Himself entirely (*in esse intelligibili*), e.g., to a glorified soul in heaven, and by virtue of the "lumen gloriae;" such a soul possesses God wholly (*totus*), but obviously not adequately (*totaliter*).

In other words, the soul in embracing God, most undoubtedly embraces and enjoys an infinite good, but in an essentially finite manner. God is infinite, and God gives Himself to the individual soul. But the soul can possess Him only according to the measure of its capacity, which must, under every conceivable hypothesis, remain ever circumscribed and limited. Even the *humanity* of Christ does not receive the divine gift and love infinitely, for St. Thomas teaches:—"Humanitas Christi, ex hoc quod est unita Deo etc., habet *quandem* infinitatem." (Pp. q. 25, a. 6, ad. 4.)

Compare pp. q. 12, ad. 7, corp., "Nullus intellectus creatus potest Deum *infinite* cognoscere, etc.;" q. 20, arts. 2, 3, "Bonum quod Deus creaturae vult, non est divina essentia;" and q. 19, arts. 3, a. 5, "Deus sicut uno actu omnia in essentia sua intelligit, ita uno actu vult omnia in sua bonitate."

³ Amare nihil aliud est quam velle bonum alicui." (St. Th.)

should enjoy health and happiness, and dignities and prosperity; if he actually bestows upon him riches, favours, and honours (especially when there is nothing to hope for in return), we rightly conclude that the donor possesses a true love for his friend. Furthermore the value of the gifts bestowed marks in some measure the degree of love. The more valuable the gifts he wishes to bestow upon his friend, and the greater the good he seeks to procure him, the greater, evidently, is the love he bears him. Now, apply this principle to God, and ask what kind of good He seeks to bestow upon us. It is not a created good at all. It is nothing finite, however precious or exalted; it is the Infinite, the Uncreated, and the Eternal, the absolute good. It is nothing less than God Himself. "I am thy reward exceeding great." We are made for nothing less than the possession of God for all eternity.

To confer a great good upon another, is to love him with a great love; but to confer upon another an infinite good, is, most assuredly, to love him with an infinite love—especially when the donor can expect no return, and no equivalent. Yet such is the love of God for His children, even for the least and most humble of them all, so long as he is striving with all his heart to keep the commandments.

How sadly strange, and how strangely sad, it is that, notwithstanding all this, men think so much of the love of creatures, so little of the love of the Creator; that they set such an extortionate price on the puny affections of a sinful man or woman, and are so insensible to the measureless affection of God; that, in a word, they will move heaven and earth, and defy hell itself, to embrace the shadow, while often allowing the substance and the reality to escape them altogether. "O! Vita per quam vivo, sine qua morior, ubi quaeso es? Ubi te inveniam? Prope esto in animo, prope in corde, prope in ore, prope in auribus, prope in auxilio: quia amore langueo, quia sine te morior!"

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

THE MONASTERY AND LIBRARY OF ST. GALL

AFTER the death of St. Gall his disciples did not disperse but continued under the rule of Columbanus to carry out the intentions of their founder. They were for the most part Irish monks who had been attracted to Switzerland by the fame of their countryman. During the disturbances that followed the decadence of the Merovingians, they had much to suffer from the barbarians who invaded the country from the north. They would, in all probability, have been completely exterminated had it not been for the protection of Talto, a powerful neighbour who earned for himself the well-deserved title of "Protector Hibernorum." They also induced a native priest, well known for his zeal, and for his important connections in the district to join them and become their abbot. This was Othmar of Chur, who brought to the service of the abbey the most devoted and enlightened zeal, and who died a martyr in its cause and in the cause of religion. His first care was to renew the cells of the monks, to rebuild the church, which was falling into decay, and to have the relics of St. Gall transferred from their resting-place and laid beneath the high altar of the new building. His energy and success soon became known abroad. Carloman, when about to retire for ever to the solitude of Monte Cásino, stopped at the monastery on his way to Italy, and was so much impressed with its discipline and spirit, that he warmly recommended it to his brother Pepin. This monarch sent to its abbot a present of a bell, of sixty pounds in money, and of a right to twenty vassals in Breisgau beyond the Rhine. Such an example of royal munificence was quickly followed. Donations from smaller, but not less devoted personages, rapidly multiplied. In the modern cantons of Zurich, Thurgau, Appenzell, Schweitz, and St. Gall, the monastery received an enormous number of fiefs. Meyer von Knonau gives an immense list of them in one of his works.¹ Those which were donated on the

¹ *Mittheilungen zur Vaterländischen Geschichte*, xiii., pp. 65-224.

northern side of the Rhine are enumerated by Bishop Hefele in his *History of the Introduction of Christianity into Southern Germany*.¹ They also are very numerous, and are scattered broadcast over the territory that extends from Basle and Strasburg on the one side, to the banks of the Danube on the other.

All these fiefs or properties did not come in to the monastery at once. They gradually accrued. But in the days of St. Othmar the movement had begun. The records of donations were carefully kept in the register of the monastery, and the motives of each one were usually inscribed in the act of transfer. Some gave up their possessions "for the glory of God and the propagation of His kingdom on earth;" others, "because the monastery teaches the Gospel and the doctrine of the Apostles." A rich proprietor, named Albrih, makes over a territory on account of "the instability of this chequered life."² The pious Countess Beata bequeathes her property "in view of the salvation of her soul, and in order to obtain an eternal recompense." Adalsind³ of Recchinbach is influenced by a motive, to which her sex is perennially sensitive—"a desire to beautify and maintain the Church of our Blessed Lady." And thus to the end of the long chapter the formulas are renewed and repeated.

For centuries these large possessions were turned to the best account. Wherever a property fell into the hands of

¹ "Geschichte der Einführung des Christenthums im Südwestlichen Deutschland, besonders in Württemberg." (Pp. 307-314.)

² "Ego itaque Albrih, cogitans instabilitatem hujus erumnosae vitae, et eontra retributionem regni coelestis sollicitè mente pertractans, trado ad monasterium Sancti Galli hobam unam plenam, sitam in loco qui dicitur Luterba, cum servo nomine Razo, et cum omnibus ad eandem hobam pertinentibus, id est domibus, pomariis, exitibus et introitibus, agris, pratis, aquis aquarumque decursibus, silvis, pascuis in omnem partem vergentibus, mobilibus et immobilibus, cultis et incultis et quidquid in loco dici vel nominari potest."

³ "In nomine Dei ego Adalsind trado ad coenobium Sancti Galli, ad ecclesiam Sanctae Mariae Genitricis quae aedificata est sub potestate ipsius monasterii in loco qui dicitur Recchinbach, omnem proprietatem meam quam mihi maritus meus Luito donabat, id est, tam domibus quam caeteris aedificiis, quid dici vel nominari potest, omnia ex integro tradita esse volo ad praedictam ecclesiam." (Meyer von Knonan, *op. cit.*, pp. 248-252.)

the monks, a church was built, and the pastorate of the country around it served from the monastery. Hence, as Bishop Hefele points out, the enormous number of churches dedicated to St. Gall, not only in Switzerland, but in Württemberg, Bavaria, and the Rhineland. The vassals of the surrounding country preferred to depend upon the monastery rather than on the exacting and rapacious lords who plundered and crushed them. The serfs, in particular, were delighted when they became subjects of the great institution. It meant for them kind masters, security, humane and considerate treatment, and a part, moreover, in the work of civilization which was going on, and which they looked upon, not only as conducive to a much better state of things in this world, but salutary even unto life eternal. There were, however, motives in abundance of a worldly kind to attach them to the monks. The monastery had its weavers, its tailors, its shoemakers, its blacksmiths, its smelters, its brewers, gardeners, grooms, shepherds, swineherds, besides a regular service of sailors and shipmen to manage its flotilla of boats on the Bodensee and the Rhine. All these contributed their part to the wealth of the monastery, whilst at the same time they enjoyed its privileges and protection. But, as the French proverb says, "*qui a terre a guerre.*" The wealth of St. Gall did not escape the covetous eyes and the jealous greed of its neighbours. Two adventurous dukes, named Warin and Ruodbart, were the first to harrass the new establishment. The dispute began about some property which was bequeathed to the monks, and which these pretenders claimed as their own. In the course of the contest St. Othmar was taken prisoner, cast into a dungeon at the castle of Bodman, and afterwards at Stein, where he died on the 16th November, 759, having been practically starved to death by his jailors. The monastery, however, survived its persecutors, and freed itself ultimately from the power of all secular enemies. Its struggle for exemption from the jurisdiction of the bishops of Constance was longer and more envenomed, but in the end equally successful. Both successes were, no doubt, only transient, and were destined in subsequent ages to undergo many vicissitudes; but they

were of sufficient duration for the time to enable the institution to develop its interior life, and to acquire a fame for science and letters as well as for sanctity that was not equalled in Europe for two centuries.

These broils, whether of secular or ecclesiastical origin, occupied a good part of two hundred years, and during that time paralyzed, to a great extent, the intellectual influence of St. Gall.¹ It was only in the year 818 that Louis the Mild, King of France, issued the edict which liberated St. Gall from the domination of the bishops of Constance, and left it absolutely free and unfettered to pursue its mission of civilization and benevolence.

All the conditions were now favourable for such a career—wealth in abundance, exterior and interior peace, schools sufficient for the education of the poor, as well as of the nobles. It required only a man of genius—or at least a man of good education and commanding talents—to give a new impulse to the arts and sciences, in order to bring the influence of the establishment to maturity. This man appeared in due time in the person of Moengal or Marcellus, an Irish monk, who is regarded as the real founder of the school of St. Gall.²

Moengal³ accompanied to Rome his uncle, named Marcus,

¹ "Sub Othmari abbatis tempora vel certe non multo post vixere Scoti quidam illustres viri quos in historia Sancti Galli Beatus Notkerus ait ipsius etiam D. Galli vitam octaque conscripsisse." *De Viris Illustribus Sancti Galli*, by Jodocus Metzler.

² "Pour échapper à ses suivants Marcellus leur partagea son argent, ses chevaux et ses mulets ne gardant pour lui que ses livres. Cette générosité calma les esprits. Une dernière fois le courageux savant revêtit son costume de pèlerin, bénit les siens, leur dit de saluer la verte Erin en son nom, les embarassa jusqu'au dernier et au milieu des sanglots de tous, revêtit le froc du bénédictin et devint le véritable fondateur de la glorieuse école de St. Gall." (*Récits Saint Gallois*, par Frederic Tissot, p. 85.)

³ "Grimaldi temporibus Canonici abbatis, Hartnote ejus quasi proabbate, Marcus quidam Scotigena episcopus, Gallum tanquam con patriotam suum Roma rediens visitat. Comitatur eum sororis filius Moengal postea a nostris Marcellus, diminutive a Marco avunculo sic nominatus. Hic erat in divinis et humanis eruditissimus. Rogatur episcopus loco nostro aliquamdiu stare, allecto nepote. Diu secum deliberantes socii vix tandem consenserant dieque conducto partitur Marcellus nummos avunculi sui multos per fenestram, timens ne discerperetur ab eis; fremebant enim in illum, quasi ipsius suasu episcopus restaret. Equos et mulos

who was a bishop in Ireland, and who went, with a large retinue of pilgrims, to visit the tombs of the apostles. On their return journey they made a pilgrimage to St. Gall, and were, as usual, hospitably received. The superiority of Moengal's education soon made its impression, with the result that he was implored by the monks to remain with them altogether, and assume the direction of their school. Moengal consented; and, as his uncle was now old and feeble, he also asked to be allowed to end his days in the monastery. He was freely accommodated, and welcomed as a permanent inmate of the cloister; but his followers from Ireland were indignant at being deserted by the two leaders of their expedition. When they realized, however, the good that was to be done by their countrymen, they were satisfied, and received, before starting for Ireland, the blessing of the Bishop and of Moengal, who gave them over their mules, horses, money, and other accommodation for travelling, retaining for themselves only their books, vestments, and sacred vessels.

The direction of the monastic schools was now divided between Marcellus, or Moengal, and Iso.¹ The young monks were confided to Marcellus, and the seculars to Iso. Iso was a native of Switzerland, of noble birth, and of uncommon talent. He was soon called away by the monks of Grandval, in Burgundy, who made him their abbot. After his departure, the whole responsibility of the schools fell upon Moengal. Under his direction some of the brothers were told off to make a special study of Greek; they were the "Fratres Hellenici." Others cultivated Latin verse. Another class was set to master the ordinary arts of

quibus ipse voluit nominatim episcopus tradidit, libros vero, aurum et pallia sibi et Sancto Gallo retinuit. Stola tandem imbutus abeuntes benedicit; multis autem lacrimis utrimque dicessum est. Remanserat episcopus cum nepote et paucis suae linguae apparitoribus." (*Ekkeharti, Casus Sancti Galli*, p. 10.)

¹"Traduntur post tempus Marcello scholae claustrum cum Notkero postea cognomine Bulbulo et ceteris monastici habitus pueris, exteriores autem Ysoni cum Salomone et ejus comparibus. Jucundum est memorari quantum cella Sancti Galli his auspiciis crescere coeperit tandemque floruerit." (*Ekkeharti, Casus Sancti Galli*, p. 11.)

the “trivium” and “quadrivium.” Others, again, were employed in the “Scriptorium,” or in the laboratory. It was a perfect division of labour, in which nothing was neglected.¹

Amongst the many scholars trained by Marcellus, three became celebrated all over Europe.² They were Notker, Ratpert, and Tuotilo. Notker belonged to a noble family of Thurgovia. He was, in every sense, the most admirable of the three. From his youth he had been afflicted with a delicate constitution, and with a defect in his speech, which gained him the name of Balbulus. He had, however, studied with the greatest diligence under Marcellus, and became a polished Latin scholar. His *Martyrologium* is one of the most important historical works of the period. He copied the Greek manuscripts of the canonical letters of the New Testament that were sent to him by Liutward, Bishop of Vercelli, and translated a few of the works of Aristotle. He wrote, besides, a book of Sequences, a sort of new lyrical church poetry then in vogue, and several other works on Scriptural and historical subjects.³ One of his canticles, a sequence on the Holy Ghost, was sung before Innocent III., in the eleventh century. The Pope inquired if the author were canonized; and, on being informed that he was not, he expressed a desire that his process should be commenced. It was only centuries later, however, that Notker was beatified.⁴ Several other hymns were also composed by him. Those most generally adopted in

¹ Inter precipuos scholarum S. Gallensium Magistros apud antiquos fuit Fal-lanus Scotus noster quem doctissimum et benignissimum adde et beatae memoriae Magistrum dixere patres nostri Contractus, Hepidanus et M.G.S.” (Iodius M. tzier, *De Viris Illustribus San. Gallensibus*)

² “De Notkero, Ratperto, Tuotilone quoniam quidem cor et anima una erant mixta, qualia tres unus fecerit, quantum a patribus audivimus narrare incipimus. Illi quidem ab Hisone cum in divinis non mediocriter essent praelibati Marcello, ut jam diximus, sunt conjuncti; qui in divinis acque potens et in humanis, septem liberales eos duxit ad artes, maxime autem ad musicum; quae cum caeteris naturalior et quamvis difficilior apprehensa usu quidem sit jucundior,” &c. (Ekkeharti, *Casus Ste. Galli*, pp. 126, 127.)

³ *Thesaurus Anecdotorum*, by Fez. S. v. 6.

⁴ Goldast, *Rerum Alamannicarum Scriptores*, voi. i., p. 237.



the liturgy of the Middle Ages were the hymn for the feast of Columbanus:—

“ Nostri solemnis saeculi,
Refulgit dies inclyta
Quo sacer coelos Columba
Ascendet ferens trophoe.
Qui post altus Hybernia
Sacro edoctus dogmate,
Gallica arva adiens
Plebi salutem tribuit;”

and the hymn for the Feast of All Saints:—

“ Omnes superni ordines
Quibus dicatur hic dies
Mille milleni millies
Vestros audite supplices.”

A very different man from the gentle and delicate Notker was the ardent Tutilo. He was a powerful man, well built, and equal to any labour. He was an orator, a linguist, an engineer, a painter, an illuminator, a musician, a poet, a sculptor. A perfect portrait of him has been drawn for us by Ekkehart.¹ He was particularly skilled in music, painting, wood-carving, and decoration. It is related of him that once, in the city of Metz, when painting a figure of the Virgin, he was assisted by our Blessed Lady herself, and left behind him an image that was considered the most perfect work of art of the whole period.² On another occasion, at the monastery of St. Alban's, at Mayence, he carved and decorated a high altar;³ which, according to Ekkehart, was not surpassed in the whole of Christendom. The ivory

¹ “Erat eloquens, voce clarus, celaturae elegans et picturae artifex, musicus sicut et socii ejus, sed in omnium genere fidium et fistularum prae omnibus, concinnandi in utraque lingua potens, promptus natura, serio et joco festivus; sed inter haec omnia quod prae aliis est, in choro strenuus, in latebris laerimosus, versus et melodias facere praepotens, castus ut decebat Marcelli discipulus.” (Ekkeharti, *Casus Sti. Galli*, o. 57.)

² “Pingebat aliquando in Metensium urbe imaginem Divi Virginis et ecce duo angeli in habitu peregrinorum accedentes elymosinam petunt, qua accepta ad quemdam clericum sese convertunt et aiunt illi. Domina illa quae illi radios ita ad manum dat numquid illius soror est?” (Metzler, *De Viris Illustribus Sancti Galli*.)

³ “Cui similem anaglypham raro usque hodie videre est alteram.” (Ekkeharti, *Casus*, p. 146.)

decorations on the covers of the *Evangelium Longum* are the work of his hands, and make good his claim to the title of “egregius ἀναγλύπτης,” given him by Metzler.¹ They are marvels of delicacy and artistic combination. In music he surpassed all others; and, as Ekkehart reminds us, reflected the greatest credit on his Irish master, Marcellus. He could play on all kinds of musical instruments, and took particular delight in combining melodies and composing verses to suit them. The most famous of his hymns were the “Hodie Cantandus est,” for the feast of Christmas, and the “Omnium virtutum gemmis” for the Ascension. Many tropes and fragments of hymns in honour of other festivals were also composed by him. Thus, for the Resurrection, he writes²:—

“ Exurge rector gentium,
Nec moriturus amplius,
Orbemque totum posside
Tuo redemptum sanguine.”

Some desultory verses were turned off at a moment when he was impressed with the infinite goodness of the Redeemer:—

“ Rex pie, rex regum, regnans, O Christe, per aevum.”
“ Qui mare, qui terras, coeli qui scepra gubernas.”
“ Noxia depellens, culparum debita solvens.”
“ Qui super astra sedes, Patri deitate cohaeres.”
“ Es quoque sermo Patris summi, reparator et orbis.”
“ Lux, via, vita, salus, spes, pax, sapientia, virtus.”
“ Hic tibi laus resonet; chorus hic in laude resultet.”

In addition to these numerous accomplishments Tuotulo was an inveterate traveller, a fencer, and an athlete. When attacked in the forests his assailants usually suffered for their temerity. On one occasion in particular two powerful men waylaid his companions; but when Tuotulo came up with them they surrendered all their plunder, and were glad enough to escape with their lives. The calm and

¹ *De Viris Illustribus Sancti Galli*, p. 12.

² Migne's *Patrologie*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 52.

home-loving Rathpert often warned his companion against the dissipation of travelling; Tuotilo in his turn joked at the slippers of his mentor, and proved by his marvellous activity how much he had benefited by a change of air.

“Nothing is known [writes the late Dr. W. K. Sullivan¹] of the origin of this singularly gifted man. If he were a Swiss or German, something would be known of his parentage or birth-place, as in the case of his friends Ratpert and St. Notker. But if he were a foreigner, as he may have been, there is nothing singular in the silence of the monastic chroniclers concerning the events of his early life, about which they could know nothing except incidentally. Of the crowd of Irishmen who poured out of Ireland from the end of the sixth to the beginning of the tenth century, and who took an active part in the intellectual movement of the time, how few have left sufficient evidence to enable us even to connect them with the land of their birth. Their lot was cast in the darkest period of the Middle Ages, and they have consequently suffered the fate which too often befalls those who are the precursors or originators of great intellectual or moral movements, or founders of new branches of science or art. In the second half of the ninth century there appear to have been many Irishmen at St. Gall, besides Moengal; and everything that we know of Tuotilo favours the view that he also was one. In the first place, the name is, to say the least, as much like a latinized form of the Irish *Tuatal*, *Tuotal*, or *Tuathal*, as of the Gothic *Totilo*. Again, the wandering disposition, the warm, impulsive spirit which made him equally ready to use his tongue or his arm against an enemy, remind us forcibly of St. Columbanus; and lastly, his great skill in instrumental music, and especially the decidedly Irish character of the melodies² of the two tropes ‘Hodie Cantandus est’ and ‘Omnipotens Genitor,’ which have been published by Father Schubiger, seem conclusive as to his nationality. This Irish strain in his melodies may be the reason why these were considered in the Middle Ages to be peculiar and easily distinguishable from those of the other St. Gall composers. It is worth remarking that one of the oldest musical monuments of this period, the *Liber Ymnorum Notkeri* (still preserved at Einsiedlen, Codex 121), noted in Neumes, was illuminated, if not entirely written, by an Irish hand.”

¹ Introduction to O'Curry's *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, pp. dlxviii., dlxix.

² Ekkehart says of them:—“Istos proposuimus ut quam dispar ejus melodia sit coeteris, si musicus es, noris.” And further on: “Quae autem Tutilo dictaverat singularis ac agnoscibilis melodiae sunt.”

Tutilo was buried in the chapel of St. Catherine, in the church of St. Gall, and the inscription placed over his resting-place in after ages gratefully recorded that "no one ever went away *sad* from his tomb."¹

Ratpert was the third of the inseparable companions who formed what has been designated as the "Trifolium Sangalleuse." To him we are indebted for a most valuable history of his monastery from the death of St. Othmar down to his own times. He also is the author of several hymns, amongst others of the processional litany which begins :²—

"Ardua spes mundi, solidator et inclyte coeli."

But he was particularly successful as a teacher in the schools. Before his death his pupils came to present him with a book which they had ornamented and illuminated in the style of which he himself was such a master. Their address, which was read by the youngest, ran as follows :³—

"Hoc opus exiguum puerili pollice scriptum."

"Sit Ruhtperte tibi magnum, promptissime doctor."

"Largo lacte tuo potatus, pane cibatus."

"Ipse, precor, vigeas, valeas, venereris, ameris."

"Hoc optant mecum pueri, juvenesque, senesque."

There were several other Notkers at St. Gall besides Notker Balbulus. Notker Medicus was the great physician of his age. He wrought wonderful cures by means of his art, and varied his occupations by painting a series of frescoes in the church of St. Gall and decorating manuscripts with inimitable miniatures. He was particularly devoted to the memory of St. Othmar, in whose honour he composed the hymn "Rector aeterni metuende saeculi."

Another Notker was a nephew of the Emperor Otho I. He became Dean of St. Gall, Abbot of Stavelot, and Bishop of Liège. Notker Labeo was one of the earliest writers in the German language, into which, about the end of the tenth century and commencement of the eleventh, he

¹ "Nemo tristis abit qui te colit et veneratur."

² Migne, *Patrologie*, vol. lxxxvii., p. 39.

³ *Geschichte der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen*, von Bibliothekar Weidman.

translated a considerable portion of the Bible, and the works of several ecclesiastical and profane authors.¹

A contemporary of most of those mentioned above was Salomon, Abbot of St. Gall and Bishop of Constance. Salomon was one of the most troublesome friends the monastery ever had. From being a spoiled and wayward child he became an exceedingly clever but worldly ecclesiastic. The wise men of St. Gall shook their heads with good reason when he was allowed to put on the robe of St. Benedict and enter their community. His handsome appearance, and his noble connections, the protection of kings and courts, contributed to make him believe that monastic severity was not intended for such as he. He was, however, too powerful to be refused admittance; and once within, he behaved with discretion, if not with humility and submission. He bided his time until political disturbances gave him an outlet for his ambition, and the Emperor Arnulph, whom he served, was in a position to order the monks to elect him as their Abbot. Later on he also obtained for him the bishopric of Constance. And thus the monastery was brought once again under the sway of the Bishop. For the time it gained materially by the transaction, but a wide gap was opened to abuses from which the establishment was free in the days of its autonomy. It must be said, however, that once Salomon had reached the height of his ambition, he worked earnestly for the good of religion and the advancement of learning. As a minister under four successive emperors, he was one of the most powerful men in Europe. Yet he never lost his affection for St. Gall, and loved to retire there every year to discharge his functions as Abbot, and take his part in the simple and laborious life of the monks. He was, moreover, like Wolsey and Richelieu, a munificent patron of art and letters, and the *Vocabularium Salamonis*, drawn up under his directions, is one of the earliest encyclopædias that was printed in Europe.²

The Ekkeharts, like the Notkers, formed a regular dynasty amongst the distinguished sons of St. Gall.

¹ Pertz, *Monumenta Germaniae*, t. ii.

² *Ildefonsus von Arx*, p. 191

Ekkehart I. was at the head of the schools for many years, and afterwards councillor of the Emperor Otho the Great. The most famous of them, however, was the fourth of the name.

About the year 1040, the Emperor Conrad II. was led to believe that the discipline at St. Gall was fast on the decline, and he had recourse to the extreme measure of sending some monks from Cluny to reform the monastery. This proceeding was resented at St. Gall, and life was practically made so uncomfortable for the reformers that they had to withdraw. Ekkehart IV., who had spent some years directing the royal school at Mayence, just then returned to his old home at St. Gall. He was known to be a writer of talent, and was asked by his brethren to take up and immortalize the ancient glories of his *Alma Mater*. Ekkehart did not require to be pressed. He was passionately devoted to the grand old monastery, and was determined to relate its great achievements and confound its enemies. It is evident, however, from the first page that he and his monastery are on their defence. There is gall in his pen, and cutting sarcasm and bitter invective in his pages.¹ The enemies of St. Gall are roundly denounced, and their treacherous intentions exposed to the world. There is little of the historic calm in this work. It is on the face of it a partisan production. Nevertheless, it gives many interesting glimpses into the interior of the monastery, draws life-like pictures of its most famous monks, and says the last word on the merits of its most glorious days. It is by turns jovial and angry, generous and unjust, accurate in detail and plainly dishonest. Nor are its pages altogether free from the coarse joke and the questionable anecdote,

¹ "Enimvero obloquii patere non dubitamus ut nunc morum et temporum est, si quequam asperum, et maxime quod discipline sit, teligeris, si malorum libertates et impunitates non laudare videberis velut impostor et calumniator apud eos qui in lavitate ambulant haberis. At vero quoniam rerum loco nostro gestarum etiam alii veritati nihil parentes fortuna et infortunia, quomodolibet erant, edixerunt, temptantes quidem ad nos ea quae a patribus audivimus, ea aviditate qua illi quam verissime datum est, stilo et atramento veritatem perstringere, fortuna et infortunia loci nostri veritati nihil parentes, edisserere." (Ekkeharti, *Causa Sti. Galli.*)

which are the surest signs of monastic decay and the clearest proof that reform was urgently needed.

Some of the institutions of the monastery, as described by Ekkehart and others, are worthy of attention. From the importance of the gardener, that of higher officials may be judged. He had under his orders a regular cohort of servants, who lived together in a vast farm-house, of which he was the director. He had carefully read the treatise *De Villis*, and knew how to cultivate not only the ordinary garden vegetables but also chervil, coriander, dill, cummin, sage, fennel, mint, rosemary, loveage, and other plants required for the preparation of infusions, and general medical and curative purposes. Another officer had charge of the mill, the granaries, the fruit gardens, the waggons and boats for the transfer of corn and merchandise. The reign of the land steward extended over vast herds of oxen, cows, horses, swine, and the numerous flocks of goats and sheep that ranged over his wide domain. He also had his retinue of servants, and ruled them with all the authority of an autocrat. Nearer to the monastery was a great group of workshops, in one series of which lances, swords, gauntlets, cuirasses, shields, and coats of arms were manufactured; in another, stalls for the church choirs, panels, screens, pulpits, tabernacles. Further on, sculptors and stonecutters plied their chisels. In a building by itself, well guarded, and full of mystery, worked the jewellers, goldsmiths, the lapidaries, the bezellers. Here the gold and silver are melted, ores are tested, alloys are combined, which make the metals solid and pleasant to the eye; Bible covers in ivory or wood are enriched with plates of gold or with precious stones. Here also the finishing touch is given to the rich chasubles and mitres, to the reliquaries, shrines, lustres, altar-pieces, and to the elaborate iron and steel decorations for the great doors of the castles and manor houses.

But the wonder of the whole establishment is the *Scriptorium*. Here the fine parchment specially prepared from the skin of the mountain goat or the young reindeer is furnished to the copyists, the illuminators, the miniaturists. It is here those wonderful initial letters were illuminated in colours that are as fresh and strong to-day almost as on the

day on which they were executed. Like the decorations of the *Book of Kells* at home they will stand the minutest inspection and the powers of the strongest microscope. They retain their proportions and their perfection of tint and shade, no matter how they are enlarged:—

“ Scarcely was there any other establishment so celebrated for the beauty of its manuscripts [writes Wattenbach],¹ nor did any other so highly prize the art or develop with such care and ardour the ornamentation of initial letters. Therein, especially, do these monks show that they were faithful followers of their Irish brethren, whom they soon surpassed and left far behind. The Scottish manuscripts are distinguished by very elaborate execution, by brilliant colouring of unfading splendour, and by the richness and beauty of their ornamentation. Their favourite ornaments are the interlaced serpents, and by them as well as by the serpents’ heads one can trace the influence of Irish art, as may be seen, for instance, in the gospels of Charles the Bald.”

It was an Irish monk who taught this art, and the study and perseverance necessary to bring it to perfection. Two strophes composed by him are still venerated in the monastery. We quote them in the translation of an admiring Frenchman,² not being able at this moment to lay our hands on the original:—

“ La vaste forêt m’emprisonne,
Le merle jette au ciel son chant sonore,
Les joyeuses trilles des oiseaux remplissent les airs,
Et moi, je suis penché sur mon livre ligné,
J’entends la note claire du coucou lointain
Un beau gazouillis dans le vert manteau du bocage,
Dieu! qu’on écrit bien au pied de la colline boisée.”

One of the most famous of the copyists and illuminators of St. Gall was the monk Sintram, who wrote the *Evangelium Longum*,³ which is still preserved, and is one of the

¹ *Die Kongregation der Schottenklöster in Deutschland*, by Dr. Wattenbach, originally contributed to the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Archæologie und Kunst*, Leipzig, 1856, and translated by Bishop Reeves in the *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. vii., p. 237. Wattenbach had evidently never seen the *Book of Kells*.

² F. Tissot, *Récit. St. Gallois*, p. 78.

³ “ Hoc hodie est evangelium scriptura cui nulla ut opinamur par erit ultra quia cum omnis orbis Cæsalpinus Sintramni digitos miretur, in hoc uno ut celebre est triumphat. Sed et hoc in homine mirabile erat et singulare quod cum delicata ejus scriptura jucunde sit directa raro in pagina vel unius verbi mendacium invenias rasum.” (Ekkehart, p. 94.)

great treasures of St. Gall.¹ In the early times even the Latin works were written in Irish characters. Of these, only two complete volumes and a few fragments now remain. The others were destroyed by fire in different conflagrations at the abbey, or lost during the numerous wars and confiscations from which it suffered. The labour of transcription was often exceedingly wearisome, as attested by casual notes of the copyists on the margins, or at the end of the book. "Written with great trouble," is a common observation. "As the sick man desireth health," runs another, "so doth the transcriber desire the end of his volume." Another is of a happier temperament; for he writes:—

"Libro completo
Saltat scriptor
Pede laeto."²

Others, again, invoked imprecations on the heads of those who should presume, after all their trouble, to remove the book from the library. Thus one, who had just finished a copy of St. Jerome's translation of the Psalter, writes at the end:—³

"Auferret hoc in quis damnetur mille flagellis.
Judicioque Dei succumbat corpore pesti;"

and at the end of the prophets, he adds:—

"Si quis et hos auferat, gyppo, scabieque redundet."

The copyists were, no doubt, provoked to this rude method of defence. Noble visitors to the library often coveted, and

¹ "Quelles merveilles d'art, de calligraphie, de patience renferment ces manuscrits! Les capitales sont de couleurs diverses, le plus souvent rouge minium, enjolivées d'arabesques, ornées de petites peintures du pinceau le plus délicat. Après mille ans les couleurs en sont presque aussi vives qu'au premier jour. Le temps destructeur les a respectés. Nos moines avait leur secret venu de l'Irlande et l'ont emporté dans la tombe. Peut-être qu'un naturaliste dans quelque station zoologique marine retrouvera un jour les coquillages dont ils se servaient et nous rendra leur belle encre inalterable. (F. Tissot, p. 108.)

² Amongst the other notes of frequent occurrence are "Hucusque Calvus Patricii scripsit;" "Tempus est prandii;" "Nox adest;" "Sancta Brigita intercedat pro me;" "Adjuva Xte; fave Brigita;" "In nomine Almi Patricii;" "Vae manus mea;" "Vae pectus meum, O Sacra Virgo."

³ *Geschichte der Stifts bibliothek von St. Gallen*, by Bibliothekar Weidman, p. 7.

obtained as presents, some of the best books that issued from the "Scriptorium." The Emperors Charles the Fat and Otho I. were great amateurs of books; and on the occasions of their visits to the monastery had to be accommodated in this way. "Who would have thought," writes the chronicler, speaking of Otho, "that so powerful a brigand would stoop to pillage the cloister and rob a poor community of monks?"

The library of St. Gall remains to the present day one of the richest in Europe. It contains over twenty thousand volumes of very rare and costly books. It counts, moreover, one thousand five hundred manuscripts, and a large number of fragments and stray quaternios or sheets which embrace all kinds of works—pagan, Christian, prose, poetry, Greek, Latin, German. Early in the ninth century the whole catalogue was composed of about twenty volumes of Latin, written in Irish characters—*Libri Scottice Scripti*. We give them below¹ as they are found in the catalogue of Weidman, published in 1841. Of these there is now but one solitary volume remaining. It is the *Gospel of St. John*, written on good parchment, and in large, clear Irish letters. It is certain, however, that all the old Irish books are not included in this list, for one whole book of the Gospels in similar handwriting is still extant. It is supposed to have been brought to St. Gall by Marcellus or Marcus. These two works are splendid specimens of calligraphy. They are

¹ LIBRI SCOTTICE SCRIPTI.

Metrum Juveni, vol. i.; *Epistolae Pauli*, vol. i.; *Actus Apostolorum*, vol. i.; *Epistolae Canonicae VII.*, in vol. i.; *Tractatus Bedae in Prorerebiu Salamonis*, vol. i.; *Ezechiel Propheta*, vol. i.; *Evangelium secundum Johannem*, vol. i.; *Enchiridion Augustini*, vol. i.; *Item Metrum Juveni*, vol. i.; *Apocalypsis*, vol. i.; *Metrum Sedulii*, vol. i.; *De Gradibus Ecclesiasticis*, vol. i.; *Arithmetica Boetii*, vol. i.; *Missalis*, vol. i.; *Vita Sancti Hilarii*, in Codicillo i.; *Passio Sanctorum Martyrum Marcellini et Petri*. *Metrum Virgilii*, in vol. i.; *Ejus glosa in altero*; *Quaternio I. de Inventione Corporis Scti. Stephani*; *Quaternio I. de relatione translationis Sci. Galli in novam Ecclesiam*; *Beda de Arte Metrica in quaternionibus*; *Instructio Ecclesiastici ordinis*, in Codicillo i.; *Liber I. Genesis, in quaternionibus*; *Actus Apostolorum et Apocalypsis*, in vol. i. veteri; *Quaternio I. in Natali Innocentium legendus*; *Orationes et sententiae variae*, in vol. i.; *Orationes in quaternionibus*; *Expositio in Cantica Cantecorum in quaternionibus*; *Item in Regum, quaterni*. (*Geschichte der Stifts Bibliothek von St. Gallen von Bibliothekar Weidman*, p. 364.)

based on the *Vetus Itala* version of the Bible which was the only version used in Ireland until St. Finian of Moville brought over St. Jerome's translation which he received as a present from Pope Palagius in 557. They agree, moreover, almost without a variant, with the *Vercelli Codex* published by Father Bianchini, in 1749. In addition to these there are several fragments of works written in Irish characters, and contained chiefly in the Codices Nos. 1394-1395 in the Library Catalogue. The Irish glosses of most importance in the library are those on Priscian's *Grammar*. They have been to a great extent deciphered and published by Zeuss. Amongst the valuable manuscripts of general interest to be seen in the cases are nine palimpsests or "Codices rescripti" of the fifth and sixth centuries; a complete Bible of the ninth century, in royal folio; the "Psalter of Notker," in Latin and German; the "Psalter of Folchard;" the "Psalterium Aureum;" the "Evangelium Longum," all of which are written in Roman characters but decorated in Celtic style. There are two homilies of St. Isidore of Seville, written on Egyptian papyrus, dating from the seventh century; the Antiphonarium of Pope Gregory the Great; four missals from the tenth century; the four books of the *Odes* of Horace, the *Satires* of Juvenal, Lucan's *Pharsalia*, a few works of Ovid and Statius, all from the ninth or tenth centuries. The most important manuscripts in the modern tongue comprise very early copies of the *Nibelungenlied*, and of the romances and exploits of Percival and Roland. Soon after the invention of printing, in 1450, several exceedingly rare books were procured for the monastery. There are two Bibles, one Latin and one German, dating from 1464 and 1466, respectively; the Commentaries of Nicholas of Lyra, published at Strasburg, in 1492; a Commentary of St. Thomas of Aquin on the *De Consolatione Philosophiae* of Boëthius, printed by Octavian Skotus of Venice, in 1494; several very early copies of the *Imitation of Christ*, from the presses of Strasburg and Nuremburg; the Missals of Chur, Augsburg, Constance and Basel, from 1483 to 1497. In addition to these, nearly all the great valuable collections illustrating

the sciences of theology, history, and philosophy, are to be found there. Indeed it is one of the peculiarities of the library of St. Gall, that nearly all its works are rare and costly. The early cultivation in its schools of the science as well as of the art of music makes it also a favourite resort for those who are interested in the history of the notation of music and the primitive trials of counterpoint and harmony.

After the Council of Constance, the Roman Curia sent a commission, composed of three "savants," to examine the library, and obtain copies of the works of any of the ancient writers that they might discover there. These three men were Poggio, Cencio, and Bartolomeo di Monte Politiano. They discovered a large portion of the *Argonauticon* of Valerius Flaccus; eight speeches of Cicero, bound up in a speech of Q. Asconius Pedianus; a small work by Lactantius, *De Utroque Homine*; the work of Vitruvius, on Architecture; Priscian's treatise on Grammar.¹ A complete Quintilian (*adhuc salvum et incolumen*) was found by Poggio hidden away in an old tower, under a heap of rubbish. Several other works of minor importance were also discovered; and the learned world was in ecstasy, particularly in Italy. Niebuhr's researches were not so fruitful. The poem of Merobaudes seems to have been the only thing of importance brought to light by him. There is no library in Europe, in which the work of research is easier than at St. Gall. This is chiefly due to the intelligence and foresight of two distinguished librarians of last century, Father Pius Kolb and Father Ildephonsus von Arx, who had all the manuscripts carefully catalogued and arranged in order, and to the most obliging and painstaking priest, Dr. Kah, who has charge of the library at the present time.

From the beginning of the thirteenth century the intellectual glory of St. Gall gradually declined. The

¹Zeuss published a good portion of the Irish glosses in this work in his *Grammatica Celtica*, pp. 1008-1022. In the Introduction he says: "Codex Prisciani Sancti Galli magnam glossarum molem præbus . . . Discerni in hoc codice possunt tres glossatorum manus, una generalis per totum Codicem, diligens et clara in paucis tantum columnis locum cedens alteri manui; tertia manus hic vel illic quasdam ad, spersit glossulas."

monastery got mixed up in the political disputes of the empire and in the social troubles of later times. In 1204, its Abbot Ulrich Baron of Hohensax, was made a Prince of the German Empire, and his successors retained the title till the French Revolution. One of them led an army against Rudolf of Hapsburg, in 1280, to maintain the rights of the monastery, and they all had to contend with the revolutionary spirit of their vassals and serfs, who on several occasions made organized attempts to shake off the claims of the monastery. In 1795 a general insurrection of the tenants and labourers took place, and the Abbot Beda yielded to nearly all their demands. Cardinal Buoncompagni, Secretary of State to Pope Pius VII., negotiated a settlement between the Swiss Government and the authorities of the monastery. In 1806, however, the revolutionists got the upper hand, and the monastery was suppressed. During all these years the moral character of St. Gall was perfectly sound. In this respect its enemies had never a word to say against it. The tone and spirit may have been worldly, but the personal lives of its monks were beyond the breath of reproach. In the seventeenth century it had even a short revival of its old intellectual spirit. It was during the time that the learned Cardinal Sfondrati was Abbot of the monastery. This great canonist, theologian, and devoted churchman, was buried in Rome, in the church of St. Caecilia; but he bequeathed his heart to St. Gall, where it is now enshrined in one of the chapels off the choir. Beneath the eloquent inscription that records the merits of the great abbot may be seen the words:—

“ Bene sperate.”

“ Ego dormio, sed cor meum vigilat.”

“ Vigilate.”

The buildings of the great old monastery are now used for State purposes. The library alone has been left under the care of the bishop, who appoints the librarian. The splendid Cathedral of St. Gall, with its fine choir, its rich frescoes and windows, has always remained in Catholic hands. It is one of the most spacious churches in Europe; and, what is better still, is well filled at the Masses and evening services.

Before we take leave of the monastery we must not neglect to mention that at the rear of the old building there was a spacious enclosure surrounded by high walls, and intersected within by rows of shrubs and cypress trees. It was the last resting-place of the monks and their dependents. This field of death, "ager mortis" as it was called, saw the end of many an interesting career. It witnessed many a touching scene which proved that the human heart was not dead under the cowl of the monk, and that the sacrifice of liberty and worldly enjoyment was amply soothed and rewarded by religion. Here lie the fathers and brethren of a thousand years, awaiting the blessed hope.

"Jusqu'au jour du grand reveil
On y trouve un doux sommeil."

Over their graves there is no name, no cross, no stone, but the green sward and the clear blue sky. Alone in the centre of the enclosure a large wooden crucifix arises and seems to embrace the land around it. At its base are inscribed the solemn words:—

"Of all the trees of the earth the holy cross alone bears fruit that tastes of life eternal." ¹

In the graves around lie the ashes of many Irish monks who in the ardour of faith and through love of learning and higher things became voluntary exiles. They sleep far away from their native land of Erin. But nature took their mortal bodies back to her bosom on a friendly soil. On the last day they shall rise around their Blessed Father Gall to receive the reward of their labours. Meanwhile the lofty mountains which they loved keep guard around their earthly dwellings, and their dirge is murmured for ever by the swaying forest trees and the fall of the distant cascade.

J. F. HOGAN.

¹ "Inter ligna soli haec semper sanctissima crux est"

"In qua perpetuae poma salutis olent"

"Hanc circum lateant defuncta cadavera fratrum"

"Qua radiante iterum regna Poli accipiant."

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII., ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

THE least ardent admirer of Leo XIII. will find a freshness and a power visible in his recent Encyclical on the "Study of Sacred Scripture," which will dispel any idle apprehensions he may entertain that "his bays are sere, his former laurels fade." A more luminous and exhaustive exposition of doctrine and duty has never emanated even from his powerful and prolific pen. The grave importance and sublimity of his subject would appear to have brought into full play his wonderful concentration of thought and strength of diction; while for methodic and comprehensive treatment this document rivals even his most elaborate compositions.

HIS OBJECT

in addressing this long-deferred and momentous communication to the Universal Church, is to secure the co-operation of all his children, lay as well as clerical, in the twofold work of cultivating and spreading a deep reverence, love, and knowledge of the Sacred Scriptures, and of making due provision to defend the stronghold of inspiration against its numerous and envenomed assailants.

But to priests he appeals with special warmth and emphasis, defining their obligations in this matter clearly and in full detail. He quotes with marked approval the forcible statement of St. Jerome: "Ignorance of the Scriptures is ignorance of Christ." Above all, he insists, are preachers bound to breathe the spirit of the Sacred Writings, taking care to be thoroughly imbued with it by constant reading and devout meditation. Having established this by cogent argument and copious examples, commencing with that of our Lord Himself, he pronounces severe but well-deserved strictures on those preachers who hardly ever introduce a word or idea taken from Scripture, but who try to gain cheaply-purchased applause by stringing together

flimsy shreds of discourses and superficial ornaments, hurriedly collected from any and every other source at hand. Without running any risk of being considered hypercritical or unfair to the rank and file of our priests, who have sometimes indeed very little leisure for composing erudite discourses, we would ask them to read and re-read the portion of the Encyclical dealing with this matter—*nocturna versate manu, versate diurna*. Preaching is much commoner in our Irish churches now than it has been perhaps ever before; but does it bear the same deep impress of careful study; does it reflect so strongly the spirit and language of Scripture, as it did in former times?

In the sermons of Dr. Gallagher, for instance, the whole framework of each discourse is of distinctly Scriptural complexion, and the words have the strong flavour of close contact with the same inexhaustible storehouse of materials for pulpit oratory. The encomium St. Jerome bestows on the discourses of the Apostles—“*Conciones suas dictis Veteris Testamenti fere contexuerunt*”—might not unjustly be transferred to such preachers as this truly apostolic bishop. Fortunately for his hearers, the Bible, with the most approved of the old commentaries, and a few first-class works on theology, were the only books he had recourse to in preparing his unctuous homilies. His meagre library was not made up mainly of sermon-books, of which there exists such a mischievous plethora at the present day.

It is only by energetic and sustained efforts on the part of the bishops, by constant and zealous pleading on the part of conductors of diocesan retreats, and by the cheerful co-operation of priests themselves, that anything like a universal and successful movement in favour of cultivating an extensive and careful use of Scripture in sermons and lectures can be initiated. Everybody recognises and deplors the want, but individual exertion can effect little. The paternal voice of the illustrious Pontiff, addressing his widespread family of devoted children, will nowhere, we are confident, be hearkened to with prompter obedience and more lasting earnestness, than here in Ireland. The work mapped out for colleges, can only produce its results, in a

ripe and abundant measure, after some years ; in this part of the Encyclical, there is question of the missionary priest, who is assured that it is not enough to study the Inspired Word merely in the preparation of his public discourses, but that by constant meditation upon it, "his whole language should be seasoned with the deep unction of Scriptural reading"—*presbyteri sermo Scripturarum lectione conditus sit*. We are then reminded that the essential difference between the Sacred Scriptures and all other books whatever, and the main and ultimate foundation on which the dignity, excellence, and advantages of the former rest, is

INSPIRATION

This subject he deals with very exhaustively at a later stage ; and, as a fairly accurate knowledge of inspiration is an indispensable safeguard in reading the works of heterodox writers, it may not be out of place here to give a brief explanation of what it implies and what it excludes, in popular language.

In the production of the sacred depository of God's *Written Word*, four objectively distinct acts of the divine power are to be recognised as always necessary for inspiration. First: it was necessary that the will of the individual who was to be employed as the inspired medium, should receive an impulse to write. His intellect, in the second place, was to be enlightened and sustained, so as to understand, in the cases where it was desirable he should understand, for the purpose of committing them to writing, those truths, and those truths only, which God wished to have thus communicated to man. Thirdly, the mental faculties needed divine direction and control, to prevent omissions, and to check effectually any possible temptation to add new humanly conceived ideas. And, lastly, an essential element, so to speak, of the divine operation was the aid of the Holy Ghost in selecting suitable language in which to convey with accuracy and fulness the ideas to be expressed.¹ Is revelation, therefore, not an indispensably necessary condition

¹ Mazzella, *De Virt. Inf. Disp.*, iv., Art. iv.

to the existence of inspiration? To this question, a categorical answer, "No," can be readily and correctly given. But it may be well to explain what the word revelation means. In its etymological and strict acceptation, it is the "unveiling" of something previously hidden. Now, in the Sacred Scriptures we have clear evidence¹ of anxious solicitude, on the part of the writers, in ascertaining and investigating facts from the books or lips of others, or by personal observation. On the other hand, it is obvious that truths already clearly and fully in possession of the writer may, under the supernatural influence of the Holy Ghost, be made the subject of inspiration. Hence, as Franzelin observes, "*potest esse inspiratio verissima sive ad loquendum, sive ad scribendum citra revelationem illo stricto sensu acceptam.*" Of course, if the truths which the inspired writer is moved to transmit, be incapable of comprehension by the light of reason, and be actually unknown to him from any source, natural or supernatural, revelation, in its strictest sense, becomes an absolutely indispensable condition. This word, however, in its wider, but more usual acceptation, includes every species of divine operation, whatever faculty of the writer or speaker it may directly affect, which has for its object the manifestation of some truth to the Church. "Si vero," writes Mazzella, "*revelatio sumatur sensu latiori, pro locutione seu propositione quacunque veritatis scribendae, tunc evidenter est de ratione inspirationis.*" Thus understood, revelation is obviously implied in the four-fold divine operation explained above, and is, consequently, an essential factor in inspiration.

It might appear to follow that revelation is the less comprehensive term, being, in one sense, an accidental, and, in another sense, an essential constituent of inspiration. The reverse is the case; not all doctrines that are revealed have reached the Church through the medium of the Inspired Word. For all those truths have been revealed that have been, or can be at any future day defined and proposed to the faithful as the doctrine of the Church, in her capacity of

¹ 2 Macch. ii. 24-27; Luke i. 3; John xix. 36.

infallible interpreter and teacher, the “*custos et magistra verbi revelati.*” The solemn words of the Vatican Council, in which this doctrine is formulated and defined, are:—“*Porro fide divina et catholica ea omnia credenda sunt, quae in verbo Dei scripto vel tradito continentur, et ab ecclesia sive solemnī iudicio sive ordinario et universali magisterio tanquam divinitus revelata credenda proponuntur.*” Revelation, therefore, covers the entire domain of Catholic faith; inspiration is restricted to a part. In order to form a distinct and adequate notion of the import of the term “*inspiration,*” as applied to the Word of God, it is necessary to keep apart in our minds the two separate questions of the *nature* and of the *extent* of the divine operation. In what does it consist? And in the case of an admittedly inspired book, how far did the Holy Ghost influence the intelligent moral instrument, the writer of that book? The conditions requisite to constitute inspiration have been already enumerated; but it will contribute to a full and clear understanding of its *nature*, to state and explain the defined teaching of the Church on the subject, and to indicate briefly the main errors opposed thereto.

The unvarying belief and constant doctrine of the Church since it was first established, was formulated and solemnly defined by the Vatican Council as follows:—“*Eos [libros] vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet . . . propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.*” The phrase “*Deum habent auctorem*” had been repeatedly employed in the doctrinal decrees of councils and popes from the earliest times. We shall examine what precisely it means, when we come to treat of the *extent* of inspiration. The errors as to its *nature* may be ranged under four heads:—

1. Some maintained that the Godhead is the immediate author of even the most trifling and apparently unimportant tittle of information, suggesting even the words, the collocation, &c.; and, in a word, leaving nothing to be done by the writer but the bare mechanical work of inscribing on parchment the cut-and-dry matter. That the Holy Ghost thus dictated, as it were, the minutest details as well as the

substance; that He designed the precise form of expression; that He directed and superintended every stage in the progress of the work; that man was a mere instrument, whose function was similar to that of a modern copying-machine—this extreme opinion was advanced by the chief promoters of the pseudo-Reformation.

2. The antipodes of this error is the absolute denial of any influence exercised by the divine power on any faculty or sense of the biblical writers. This opinion is not entirely restricted to the Socinians and the Rationalists; some Protestants advocate it; while they contend at the same time that the Scriptures may be justly designated “divine” or “inspired,” not on account of the author, but on account of the matter.

3. A third erroneous and clearly heretical doctrine identifies “Inspiration” with the grace that sanctifies the soul, either freeing it from mortal sin, or augmenting the positive sanctification it already enjoys. This opinion, strange as it may appear, is not uncommonly held even by learned Protestants. Thus Archdeacon Lee in his work on the *Inspiration of Holy Scripture* devotes a great deal of space and argument to prove that “the character of that divine influence under which the Bible has been composed, is *specifically* distinct from those preventing and assisting graces of the Holy Ghost, which have been the gift of Christ to His Church.” His own views on the subject are, apart from the matter of justification, largely the same as the Catholic teaching; but he quotes a Mr. Maurice as reasoning in this way. “The Church of England uses the very word inspiration in a certain collect and communion service, as the object prayed for. Are we paltering with words in a double sense?”

4. Lastly, very many heretics—and the same view is erroneously attributed to Lessius—contend that Inspiration is nothing more than a purely preventive influence on the part of the Holy Ghost, initiating nothing, suggesting nothing, but securing the writer against errors of doctrine or of fact.

It is obvious that the second, third, and fourth of these

opinions are in direct antagonism to the teaching of the Church; the first is, on the face of it, untenable, but has not been condemned. The Vatican Council defines that certain books with all their parts are to be received as sacred and canonical, and are so regarded by the Church, "Non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati, nec ideo duntaxat quod revelationem sine errore contineant."

In regard to the *extent* of inspiration, those who embrace the first-mentioned error on the question of its *nature*, propound the extreme view as to *its extent*, already clearly set forth. In fact, they cannot state in what it consists, without defining its extent. Secondly, others contend that it is only in matters of grave moment that the divine power operated on the mind of the writer, leaving him to his own unaided energies and resources in the treatment of minute details of history, in doctrinal expositions of obscure dogmas that do not practically affect our spiritual well-being, in descriptions of men and things, &c. This view was propounded by Erasmus and, more recently, by Horne; indeed the latter author only recognises a divine interposition, in so far as to protect the writer against *grave* errors in matters of great importance. Traces of this doctrine are to be found in many Protestant writers.

Again, not a few of those who acknowledge that every sentiment, every idea, every sentence, and every clause in the Sacred Writings, have passed under the "digitus Dei," a divine censorship, as it were, deny that the influence of the Holy Ghost extended farther than to repress erroneous doctrines or statements of fact.

A fourth opinion, expressly condemned by the Vatican Council in words quoted above, ignores altogether the divine authorship of the Inspired Writings as originally composed, but maintains that the Church by her subsequent acceptance and approval of these writings, as sacred and canonical, invested them with the character denoted by the word "Inspiration."

The definition of Inspiration given above fully explains the received teaching of the most eminent theologians.

Every sentiment enunciated in the canonical books, as conceived by the sacred writers, was *inspired*, and the Holy Ghost exercised an infallible controlling influence in the selection of suitable language. This doctrine is not a *defined* dogma, claiming acceptance under pain of heresy. But it is, and has been, commonly taught; it is the only doctrine that at once harmonizes with the explicit teaching of the fathers, the arguments adduced by plenary councils, and the remarkably strong declaration of his Holiness in two passages of the present Encyclical: "At nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum Sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Non enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus se expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea pertinere, eo quod," &c. . . . "Consequitur ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sacrorum quid etiam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut Catholicam divinae inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem."

The instructive story of the Church's constant and triumphant labours in the cause of the Holy Scriptures, here narrated so vividly and succinctly, fills some of the brightest pages in the history of the Church, and disposes of all the stale calumnies of her adversaries on this score. But the Church requires new re-inforcements to meet her latest and most unscrupulous opponents—the Rationalists. Having described the origin and trend of their movement, and the machinery employed to further it, he lays down a complete and admirable code of

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addressed mainly to those responsible for the regulation of the Scriptural studies in colleges, where any reform of this kind, to be enduring and universal, must be inaugurated. It is gratifying to know that, in our Irish colleges, most of these instructions have been forestalled, with the most fruitful results. But the words of the Pontiff are not addressed exclusively to the heads of ecclesiastical colleges;

neither are these pages primarily intended for such. Hence, it may not be wrong to reproduce, here, a few of the instructions that apply generally to the whole body of the priesthood.

A sound knowledge of dogmatic theology is rigidly insisted on; and, should any doubt present itself as to the doctrinal bearing of a text, it is hardly too much to ask, that a standard author—the class-book read in college, for instance—be closely scrutinized, where that particular point is explicitly or impliedly treated. The very interest, inseparable from such an examination and comparison more than repays the trouble. There is entirely too little doctrinal instruction given from our altars and pulpits; *docete omnes gentes* applies primarily to matters of faith.

Every missionary priest is thoroughly cognisant of the existence and extent of the ordinance obliging him to adhere to the *Vulgate version* in all his public utterances, and of the immense light derivable from comparing it with the original Hebrew or Greek texts. This knowledge, remembered from his college days, is refreshed and strengthened every time he looks into A'Lapide, and the other commentaries he uses in preparing his discourses. Is he equally convinced of the importance and almost indispensable duty of keeping near his hand, on such occasions, a good text-book or reference book on the *Introduction to Sacred Scripture*, such as Cornely, Ubaldi, &c.? The proofs of the "integrity, authorship, and genuineness" of the Sacred volumes, we may, of course, remember; but contemporaneous events, customs, modes of expression, &c., it is impossible we could accurately keep in our minds for ever. Again, the laws of interpretation cannot be too frequently or too closely studied; indeed, the Encyclical gives us an invaluable abridgment of the more salient and essential principles.

Lastly, the cheerful and zealous assistance of Catholic scientists is solicited; that, by using their talents and attainments in the cause so dear to their mother, the Church, they may at once dispel the illusion, that true science is arrayed against her, as her natural enemy, and may furnish weapons

to their co-religionists, who cannot devote the same gifted minds, it may be, or, at all events, the same time and energy to any one special subject, not directly appertaining to their profession. Theologians are cautioned against interfering in things that belong to the domain of philosophy, and are requested to leave such matters, when a controversy arises, in the safe keeping of orthodox philosophers of position and name. The same wholesome rule holds all round. It could serve no useful purpose to allow those who have merely touched the fringes of such sciences as geology, for example, to undertake to conduct controversies with eminent specialists, on the chosen ground of the latter. But all catholic readers, and, still more so, preachers ought to keep before their minds the remarkable words of Augustine—"Si aliquid in eis offendero litteris, quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam." It is equally necessary that they realise the well-established truth, that the most distinguished scientists have frequently changed opinions they had pronounced unassailable, as his Holiness reminds us.

We conclude this most imperfect analysis of the Encyclical, on the "Study of Sacred Scripture," by requesting our readers to procure, scrutinize, and keep the original, scrupulously adhering to the injunction, it conveys. *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia Ejus.*

E. MAGUIRE.

TENNYSON AS DRAMATIST

IN some recent numbers of the I. E. RECORD we aimed at giving a critical analysis of Tennyson's principal works. It was our intention at the time to continue the series of articles until a comprehensive estimate of the distinguished poet's merits should be presented to our readers; but pressure of business of a more important nature supervened, and rendered a temporary interruption in such studies unavoidable. Within the last few weeks, however, we have tried to find leisure to resume the subject, and now submit our final essay on the remaining writings of the poet. His dramatic works form the only important department of his poetry on which we have not hitherto touched: to these, therefore, we shall confine our attention in the present paper.

That an author, who had attained the highest distinction in other fields of literature, should, at the advanced age of sixty-six, hazard his reputation by entering on a domain of intellectual work he had never previously attempted, was for many a matter of extreme surprise. There had been few examples in the history of English men of letters to justify such a venture. Neither had Tennyson's previous writings furnished any certain guarantee that the experiment would prove a success. In some few of his narrative poems he had executed some clever character sketches; but of incident or action, in the dramatic sense of these terms, there had been absolutely none. And a yet more serious cause for apprehension lest the new departure should result in failure was founded on the manner of life the poet had hitherto led. The seclusion of Farringford or Aldworth could have afforded him little experience of the art of stage management; while his naturally retiring disposition had drawn him far aloof from the turmoil of social life and the jarring interests of political controversy, which have always been regarded as the most fitting schools for the education of the dramatist. These circumstances combined to fill the admirers of the poet with serious misgivings about the success of his new undertaking; and their gloomiest

forebodings were justified in the event. Of the seven dramatic works written by Tennyson, that most generally admired—*Harold*—has never been represented on the stage; and the others, though variously curtailed and modified to suit the exigencies of the theatre, have enjoyed in turn the briefest possible period of toleration from the public. Even Mr. Irving's rendering of *Becket*, though sustained by exceptional talent and a display of scenic magnificence that is said to have cost thousands of pounds, soon palled upon the popular taste in England; nor is its success in New York, where it is being acted at present, likely to be more long-lived than at home. It may be asserted, therefore, with truth, that Tennyson's dramas form the least successful of his works; and that, when the present generation will have passed away, they will cease to claim the attention of the student of literature.

But for many readers they possess an interest from a totally different standpoint. Three of these poems express the views of a man of undoubted genius on three of the most important epochs in English history, and on the characters of the distinguished men who gave life and colouring to the movements associated with those epochs. Considered under this aspect, the works referred to will be found valuable additions to our already abundant treasury of English poetry; and though early associations and deep-rooted sectarian prejudices often blinded the author to the legitimate demands of truth and the earnest pleadings of virtue, yet his deliberate judgment on complex problems, which are constantly recurring for solution, deserves to be recorded in every adequate review of his writings. The events that led up to the Anglo-Norman invasion; the rival claims of Church and State, as represented by St. Thomas à Becket, on one side, and Henry Plantagenet on the other, leading up to a protracted struggle of the most far-reaching consequence to the ecclesiastical life of the country; the storm of passion, of mutual recrimination, of bloody persecution, that heralded the darkest days of the apostacy of England as a nation: such form the bases of his historical plays. Hence their worthlessness as dramatic compositions cannot deprive them of an intrinsic value as records

of genius on questions of great importance to the student of history. Nor are the four remaining dramas without a collateral interest also. The aim of the dramatist, Hamlet informs us, is "to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature, to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure." However wretched, therefore, these works may be from a purely literary point of view, they are interesting as furnishing evidence of their author's estimate of social virtue in England, and of the most suitable mental pabulum for the audiences to whose literary tastes he panders in these compositions.

The earliest of the historical dramas, *Queen Mary*, which was published in 1875, and subsequently acted by Irving's company at the Lyceum Theatre, deals with the life and character of Mary Tudor. The tone of the work throughout grates upon our Catholic instincts. In almost every page we detect traces of religious and political bias, which warps the feelings of the writer, and leads him to give a complexion to facts and statements that is unsupported by our most trustworthy historians. This, however, was the necessary consequence of the method pursued by the poet. Accepting Froude's picturesque but mendacious narrative as his only authority, he follows it faithfully in all its lurid details, and works up a picture of tyranny and fanaticism, before which the most ferocious description we have read of the Spanish Inquisition or of the Huguenot persecution under the Guises, seems tempered with moderation. The heroine of the play is the "Bloody Mary" of Protestant tradition. Her life is a perpetual oscillation between two concurrent passions—a hysterical woman's infatuation for a cold, designing foreigner, who is equally devoid of every sentiment of honour and every feeling of humanity; and a tyrant's reckless cruelty, whose wild thirst for revenge on her own subjects refuses to be slaked except by blood. The unrelieved wickedness of the character becomes the more revolting by contrast with the serene dignity and intellectual strength of Elizabeth, who, though occupying only a subordinate place in the drama, is so represented as at once to elicit the admiration of the reader. Conscious of her powers, she regards the ivane

policy of her sister with pity rather than contempt, and patiently bides her opportunity to restore the nation to its normal condition of political independence, and to win back its people once more to the fold of orthodox Protestantism. Cranmer, a victim of religious bigotry and persecution, dies a martyr's death; while Pole, an obsequious courtier, an unscrupulous ecclesiastic, becomes the favourite of royalty and the recipient of the highest dignity in the gift of Rome. Gardener, Bonner, Heath, Wyatt, Courtney, Stafford, Petre, and the numerous less important characters of the drama, so speak and act that their several parts accord with the central design of the poet, and contribute to form a picture of contrasted colours—the sincerity, the long-suffering, the righteous determination of the self-styled Reformers only serving to throw into relief the fatuity, the bigotry, the unrelenting cruelty of the Catholic powers of the time.

From even a cursory perusal of the work, the least experienced reader can infer the nature of its chief defects. There is no combination of incidents that can be dignified with the title of plot. The prominent events of Mary's reign are thrown into the form of dialogue, without the smallest regard for their suitability as materials for a drama; and, in consequence, many of the grandiloquent speeches have no more bearing on the catastrophe than on the death of Julius Cæsar. Thus the very first condition of Aristotle's "unity of action"—namely, that every part should in some way be connected with, and lead up to, the catastrophe—is violated. If it were permissible to compose drama after Tennyson's fashion, a writer might commence with Henry VII. and end with Queen Elizabeth, and call his work *The Tudor Dynasty*. How differently Shakespeare handles the materials from which he constructs his historical plays! He reads Holinshed or Plutarch, and seizes instinctively on the strong dramatic elements in the narrative; he determines one incident for crisis, and another incident for catastrophe, and around these he groups his acts and scenes and characters, in due order and proportion; and from the midst of this profusion and variety he builds up a work of art in which simplicity and unity shine

forth as conspicuous and attractive qualities. In this constructive faculty Tennyson was signally defective, and hence his comparative failure in the composition under review.

Nor is absence of dramatic unity the only technical feature of *Queen Mary* to which we are disposed to take exception; the personnel and character-sketching of the poem also are seriously at fault. There is no other dramatic work of our acquaintance in which, exclusive of a multitude of dumb-show figures, so many as forty-five characters take part in the action. The effect of introducing this exceptionally large number upon the stage is to bewilder the audience, and to render it impossible for them to understand the relation of each minor character to the protagonist. This peculiar defect of the work we can account for only on one hypothesis—that the poet deemed it right to honour every name he met in Froude with a place in the drama. But, notwithstanding the number of characters, there is not one that possesses the attractiveness that should invest the leading figures in any truly dramatic work. The queen has not a single feature that could inspire the audience to wish for either her success or failure. Philip is a compound of callous frigidity and designing cruelty—qualities that can excite little interest in either the student or the play-goer. And the whole crowd of fawning courtiers and wretched ecclesiastics, who compete to win the smiles of royalty, arouse the contempt rather than the sympathy of all who are not hypocrites or slaves. We have no hesitation, therefore, in stating that, in Tennyson's *Queen Mary*, notwithstanding its many beauties—for such all the poet's works contain—there are found elements of weakness which have already doomed it to failure as an acting play, and which, when the present generation will have passed away, will consign it to oblivion even for the student of literature.

Two years subsequently to the publication of *Queen Mary* (1877), *Harold*, the second of Tennyson's dramatic poems, appeared. Though it has never been publicly acted, it is much superior to its predecessor for stage purposes, and contains few of the glaring faults that are conspicuous

in the earlier work. In many respects the two compositions present a remarkable contrast. The events commemorated in *Queen Mary* belong to a period of history which is comparatively modern, and are based—or at least pretend to be based—on authentic records; the incidents described in *Harold*, on the other hand, belong to a much earlier date, and rest, for the most part, for their authority, on vague legendary tradition. Moreover, in *Queen Mary* the dramatic interest, if any, is based upon the importance of the period of history which it portrays; while in *Harold*, as in many of Shakespeare's works, the poet depends for his effects upon the bold and striking features of the chief characters in the play. Harold and William and Aldwyth and Edith, unlike the personnel of *Queen Mary*, embody very exceptional qualities, and yield the most appropriate materials for dramatic composition. All these differences were in the poet's favour. Yet so imperfectly did he take advantage of them that, of the two plays, *Harold* is the less commonly read, and the less frequently quoted as a specimen of the literature of the nineteenth century.

The subject of the poem carries back the mind to the stormy days that preceded the Norman conquest in England. Edward the Confessor wields the sceptre, while Earl Godwin and his sons are the most prominent representatives of the fierce valour of the time. Harold especially is a typical hero of the age. He has just reached man's estate, and is beloved by the people not less for his princely bearing and handsome person than for his wisdom in the council and his bravery in the field. The King, having no heirs of his own household, and Edgar Atheling, his next-of-kin, being incapacitated by mental weakness for the exercise of sovereign power, the nation have long looked on the brave young prince, in whose veins both Danish and Saxon blood are harmoniously commingled, as the rightful successor to the throne. But in Normandy there is a dangerous rival in the person of Duke William. At first his title is equivocal, being based on no better ground than a distant relationship to the mother of the Confessor; but circumstances lend it a validity it could not otherwise possess. Harold is shipwrecked on the

Norman coast, and, falling into hostile hands, is carried prisoner to the court of William. Here, with his hands on a casket of sacred relics, he is compelled to swear that he will relinquish his own claims to the crown of England, and use all his energies to secure it for his rival. No sooner is the oath recorded, however, than he repents of his weakness. Soon after, the Confessor dies, bequeathing his throne to Harold. The explicit nature of the bequest, and the unjust compulsion under which the fatal oath was extracted from him, determine him to assume the reins of power. This becomes the signal for war, not only in Normandy but at home. His brother, Tostig, rebels in the north; a second brother, Wulfurth, allies himself to William; and many Norman ecclesiastics, introduced by Edward into England, are in favour of their own countryman. Stamford Bridge is fought; but Harold has not time to enjoy the fruits of victory when he is hurriedly summoned to the south to defend his kingdom against the invader. Hastings, the scene of the fatal encounter, which Edward with the clear vision of a prophet predicted from his death-bed, witnesses the fall of the brave young king; and William, rioting amid the spoils of conquest that lie strewn in profusion around him, becomes the ruler of England.

These are the events that form the groundwork of the play; but for purposes of poetic embellishment other elements had to be introduced. The evil genius of the drama is Aldwyth, widow of Griffyth, King of Wales; and the jealousy begotten of the rival claims of this unhappy woman and Edith, a ward of the Confessor, to the love of Harold, supply the romantic element to the work. Harold's marriage with Aldwyth is one of political convenience; for Edith is the last to bless him as he enters the fatal field, and she alone can identify his body amid the reeking heaps of slain. Other interesting characters in the play are Stigand, created Archbishop of Canterbury by the antipope Benedict; the Norman Bishop of London; and Hugh Margot, a Norman monk. They are introduced for the purpose of throwing an instructive side-light on the ecclesiastical life of the time; and, indeed, from this point of view they are not totally devoid of interest for the student of history.

Harold, as we have seen, possesses many advantages over Tennyson's earliest dramatic work; yet it is by no means free from blemishes. Macaulay, in his eloquent essay on Lord Byron, says that the failure of that distinguished poet, when he undertook the rôle of dramatist, was due to his inability to paint more than two characters—his men being all modelled in himself, and his women on the low ideal that he had formed of womankind. The statement, in a modified sense, would apply also to Tennyson, as he appears in *Harold*. His characters, for the most part, speak Tennysonian; or, if he varies their style of utterance, failure is the inevitable result. We find evidence of a determination to render the dialogue realistic in the scene where Harold is thrown among the fishermen of Ponthieu; and it will be readily admitted that a more unsuccessful attempt at reproducing the conversation of low life could hardly be conceived. Another peculiar example of misconception, far less excusable than the preceding, is Harold's defence of our nineteenth century Anglicanism. The Pope is "a wolf," "a juggler;" sacred relics and ecclesiastical censures are subjects to excite the laughter of scorn; celibacy is an exploded superstition, and—

"At times

They seem to me too narrow, all the faiths
Of this grown world of ours, whose baby eye
Saw them sufficient."

But side by side with these defects and anachronisms are found lines of noble poetry, which, for originality of conception and eloquent beauty of expression, rival anything to be met with in the lyrical writings of the author. The scenes in which Edith appears are characterized by an idyllic simplicity in Tennyson's best style; and many passages of the dialogue between Harold and Stigand, if not in conformity with authentic history, are true at least to the loftiest conceptions of creative genius. Though *Harold*, therefore, can never rank in the highest class of dramatic compositions, yet it will always deserve attention for its many beauties of thought and expression, and will amply repay the most careful study of the reader.

The last of Tennyson's historical dramas, published in 1884, deals with a subject of more thrilling interest than either *Queen Mary* or *Harold*. *Becket* aims at a representation of the protracted struggle between ecclesiastical authority and civil power during the reign of Henry II. Though the author in his preface disclaims any intention to "meet the exigencies of the modern theatre," yet the work has been found capable of adaptation to the stage. Within the last year, owing to the popularity given it by Mr. Irving, the composition has been reviewed in most of the leading periodicals and newspapers in the kingdom. In the August number of the I. E. RECORD for 1893, an able article will be found on the subject by Rev. J. A. Howlett, o.s.b. We deem it unnecessary, therefore, to make further reference to it here. Hence nothing remains for us but to glance at the merits of the author's lighter and less important dramatic works; and the more briefly we discharge this inconvenient duty the better for the poet, for our readers, and for ourselves.

The Falcon, which is the least ambitious of Tennyson's lighter plays, is based on one of the tales of Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The poet follows the mediæval legend so faithfully, that a summary of the one will mean a summary of the other. The incidents are narrated in the ninth novel of the fifth day, and may be shortly stated as follows:—Federigo Alberighi, a young Florentine nobleman, having become the victim of an insane infatuation, squanders his property in vain efforts to win the hand of Giovanna in marriage. Reduced to poverty, he is obliged to remove to a small suburban farm, where a falcon is his only means of support. In course of time, Giovanna and her son take up their abode in the same locality. Suddenly the boy falls ill; but persuades himself that an unfailing cure for his malady would be the possession of his neighbour's favourite bird. The anxious mother, overcoming her natural feelings of repugnance to such an undertaking, visits Federigo with a view to gratify the boy's request; but in the exercise of hospitality, Federigo, having no other food at hand, serves up the ill-fated bird to dinner. Overcome by this wonderful self-denial on

the part of her host, Giovanna relents, and shares her ample fortune and her lot with the man she had so long despised.

Such is an epitome of the legend on which *The Falcon* is based; and the first thought that will occur to the mind of every reader is, whether in such a silly little romance any feature can be discovered that could justify a poet in raising it to the dignity of a drama. We can understand how Longfellow found in it materials for an admirable ballad;¹ but of dramatic action or characterization we can see in it absolutely none. That affection for a hawk might become the motive of important complications would, no doubt, be intelligible to Florentines of the fourteenth century; but an English audience entertain towards the mediæval pastime of falconry no sympathy that would enable them to realize the probability of the action. We are not surprised, therefore, that, though the play was brought before the public under the auspices of Mr. Irving, it was coldly received, and had to be withdrawn as soon as consideration for the author's feelings would permit.

In little more than a year after the appearance of *The Falcon*, Tennyson, undaunted by previous failures, announced his intention of publishing a new drama; and accordingly, in January, 1881, *The Cup* was staged at the Lyceum Theatre, amid a display of scenic magnificence of which all the London papers wrote eloquently at the time. For some months the play was unquestionably a great success; but this fact only proves to the impartial critic the low ebb that dramatic taste has reached in England. The plot is founded on the development of a passion that should never receive a concrete representation in a pure-minded community. Treachery, murder, and intrigue of the vilest character, form the salient points of the action; while there is no compensating moral, except that wickedness receives condign punishment in the end.

Synorix, formerly Governor of Galatia, was, on account of various acts of cruelty and peculation, superseded by Sennatus; and now, from motives of personal revenge, no

¹ See *Tales of a Wayside Inn*: "The Student's Tale."

less than to gratify a guilty passion, he determines to encompass the ruin of his rival's domestic peace. His schemes are on the point of succeeding, when Sennatus appears; a mortal conflict ensues, in which Synorix is victor; and the wife of the fallen chief is at the mercy of the murderer. In due course the nuptials are celebrated; but while the bridal festivities are in progress, a golden cup, a gift of the bridegroom to his bride, becomes the medium of a poisoned draught for the destruction of both.

Who could have foreseen in the author of *In Memoriam* and of the *Idylls*, a dramatist who would select such revolting incidents as the groundwork of a composition intended for the stage? The anomaly is explained only on the hypothesis that the once lofty genius became clouded by senility; that the once pure taste, which had portrayed the chivalry of the Round Table, grew gross when it undertook to pander to the passions of the vulgar crowd. No doubt there are found in this, as in all the other poems of Tennyson, passages of rare beauty; but the prevailing tone is so coarse that the attractiveness of its style cannot redeem it from condemnation. We may, therefore, be excused for dismissing the work without further comment.

The last of Tennyson's dramatic compositions that demands notice at our hands is *The Promise of May*. We should gladly forbear touching it at all, but that the mode of treatment we have adopted demands some brief reference to it. It would seem as if the poet's studies in lighter drama led him from bad to worse, until in the work before us he reached the very nadir of decency. The poem professes to describe the downward career of a professed, if not typical, agnostic, "a surface man of theories, true to none." Like all shallow men, he is aggressive; he ostentatiously proclaims his views, holding man to be "an automatic series of sensations;" he asserts his rule of conduct to be that of "a quietist, taking all things easily;" and openly avows that, since "night and silence" immediately follow death, he means "to crop the flower and pass." Nor do his acts belie his principles. As the slime on the grass marks the windings of the serpent, so a record of shame and sorrow follows him wherever he

turns. Innocence destroyed, hearts broken, homes blighted, beauty blasted and driven forth upon the world—these trace him like a shadow in his downward career of wickedness. The details of the plot are too revolting in their suggestiveness—and, it might be added, absurdity—for reproduction in these pages. Indeed we have already said enough to indicate the character of the play.

Repulsive as is the plot in outline, it leads to situations that are far more repulsive still. From beginning to end the work is bristling with improbabilities, and betrays errors in technique that a third-rate poet would have avoided. Uninteresting soliloquies, inopportune dances, unseemly squabbles in the presence of death, disguises and deceptions which common sense protests against as absurd—such are the ingredients of which this strange medley is composed. When to these is added the blatant effrontery with which the protagonist proclaims his principles of wickedness, we are not surprised that the play was hissed off the stage on the occasion of its first appearance, and that a distinguished member of the audience, the Marquis of Queensbury, rose to enter a public protest against Tennyson's "gross caricature" of agnosticism. Henceforth *The Promise of May* was doomed to irreparable failure, and every candid admirer of the Laureate regretted, as probably he did himself, that the work had ever been given to the world.

Since the publication of *The Promise of May*, another drama entitled *The Foresters*, and dealing with the exploits of Robin Hood, has appeared; but since it is not included in the published editions of his works, we are not in a position to estimate its merits. We have said enough, however, to enable our readers to understand "Tennyson as Dramatist." We believe we have established the contention with which we started, that he would have consulted more effectually for his reputation had he never attempted drama at all. But his failure as dramatist cannot dethrone him from the lofty eminence he has won in other departments of composition. As a lyrist he has never been excelled. As a narrative poet he has won renown which neither the asperity of critics nor the lapse of time can ever wholly destroy.

While the English language is spoken, *The Idylls of the King* and *In Memoriam* will continue to command attention. Nor will those who are most severe in condemnation of his later works venture to deny that he has enriched the literature of his country with many rare revelations of beauty, and many noble principles of honour, which have contributed to render men wiser and better than they had been before. That he was the first of contemporary poets—the interpreter of his age, the voice of his time—is now universally admitted; and when the historian of the future undertakes to study the nineteenth century from the literature it will have produced, nowhere will he find the spirit of enlightenment, of culture, and of progress, so faithfully, yet so beautifully, reflected as in the poetry of Alfred Tennyson.

JOHN J. CLANCY.

Liturgical Notes

THE FEAST OF THE TITULAR OR PATRON OF A CHURCH

WE have had occasion more than once, in replying to correspondents, to state that all priests attached to a church which has been blessed and dedicated to a patron or titular, are bound to celebrate the feast of that patron or titular as a double of the first class, with an octave. This manifest obligation is, we fear, sometimes left unfulfilled; and the excuse usually offered for this neglect is the difficulty of re-arranging the *Ordo* to meet the requirements of the new rite to which the feast must be raised. But this difficulty is almost, if not altogether imaginary, as we purpose showing in the course of this paper.

Titulars or patrons,¹ with respect to the *Ordo*, may be

The term titular is more comprehensive than patron; for whereas the former can be applied to the Divine Persons and to mysteries, as well as to creatures, the latter can be applied only to creatures, that is, to angels and saints. Thus we should not speak of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Saviour, the Redeemer, as the patron of a church, but as the titular; while we may speak of the Blessed Virgin, of St. Joseph, of the angels guardian, as either patron or titular.

divided into two classes—those whose feasts are already celebrated as doubles of the first class, with an octave, and those whose feasts are celebrated under a lower rite. With regard to the former, as is manifest, no change whatever has to be made in the *Ordo*, unless, perhaps, in one instance. The Feast of St. John the Baptist, though a double of the first class, with an octave, has not the *Creed* in the Mass. In churches, however, dedicated to this saint, the *Creed* should be said on the feast day itself, and on every day within the octave. This class of titulars is larger than might, at first sight, appear; for, besides the feasts in the general *Ordo* celebrated as doubles of the first class, with an octave, there is in each diocese (in Ireland) the feast of the patron of the diocese, which is celebrated under the same rite. Hence many priests celebrate the feast of the titular of their church by merely following the directions given in the *Ordo* for the general celebration of the feast. This is true with regard to churches dedicated to our Blessed Lady, under the title of the Assumption or of the Immaculate Conception, and also of churches dedicated to All Saints, to St. Joseph, to SS. Peter and Paul, and to St. Patrick (in Ireland). To these we may add the numerous churches in each diocese dedicated to the patron saint, for all which the directions in the *Ordo* suffice.

The other class of titulars is more numerous than the one of which we have just spoken; and it is this class only that presents any apparent difficulty. There are titulars in this class whose feasts range from doubles of the second class down to simples, and even some who find no place at all in the Breviary or Missal. With regard to all these, it may be said, generally, that the only difficulty involved in raising them to first class rite, and celebrating their octaves, consists in defining what commemorations are to be made, and what are to be omitted on the feast day itself, and in arranging for the octave day. For everyone knows that the *Creed* is to be said every day of the octave; that the office of the octave takes precedence of simple and ferial offices; that a commemoration of the octave is to be made in Vespers, Lauds, and Mass, on every day within the octave

on which a "feast of nine Lessons" falls, provided such feast be not of first or second class rite.

A commemoration may be made in first Vespers, in Lauds, Mass, or in second Vespers. The first Vespers of a double of the first class admit the commemoration of a preceding double of the first or second class, of one of the *greater Sundays*; that is, the Sundays of Advent, and the Sundays from Septuagesima till Low Sunday, both included; together with Trinity Sunday, the octave days of the Epiphany, Easter, the Ascension, and *Corpus Christi*, and the days within the octaves of Christmas, the Epiphany, and *Corpus Christi*.

In Lauds and Mass, on a double of the first class, a commemoration is made of an occurring Sunday, of an occurring *feria* in Advent, Lent, or Quarter Tense, of Rogation Monday, of octave days, and of the days within the octaves of Christmas, the Epiphany, and *Corpus Christi*.

Second Vespers of a double of the first class admit the commemoration of a following feast even of semidouble rite, but not of a day within an octave, unless the octave be one of the three mentioned above. They also admit the commemoration of an occurring or following Sunday, and of a *feria* in Advent or Lent

The octave day is the eighth day, counting the feast day as the first, and, of course, falls on the same day of the week as the feast. Now if this day be already occupied by a feast of the first or second class, the octave day is merely commemorated in Lauds, Mass, and both Vespers. But if it be occupied by a feast of double major, or double minor, or semi-double rite, the feast is transferred to the first day on which there is not already a feast of nine Lessons, which becomes its *dies fixa*, and the octave day is celebrated as a double minor. If no feast of nine Lessons, that is, no feast even of semi-double rite, occur on this eighth day, the octave day is, of course, celebrated under its proper rite, and a commemoration is made of an occurring simple, if there be such.

It is important to remember that there are seasons during which octaves of titulars, &c., are forbidden. The first of these, following the course of the ecclesiastical year, extends

from December 17 until the octave day of the Epiphany; the second extends from Ash Wednesday to Low Sunday; and the third from the eve of Pentecost until Trinity Sunday. Hence if the feast of a titular occur within any one of these periods, it is celebrated as a double of the first class, but without an octave. And if it occur some days before the beginning of one of those periods, the octave ceases with Vespers of the day preceding December 17, Ash Wednesday, or the eve of Pentecost, unless in the case in which any one of these days should be the octave day itself. For as there could be no commemoration of the octave day on the following day, there should be no commemoration of it on the preceding evening.

By referring to the *Ordo* for the present year, we can find an illustration of each of the points just mentioned in connection with the suspension of octaves. Ash Wednesday this year falls on February 7; and the day preceding, February 6, is the feast of St. Mel, patron of the diocese of Ardagh. In ordinary circumstances the feast of St. Mel should have an octave; but as it occurs this year on the very eve of Ash Wednesday, it has no octave. Again, February 7 is the octave day of the feast of St. Aidan, in the diocese of Ferns, of which St. Aidan is patron; but as will be seen by referring to the *Ordo*, the octave of St. Aidan, in the diocese of Ferns, ceases with None, and no commemoration of it is made in Vespers. But in the diocese of Kildare and Leighlin, February 7 is a day within the octave of their holy patroness, St. Brigid, and hence a commemoration of the octave is made in Vespers.

We subjoin the *Ordo* for churches dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene, and to St. Michael. By comparing these specimens with the general *Ordo*, it will be seen how few, and how easily made, the changes are:—

JULY

21. Sabb. SS. MARTYRUM GORCOMESIIUM, *dubl. d. f.* (*In Suppl. pro Rub. aliquib. loc. ad 9 Julii.*) 9 l. et com. S. Praxedis in L. et M. Vesp. de seq. (hymn. prop.) com. Dom. 10 (Ant. *Fecit Joas*) tant.
22. DOMINICA X. post Pentec. S. MARIE MAGDALENAE
Alb. POENITENTIS *dubl. 1 cl. cum Oct.* Off. prop. 9 l. et com. Dom in L. et M. *Credo* per Oct. Ev. ult. Dom. In 2 Vesp. com. seq. et Dom. tant.

23. Fer. 2. S. Apollinaris. Ep. et M. *dupl.* com. Oct. ac S. Libori
Rub. Ep. et C. in L. et M. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. et
 S. Christinae V. et M.
24. Fer. 3. (Vigilia S. Jacobi.) De iii. die Oct. *semid.* Ll. 1 N. de
Alb. Ser. occ. Lll. 2 et 3 Nn. ut in die festo, 9 l. et com. Vig. et
 S. Christinae in L. et M. *Credo.* Ev. ult. Vig. Vesp. de seq.
 sine com.
25. Fer. 4. S. JACOBI APOST. *dupl.* 2 cl. Com. S. Christophori M
Alb. in L. et M. (privata). *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. tant.
26. Fer. 5. S. ANNAE MATRIS B.M.V. *dupl.* 2 cl. *Credo*
Alb. In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. S. Mariae Magdalenae, et S. Pantaleonis M.
27. Fer. vi. De vi. die Oct. *semid.* Ll. 1 N. de scr. occ. Ll. 2 et
Alb. 3 Nn. ut in die festo. 9 l. et com. S. Pantaleonis in L. et M.
 3. Or. *Concede.* de B.M.V. *Credo.* Vesp. a cap. de seq.
 com. praec.
28. Sabb. SS. Nazarii et Loc. Mm. *semid.* Com. Oct. in L. et M.
Rub. 3 Or. *Concede* de B.M.V. *Credo.* Vesp. de die Octava (ut
 in l. Vesp. festi.) com. Dom. (1 Aug.—Ant. *Sapientia.* Or de
 Dom. 11.), Com. praec. et SS. Felicis et Soc. Mm.
29. Dominica xi. Octava S. Mariae Magdalenae, *dupl.* Ll. 1 N.
Alb. *Incip. Parab. Salomonis,* occ. caet. ut in die festo. 9 l. hom et
 com. Dom. et SS. Mm. in L. et M. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com.
 Dom. seq. et SS. Abdon et Sennen Mm.—*Alb.*
30. Fer. ii. S. Marthae, v. *semid.* (d.f. In Brev. heri.). 9 l. et com.
Alb. SS. Mm. in L. (*suffrag. SS.*) et M. 3 Or. *A cunctis.* Ad Prim.
Preces Dominicales, Vesp. de seq. com. praec.
31. Fer. iii. Hodie et deinceps ut in *Ordine Generali.*
Alb.

SEPTEMBER

28. Fer. vi. Ut in *Ordine Generali,* etiam ad Vesp.
29. Sabb. S. MICHAELIS ARCHANGELI, *dupl.* 1 cl. cum Oct. Omnia
Alb. propr. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. seq. (Ant. *O Doctor*) et Dom. 1
 Oct. (Ant. *Adaperiat Dominus.*—Oratio. Dom. 20.)
30. Dominica xx. post Pentec. et 1 Oct. S. Hieronymi, C. et D. *dupl.*
Alb. Ll. 1 N. *Sapientiam* de comm. Doctor. 9 l. et com. Dom et
 Oct. S. Michaelis in L. et M. *Credo.* Ev. ult. Dom. In
 2 Vesp. com. Dom. seq. et Oct.—*Alb.*

OCTOBER

1. Fer. ii. S. Remigii Ep. et C. *semid.* (m. t. v.) Ll. 1 N. *Incip. lib. 1.*
Alb. *Machabaeor.,* occ. heri. (Dom. 1 Oct.) com. Oct. in L. et M.
 3 or. *Concede* de B.M.V. *Credo.* non dicuntur *Suffrag. SS.* nec
Preces Dominicales. Vesp. de seq. com. praec. et Oct.
2. Fer. iii. SS. Angelorum Custodum, *dupl. maj.* Com. Oct. in L.
Alb. et M. *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct.
3. Fer. iv. De v. die Oct. s. d. Ll. 1 N. de Scr. occ. caet. ut in die
Alb. festo. In mis. 2 Or. *Concede.* 3 *Ecclesiae* vel pro Papa.
Credo. Vesp. de seq. com. Oct.

4. Fer. v. S. Francisci Assisii. C. *dupl. maj.* Com. Oct. in L. et M. *Alb.* *Credo.* In 2 Vesp. com. Oct. et SS. Placidi et Soc. Mm.
5. Fer. vi. De vii. die Oct. *semid.* Ll. 1 N. de Ser. Occ. *Alb.* Caet ut in die festo. 9 l. et com. SS. Placidi et Soc. in L. et M. 3. Or. *Concede, Credo.* Vesp. (1^{ma}) de Oct.
6. Sabb. OCTAVA DIE S MICHAELIS, *dupl.* Ll. 1 N. de Ser. Occ. *Alb.* Caet ut in die festo. *Credo.* Vesp. de seq. com. praec. et Dom. 2 Oct. (Ant. *Refulsit.* Or. Dom. 21.). Ad Complet. et Hor. *Jesu . . . qui natus.*
7. Dom. xxi. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
8. Fer. ii. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
9. Fer. iii. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
10. Fer. iv. Ut in *Ordine generali.*
11. Fer. v. S. Canici. *dupl. maj.* Ll. 1 et 2 Nn. de comm. Conf. *Alb.* non Pont. Ll. 3. N. et mis. de comm. Abb. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.
12. Fer. vi. S. Brunonis, C. (*m. t. r.—d. f.* In Brev. Oct. 6.) *Alb.* Ll. 1 N. de Ser. Occ. In 2 Vesp. com. seq.
13. Sabb. Hodie et deinceps ut in *Ordine generali.*

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

INDULGENCED CRUCIFIXES

REV. DEAR SIR,—I am very grateful for your opinion regarding the indulgenced crucifixes. I am aware that you have not, at any time, denied the existence of the privilege in question.

I have just received from the Secretary of Card. Melchers a printed document, a copy of which I enclose. It is as follows:—

“Son Eminence le Cardinal Melchers, de passage à Rome, étant encore Archevêque de Cologne, sollicita de Sa Sainteté Pie IX. l’insigne privilège de pouvoir appliquer sur les crucifix, qui lui seraient, en ce but, présentés, toutes les indulgences du Chemin de la Croix. Le Saint-Père consentit à faire droit à sa demande et, par *écrit*, lui accorda, dans *toute son étendue* la faveur désirée. Pourtant peu après, se retournant vers l’Archevêque, il lui dit : ‘Ce que vous m’avez demandé vous est accordé, mais avec les *restrictions ordinaires.*’ A quoi l’Archevêque répondit ; ‘Pardon Sainteté, *l’écrit ne renferme aucune restriction.*’ ‘Eh bien ! alors,’ répliqua le Saint-Père *confirmant* ainsi tout ce qui avait été fait : ‘*Quod scripsi, scripsi.*’

“Appelé à Rome en 1885 le Cardinal Melchers exposa à Sa Sainteté Léon XIII. les conditions dans lesquelles ce précieux privilège lui avait été concédé par son prédécesseur Pie IX., et son

extrême désir de le conserver ; ce que Léon XIII. voulut bien lui accorder *ad tempus vitæ*.

“ Donc, pour les personnes qui ont l’immense avantage de posséder un de ces crucifix il *suffit* pour gagner toutes les Indulgences du chemin de la croix.

“ 1. De tenir en main le crucifix,

“ 2. De reciter vingt Pater, Ave, Gloria.

“ Nota.—On peut ainsi faire son chemin de croix et gagner toutes les indulgences qui y sont attachées, *en santé comme en maladie, partout où on se trouve dans sa chambre comme ailleurs*, même dans une église, où le chemin de la croix serait érigé sans qu’il soit nécessaire de changer de place ni même de se lever à chaque station.

MONS. GRATZFELD, *Secrétaire et Auditeur*,

“ DE S. EM. LE CARDINAL MELCHERS.”

Your obedient servant,

A. B.

We feel very much obliged to our esteemed correspondent for all the trouble he has taken in having this question fully discussed, and satisfactorily solved. His present contribution, which we have much pleasure in laying before the readers of the I. E. RECORD, leaves no room for further doubt or uncertainty. Crucifixes blessed by Cardinal Melchers can be used to gain the indulgences of the Way of the Cross by the healthy as well as by the sick, by those who can easily visit a church where the Stations of the Cross are erected as well as by those who are confined to bed ; in fine, anyone who has the good fortune to possess one of these crucifixes can gain all the indulgences of the Way of the Cross by reciting, crucifix in hand, the prescribed prayers even in a church where the Stations are canonically erected. Our correspondent will confer an additional, and very great favour on us, if he will kindly inform us how we may procure one or more of these crucifixes.

OBLIGATION OF RECITING THE REQUIEM OFFICE AT
FUNERALS

REV. DEAR SIR,—The custom in Ireland is to give priests a stipendium for the celebration of a Mass, and attendance at the Requiem Office for a deceased friend. The celebration of the

Mass is, of course, a matter of strict justice, and the chanting of the office *in solidum*. But many priests contend that the material presence of each priest at the office is all that our Irish custom requires in strict justice, and that one may recite the office of his breviary during the progress of the Requiem Office and Mass; sometimes only one nocturn is recited without any scruple, and priests who miss a nocturn or two do not consider that they are bound by a strict obligation of justice to supply the omission.

1. Is each priest who receives a stipendium bound to recite the entire Requiem Office by a strict obligation of commutative justice?

2. Is he bound to be in the state of grace when reciting it?
O. S., OSSORIANUM.

1. No.

2. No.

THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

The following has been sent to us by an esteemed correspondent as a confirmation of what we stated in the I. E. RECORD for last month regarding the side of the church or chapel on which the first of the Stations of the Cross should be hung:—

REV. DEAR SIR,—With reference to the question of position in the erection of Stations of the Cross, I send you the following from Moutault, *Traité Pratique de la construction, &c., des Eglises*, note, page 13, tome 2:—

“An indifferens sit ut incipiant a cornu Epistolae et desinant ad cornu Evangelii aut vice versa?”

“Non est necessitate praecepti ut ad acquirendas indulgentias incipiendum sit pium exercitium Viae Crucis a cornu Evangelii.

“Nec est tamen consuetudo ac praxis generalis, quae piis est innixa congruentiae rationibus. In una Brugen, 1837.”

ATQUE.

D. O'LOAN.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.
LITTERAE ENCYCLICAE AD PATRIARCHAS, PRIMATES, ARCHI-
EPISCOPOS, ET EPISCOPOS, UNIVERSOS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

DE STUDIIS SCRIPTURAE SACRAE.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS, PRIMATIBUS, ARCHI-
EPISCOPIB, ET EPISCOPIB, UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM
ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM,

Providentissimus Deus, qui humanum genus, admirabili caritatis consilio, ad consortium naturae divinae principio evexit, dein a communi labe exitioque eductum, in pristinam dignitatem restituit, hoc eidem propterea contulit singulare praesidium, ut arcana divinitatis, sapientiae, misericordiae suae supernaturali via patefaceret. Licet enim in divina revelatione res quoque comprehendantur quae humanae rationi inaccessae non sunt, ideo hominibus revelatae, *ut ab omnibus expedit, firma certitudine et nullo admixto errore cognosci possint, non hac tamen de causa revelatio absolute necessaria dicenda est, sed quia Deus ex infinita bonitate sua ordinavit hominem ad finem supernaturalem.*¹ Quae supernaturalis revelatio, secundum universalis Ecclesiae fidem, continetur tum in sine scripto traditionibus, tum etiam in libris scriptis, qui appellantur sacri et canonici, eo quod *Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem, atque ut tales ipsi Ecclesiae traditi sunt.*² Hoc sane de utriusque Testamenti libris perpetuo tenuit palamque professa est Ecclesia: eaque cognita sunt gravissima veterum documenta, quibus enuntiatur, Deum, prius per prophetas, deinde per seipsum, postea per apostolos locutum, etiam Scripturam condidisse, quae canonica nominatur,³

¹ Conc. Vat., s. iii., c. ii., de Revel.

² *Ibid.*

³ S. Aug., de Civ. Dei, xi. 3.

eamdemque esse oracula et eloquia divina,¹ litteras esse, humano generi longe a patria peregrinanti a Patre caelesti datas et per auctores sacros transmissas.² Iam, tanta quum sit praestantia et dignitas Scripturarum, ut Deo ipso auctore confectae, altissima eiusdem mysteria, consilia, opera complectantur, illud consequitur, eam quoque partem sacrae theologiae, quae in eisdem divinis Libris tuendis interpretandisque versatur excellentiae et utilitatis esse quam maximae.

Nos igitur quemadmodum alia quaedam disciplinarum genera, quippe quae ad incrementa divinae gloriae humanaeque salutis valere plurimum posse viderentur, crebris epistolis et cohortationibus provehenda, non sine fructu, Deo adiutore, curavimus, ita nobilissimum hoc sacrarum Litterarum studium excitare et commendare, atque etiam ad temporum necessitates congruentius dirigere iamdiu apud Nos cogitamus. Movemur nempe ac prope impellimur sollicitudine Apostolici muneris, non modo et hunc praeclarum catholicae revelationis fontem tutius atque uberius ad utilitatem dominici gregis patere velimus, verum etiam ut eundem ne patiamur ulla in parte violari, ab iis qui in Scripturam sanctam, sive impio ausu invehuntur aperte, sive nova quaedam fallaciter imprudenterve moliuntur.

Non sumus equidem nescii, Venerabiles Fratres, haud paucos esse e catholicis, viros ingenio doctrinisque abundantes, qui ferantur alacres ad divinarum Librorum vel defensionem agendam vel cognitionem et intelligentiam parandam ampliorem. At vero, qui eorum operam atque fructus merito collaudamus, facere tamen non possumus quin ceteros etiam, quorum sollertia et doctrina et pietas optime hac in re pollicentur, ad eandem sancti propositi laudem vehementer hortemur. Optamus nimirum et cupimus, ut plures patrocinium divinarum Litterarum rite suscipiant teneantque constanter; utque illi potissime, quos divina gratia in sacrum ordinem vocavit, maiorem in dies diligentiam industriamque iisdem legendis, meditandis, explanandis, quod acquissimum est, impendant.

Hoc enimvero studium cur tantopere commendandum videatur, praeter ipsius praestantiam atque obsequium verbo Dei debitum, praecipua causa inest in multiplici utilitatum genere, quas inde

¹ S. Clem. Rom., *I. ad Cor.*, 45; S. Polycarp., *ad Phil.* 7; S. Iren., *Con. Haer.*, ii, 28, 2.

S. Chrys., *in Gen. Hom.* 2, 2; S. Aug., *in Ps. xxx.*, Serm. ii. 1; S. Greg., *M. ad Theod.*, Ep. iv. 31.

novimus manaturas, sponsore certissimo Spiritu Sancto: *Omnis Scriptura divinitus inspirata, utilis est ad docendum, ad arguendum, ad corripiendum, ad erudiendum in justitia, ut perfectus sit homo Dei, ad omne opus bonum instructus.*¹ Tali sane consilio Scripturas a Deo esse datas hominibus, exempla ostendunt Christi Domini et Apostolorum. Ipse enim qui “miraculis conciliavit auctoritatem, auctoritate meruit fidem, fide contraxit multitudinem,”² ad sacras Litteras, in divinae suae legationis munere, appellare consuevit: nam per occasionem ex psis etiam sese a Deo missum Deumque declarat; ex ipsis argumenta petit ad discipulos erudiendos, ad doctrinam confirmandam suam; earumdem testimonia et a calumniis vindicat obtrectantium, et Sadducaeis ac Phariseis ad coarguendum opponit, in ipsumque Satanum, impudentius sollicitantem, retorquet; easdemque sub ipsum vitae exitum usurpavit, explanavitque discipulis redivivus, usque dum ad Patris gloriam ascendit.

Eius autem voce praeceptisque Apostoli conformati, tametsi dabat ipse *signa et prodigia fieri per manus eorum,*³ magnum tamen efficacitatem ex divinis traxerunt Libris, ut christianam sapientiam late gentibus persuaderent, ut Iudaeorum pervicaciam frangerent, ut haereses comprimerent erumpentes. Id apertum ex ipsorum concionibus, in primis Beati Petri, quas, in argumentum firmissimum praescriptionis novae, dictis veteris Testamenti fere contexuerunt; idque ipsum patet ex Matthaei et Joannis Evangeliiis atque ex Catholicis, quae vocantur, epistolis; luculentissime vero ex eius testimonio qui “ad pedes Gamalielis Legem Moysi et Prophetas se didicisse gloriatur, ut armatus spiritualibus telis postea diceret confidenter: *Arma militiae nostrae non carnalia sunt, sed potentia Deo.*”⁴

Per exempla igitur Christi Domini et Apostolorum omnes intelligant, tirones praesertim militiae saerae, quanti faciendae sint divinae Litterae, et quo ipsi studio qua religione ad idem veluti armamentarium accedere debeant. Nam catholicae veritatis doctrinam qui habeant apud doctos vel indoctos tractandam, nulla uspiam de Deo, summo et perfectissimo bono, deque operibus gloriam caritatemque ipsius prodentibus, suppetet eis vel cumulator copia vel amplior praedicatio. De Servatore autem humani generis nihil uberius expressiusve quam ea, quae

¹ 2 Tim. iii. 16, 17.

² S. Aug., *de Util. Cred.*, xiv. 32.

³ Acts xiv. 3.

⁴ S. Hier., *de Studio Script.* ad Paulin, Ep. liii. 3.

in universo habentur Bibliorum contextu; recteque affirmavit Hieronymus, "ignorationem Scripturarum esse ignorantem Christi":¹ ab illis nimirum extat, veluti viva et spirans, imago eius, ex qua levatio malorum, cohortatio virtutum, amoris divini invitatio mirifice prorsus diffunditur. Ad Ecclesiam vero quod attinet, institutio, natura, munera, charismata eius tam crebra ibidem mentione occurrunt, tam multa pro ea tamque firma prompta sunt argumenta, idem ut Hieronymus verissime edixerit: "Qui sacrarum Scripturarum testimoniis roboratus est, is est propugnaculum Ecclesiae."² Quod si de vitae morumque conformatione et disciplina quaeratur, larga indidem et optima subsidia habituri sunt viri apostolici: plena sanctitatis praescripta, suavitate et vi condita hortamenta, exempla in omni virtutum genere insignia; gravissima accedit, ipsius Dei nomine et verbis, praemiorum in aeternitatem promissio, denunciatio poenarum.

Atque haec propria et singularis Scripturarum virtus, a divino afflatu Spiritus Sancti profecta, ea est quae oratori sacro auctoritatem addit, apostolicam praebet dicendi libertatem, nervosam victricemque tribuit eloquentiam. Quisquis enim divini verbi spiritum et robur eloquendo refert, ille, *non loquitur in sermone tantum, sed et in virtute et in Spiritu Sancto et in plenitudine multa.*³ Quamobrem ii dicendi sunt praepostere improvideque facere, qui ita conciones de religione habent et praecepta divina enuntiant, nihil ut fere afferant nisi humanae scientiae et prudentiae verba, suis magis argumentis quam divinis innixi. Istorum scilicet orationem, quantumvis nitentem luminibus, languescere et frigere necesse est, utpote quae igne careat sermonis Dei,⁴ eandemque, longe abesse ab illa qua divinus sermo pollet virtute: *Vivus est enim sermo Dei et efficax et penetrabilior omni gladio ancipiti, et pertingens usque ad divisionem animae ac spiritus.*⁵ Quamquam, hoc etiam prudentioribus assentiendum est, inesse in sacris Litteris mire variam et uberem magnisque dignam rebus eloquentiam: id quod Augustinus pervidit diserteque arguit,⁶ atque res ipsa confirmat praestantissimorum in oratoribus sacris, qui nomen suum assiduae Bibliorum consuetudini piaque meditationi se praecipue debere, grati Deo affirmarunt.

Quae omnia Ss. Patres cognitione et usu quum exploratissima haberent, nunquam cessarunt in divinis Litteris earumque fructi-

¹ *In Is. Prol.*

² *In Is.*, liv. 12.

³ *1 Thess. i. 5.*

⁴ *Jerem. xxiii. 29.*

⁵ *Heb. iv. 12.*

⁶ *De Doct. Chr.*, iv. 6, 7.

bus collaudandis. Eas enimvero crebris locis appellant vel thesaurum locupletissimum doctrinarum caelestium,¹ vel perennes fontes salutis,² vel ita proponunt quasi prata fertilia et amoenissimos hortos, in quibus grex dominicus admirabili modo reficiatur et delectetur.³ Apte cadunt illa S. Hieronymi ad Nepotianum clericum: "Divinas Scripturas saepius lege, imo nunquam de manibus tuis sacra lectio deponatur; discere quod doceas . . . sermo presbyteri Scripturarum lectione conditus sit;"⁴ convenitque sententia S. Gregorii Magni, quo nemo sapientius pastorum Ecclesiae descripsit munera. "Necesse est, inquit, ut qui ad officium praedicationis excubant, a sacrae lectionis studio non recedant."⁵

Hic tamen libet Augustinum admonentem inducere, "Verbi Dei inanem esse forinsecus praedicatorem, qui non sit intus auditor,"⁶ eumque ipsum Gregorium sacris concionitaribus praecipientem, "ut in divinis sermonibus, priusquam aliis eos proferant, semetipsos requirant, ne insequentes aliorum facta se deserant."⁷ Sed hoc iam, ab exemplo et documento Christi, qui *coepit facere et docere*, vox apostolica late praemonuerat, non unum allocuta Timotheum, sed omnem clericorum ordinem, eo mandato: *Attende tibi et doctrinae, insta in illis; hoc enim faciens, et teipsum salvum facies, et eos qui te audiunt.*⁸ Salutis profecto perfectionisque et propriae et alienae eximia in sacris Litteris praesto sunt adiumenta, copiosius in Psalmis celebrata; iis tamen, qui ad divina eloquia, non solum mentem afferant docilem atque attentam, sed integrae quoque piaequae habitum voluntatis. Neque enim eorum ratio librorum similis atque communium putanda est; sed, quoniam sunt ab ipso Spiritu Sancto dictati, resque gravissimas continent multisque partibus reconditas et difficiliores, ad illas propterea intelligendas exponendasque semper ejusdem Spiritus "indigemus adventu,"⁹ hoc est lumine et gratia ejus: quae sane, ut divini Psaltae frequenter instat auctoritas, humili sunt precatione imploranda, sanctimonia vitae custodienda.

¹ S. Chrys., in *Gen. Hom.*, 21, 2; *Hom.*, 60, 3; St. Aug., *de Discipl. Chr.*, 2.

² S. Athan., *ep. fest.*, 39.

³ S. Aug., *Serm.*, 26, 24; St. Ambr., in *Ps. cxviii. Serm.*, 19, 2.

⁴ S. Hier. *de vit. cleric.* ad Nepot.

⁵ S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* ii. 11 (al 22); *Moral.* xviii. 26 (al 14.)

⁶ S. Aug. *Serm.* 179, 1.

⁷ S. Greg. M., *Regul. past.* iii., 24 (al. 48).

⁸ 1 Tim. iv. 16.

⁹ S. Hier. in *Mich.*, 1. 10.

Praeclare igitur ex his providentia excellit Ecclesiae, quae, *ne caelestis ille sacrorum Librorum thesaurus quem Spiritus Sanctus summa liberalitate hominibus tradidit, neglectus iaceret,*¹ optimis semper et institutis et legibus cavit. Ipsa enim constituit, non solum magnam eorum partem ab omnibus suis ministris in quotidiano sacrae psalmodiae officio legendam esse et mente pia considerandam, sed eorundem expositionem et interpretationem in ecclesiis cathedralibus, in monasteriis, in conventibus aliorum regularium, in quibus studia commode vigere possint, per idoneos viros esse tradendam; diebus autem saltem dominicis et festis solemnibus fideles salutaribus Evangelii verbis pasci, restricte iussit.² Item prudentiae debetur diligentiaeque Ecclesiae cultus ille Scripturae sacrae per aetatem omnem vividus et plurimae ferax utilitatis.

In quo, etiam ad firmanda documenta hortationesque Nostras, iuvat commemorare quemadmodum a religionis christianae initiis, quotquot sanctitate vitae rerumque divinarum scientia floruerunt, ii sacris in Litteris multi semper assidueque fuerint. Proximos Apostolorum discipulos, in quibus Clementem Romanum, Ignatium Antiochenum, Polycarpum, tum Apologetas, nominatim Justinum et Irenaeum, videmus epistolis et libris suis, sive ad tutelam sive ad commendationem pertinerent catholicorum dogmatum, e divinis maxime Litteris fidem, robur, gratiam omnem pietatis arcessere. Scholis autem catecheticis ac theologicis in multis sedibus episcoporum exortis, Alexandrina et Antiochena celeberrimis, quae in eis habebatur institutio, non alia prope re, nisi lectione, explicatione, defensione divini verbi scripti continebatur. Inde plerique prodierunt Patres et scriptores, quorum operosis studiis egregiisque libris consecuta tria circiter saecula ita abundarunt, ut aetas biblicae exegeseos aurea jure ea sit appellata.

Inter orientales principem locum tenet Origenes, celeritate ingenii et laborum constantia admirabilis, cujus ex plurimis scriptis et immenso Hexaplorum opere deinceps fere omnes hauserunt. Adnumerandi plures, qui hujus disciplinae fines amplificaverunt: ita, inter excellentiores tulit Alexandria Clementem, Cyrillum; Palaestina Eusebium, Cyrillum alterum; Cappadocia Basilium Magnum, utrumque Gregorium, Nazianzenum et Nyssenum; Antiochia Joannem illum Chrysostomum,

¹ Conc. Trid., sess. v., *decret. de reform.*, 1.

² *Ibid.*, 1-2.

in quo hujus peritia doctrinae cum summa eloquentia certavit. Neque id praeclare minus apud occidentales. In multis qui se admodum probavere, clara Tertulliani et Cypriani nomina, Hilarii et Ambrosii, Leonis et Gregorii Magnorum; clarissima Augustini et Hieronymi: quorum alter mire acutus extitit in perspicienda divini verbi sententia, uberrimusque in ea deducenda ad auxilia catholicae veritatis, alter a singulari Bibliorum scientia magnisque ad eorum usum laboribus, nomine Doctoris maximi praeconio Ecclesiae est honestatus.

Ex eo tempore ad undecimum usque saeculum, quamquam hujusmodi contentio studiorum non pari atque antea ardore ac fructu viguit, viguit tamen, opera praesertim hominum sacri ordinis. Curaverunt enim, aut quae veteres in hac re fructuosiora reliquissent deligere, eaque apte digesta de suisque aucta pervulgare, ut ab Isidoro Hispalensi, Beda, Alcuino factum est in primis; aut sacros codices illustrare glossis, ut Valafridus Strabo et Anselmus Laudunensis, aut eorundem integritati novis curis consulere, ut Petrus Damianus et Lanfrancus fecerunt.

Saeculo autem duodecimo allegoricam Scripturae enarrationem bona cum laude plerique tractarunt: in eo genere S. Bernardus ceteris facile antecessit, cujus etiam sermones nihil prope nisi divinas Litteras sapiunt. Sed nova et laetiora incrementa ex disciplina accessere *Scholasticorum*. Qui, etsi in germanam versionis latinae lectionem studuerunt inquirere, confectaue ab ipsis *Correctoria biblica* id plane testantur, plus tamen studii industriaeque in interpretatione et explanatione collocaverunt. Composite enim dilucideque, nihil ut melius antea, sacrorum verborum sensus varii distincti; cujusque pondus in re theologica perpensum; definitae librorum partes, argumenta partium; investigata scriptorum proposita; explicata sententiarum inter ipsas necessitudo et connexio: quibus ex rebus nemo unus non videt quantum sit luminis obscurioribus locis admotum. Ipsorum praeterea de Scripturis lectam doctrinae copiam admodum produnt, tum de theologia libri, tum in easdem commentaria; quo etiam nomine Thomas Aquinas inter eos habuit palmam.

Postquam vero Clemens V. decessor Noster Athenaeum in Urbe et celeberrimas quasque studiorum Universitates litterarum orientalium magisteriis auxit, exquisitius homines nostri in nativo Bibliorum codice et in exemplari latino elaborare coeperunt. Reverta deinde ad nos eruditione Graecorum, multoque magis arte nova libraria feliciter inventa, cultus Scripturae

sanctae latissime accrevit. Mirandum est enim quam brevi aetatis spatio multiplicata praelo sacra exemplaria, *vulgata* praecipue, catholicum orbem quasi compleverint: adeo per id ipsum tempus, contra quam Ecclesiae hostes calumniantur, in honore et amore erant divina volumina.

Neque praetereundum est, quantus doctorum virorum numerus, maxime ex religiosis familiis, a Viennensi Concilio ad Tridentinum, in rei biblicae bonum provenerit: qui et novis usi subsidiis et variae eruditionis ingeniique sui segetem conferentes, non modo auxerunt congestas maiorum opes, sed quasi munierunt viam ad praestantiam subsequuti saeculi, quod ab eodem Tridentino effluxit, quum nobilissima Patrum aetas propemodum rediisse visa est. Nec enim quisquam ignorat, Nobisque est memoratu jucundum, decessores Nostros, a Pio IV. ad Clementem VIII., auctores fuisse ut insignes illae editiones adornarentur versionum veterum, *Vulgatae* et *Alexandrinae*; quae deinde, Sixti V. eiusdemque Clementis jussu et auctoritate, emissae, in communi usu versantur. Per eadem autem tempora, notum est, quum versiones alias Bibliorum antiquas, tum polyglottas Antuerpiensem et Parisiensem, diligentissime esse editas, sinceræ investigandae sententiae peraptas: nec ullum esse utriusque Testamenti librum, qui non plus uno nactus sit bonum explanatorem, neque graviozem ullam de iisdem rebus quaestionem, quae non multorum ingenia fecundissime exercuerit: quos inter non pauci, iique studiosiores Ss. Patrum, nomen sibi fecere eximium. Neque, ex illa demum aetate, desiderata est nostrorum sollertia; quum clari subinde viri de iisdem studiis bene sint meriti, sacrasque Litteras contra *rationalismi* commenta, ex philologia et finitimis disciplinis detorta, simili argumentorum genere vindicarint.

Haec omnia qui probe ut oportet considerent, dabunt profecto, Ecclesiam, nec ullo unquam providentiae modo defuisse, quo divinae Scripturae fontes in filios suos salutariter derivaret, atque illud praesidium, in quo divinitus ad ejusdem tutelam decusque locata est, retinuisse perpetuo omnique studiozem ope exornasse, ut nullis externorum hominum incitamentis eguerit, egeat.

(To be continued.)

Notices of Books

AT HOME NEAR THE ALTAR. By the Rev. Matthew Russell, S.J. London: Burns and Oates, Limited. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

WE have read every line in this charming little book, and have risen from it with the exclamation: "What a pity men who can write thus do not write more!" In size, in binding, in style, in matter, it is an ideal booklet of devotion. Every idea in its eighty-three pages springs warm from a heart aflame with divine love, and is crystallized in language of limpid clearness and chaste poetic beauty. Side by side with it we have read Faber and Dalgairns, and have formed the conclusion that *At Home Near the Altar* will appeal forcibly to many hearts that are impervious to the more austere influences of *The Blessed Sacrament* and *Holy Communion*. The spirit of Father Russell's work is as different from that of the others, as is the fervour of a devout communicant from the cold enlightenment of the theological student. And in times like ours, when the rapid progress of knowledge and the bewildering confusion of secular pursuits seem to paralyze the love of God in many excellent souls, we doubt not that the simple outpourings of devotion in this admirable little book are calculated to effect more good than the elaborate and erudite treatises to which we have referred.

Father Russell's booklet contains a development of a series of beautiful thoughts suggested by the numerous phases that the Blessed Sacrament presents to a devout mind. The possibility of transubstantiation, the fact of the Real Presence, the mysterious manner of Christ's Eucharistic life, the manifold effects of Holy Communion, the necessity and special functions of Viaticum—all these dogmatic questions are touched upon, but are treated rather as postulates than as conclusions. Nor are these the only fountains of the author's inspiration. His extensive reading, his retentive memory, his exceptionally refined taste, have enabled him to collect a valuable treasury of quotations, in reference to the Holy Eucharist, from the writings of persons eminent for holiness and learning. These quotations suggest kindred ideas to the mind of the writer; and these ideas again find expression in words as felicitous as those by which they were originally suggested. The sources on which the author draws in this manner

are almost infinitely varied. The Venerable Father Southwell, S.J., the Venerable Father Colombière, Richard of St. Victor, Silvio Pellico, St. Wenceslaus of Bohemia, St. Louis of France, St. Leonard of Port Maurice, St. Bernard, St. Alphonsus Liguori, Mrs. Seton, first Sister of Charity in the United States; Father Curtis, S.J.; Father Molony, S.J.; Father Cheerheart, Father Faber, Lamartine, Richard D'Alton Williams, J. J. Callanan, Denis Florence MacCarthy, Father Abram J. Ryan, Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, Bishop of Ephesus—these are some of the writers that have contributed to Father Russell's repertory of select quotations; and the admirable use he makes of their words is an instructive example of the profit that may be derived from methodic reading. From this point of view, *At Home Near the Altar* is a choice spiritual bouquet culled from the garden of intellectual creation in honour of the Blessed Sacrament; and the living seedlings that it contains will, we have no doubt, fall upon many prolific hearts, where they will grow in beauty and fragrance unto the more perfect service of the sanctuary.

Nor could the arrangement of the various sections be more artistic than it is. As the reader is carried along from point to point, he feels so entranced by the sublimity of the subject, and the elegance of the style, and, it may be, the concomitant influence of grace, that at times he would fain breathe an earnest personal prayer from the depth of his own emotion; when, lo! the very thoughts that struggle in his heart for utterance are expressed on the page before him in the attractive form of verse. The poetic lines that occur at intervals in the work break upon the reader like an inspiration, and supply a more suitable garb wherewith to clothe his feelings than he could ever devise for them himself. To this end, the poems "At Thy Feet" and "O Happy Flowers," are peculiarly appropriate. Their tenderness of thought and exquisite harmony of expression are in accord with the tone of mind and heart that the preceding chapters cannot fail to have awakened; and the impression they leave behind will be sure to remind the sympathetic soul sometimes that he should learn from inanimate nature to try and do more for the honour of the patient Godhead whom love has made our prisoner. The same is true, though in a somewhat less degree, of the other beautiful poems embodied in the work.

In one of his opening chapters the author modestly disclaims the hope that the book will meet with a widespread acceptance among priests. We feel warranted in being far more sanguine

than he. We believe that priests desire to have in their libraries books of real worth; and there is no priest who will not find the work under review of this character—who will not derive incalculable benefits, both intellectual and spiritual, from even a cursory perusal of its pages. Let any priest make five minutes' meditation on the section entitled "A Garden of Weeds," or that headed "Believing and Doing," and then see whether he does not feel himself a better man; or let him examine his rule of life in the light of Father Russell's own simple verses, *Horae Diurnae*, and then see whether his conscience absolves him from all blame in reference to the important subject with which they deal.

But the work will be found specially useful by members of religious communities. The first series of pious thoughts and prayers, entitled *Moments Before the Tabernacle*, of which *At Home Near the Altar* is a continuation, "has been received," the author informs us in his preface, "with much favour by the devout faithful, and especially by religious communities, not only at home, but in Australia and the United States." We have no hesitation in predicting an equally extensive popularity for the present volume. No religious can read the sections on "Royal Incognito," "A Little Devotee," "A Servant Maid's Ejaculation," "Love's Captive," &c., without finding abundant food for most salutary reflection. To such readers we commend especially the exquisite poem headed "At Thy Feet." There is a soul of sweetness and sympathy in its every line, not unworthy of an emanation from the heart of St. Francis of Assisi.

Nor will the ordinary faithful find these pages devoid of a particular interest for themselves. With the exception of a few chapters, which bear a special significance for priests and religious, the work will be found to possess a general usefulness. Indeed, it includes some few sections that have a direct reference to the laity. A quotation from Denis Florence MacCarthy's "Lay Missioner," which, Father Russell tells us, was intended as a portrait of the late Lord O'Hagan, will be found of wide application. "All are not priests," wrote the distinguished poet, "but priestly duties may and should be all men's." The words are explained as having a peculiar appositeness when there is question of the due decoration of God's altar and of God's house. Each member of the Christian family should be able to say to himself in the words of Solomon: "I have loved the beauty of Thy house, O Lord, and the place where Thy glory dwelleth." "Yes," writes Father Russell, "we must all of us, not priests only, love the altar and work for the altar. The altar of holy

Mass, the altar of benediction, the altar of our visits to the Blessed Sacrament, the altar whose solitude is not disturbed by our visits: we must love it, and we must try to show our love by works." Nor can we refrain from applying to the ordinary faithful, as well as to priests and religious, the following beautiful stanzas, entitled "Two Stars":—

"When the Wise Men sought for the new-born King,
Who had come to rule o'er the earth,
They followed a Star from their home afar
To the place of our Savior's birth.

And the wise men still who would seek our Lord,
From a star His true course learns,—
'Tis a tiny light that by day and by night
Near the tabernacle burns."

It was the fervent wish of St. Alphonsus Liguori that a copy of his treatise on prayer should be placed in the hands of every Christian on earth. We entertain a similar feeling regarding this admirable little book, and earnestly pray that, as far as possible, our hopes may be fulfilled. Indeed we have no doubt but the work will secure a vast circulation, and will sow the seeds of a rich harvest of good in innumerable souls. It will thus worthily take its place among the publications that are daily emanating from the Jesuit Order, and that aim, as this does, at a yet higher realization of the beautiful motto of the society—
ad majorem Dei gloriam. J. J. C.

THE CHILD OF MARY BEFORE JESUS ABANDONED IN THE TABERNACLE. Translated from the French by Rev. Francis Daly, S.J. Eleventh Edition. Limerick: Guy & Co., Limited, 114, George-street. 1893.

We are delighted to find that Father Daly's neat little volume has already reached the eleventh edition. In its present form it comes to us with the cordial approbation of His Eminence Cardinal Logue and of quite a number of other bishops. The book more than deserves the popularity it has secured. It contains the prayers and meditations necessary for visits to the Blessed Sacrament, all expressed in the clearest and most devotional language. Considering that one hundred copies in paper may be had for 13s. 6d., or one dozen copies in cloth for 3s. 3d., we venture to recommend it to priests for distribution amongst their parishioners—more especially the school children. It has already found a wide circulation in colleges and convents.

J. J. C.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

TERENCE ALBERT O'BRIEN AND COMPANIONS

THOUGH all true followers of the Crucified are willing to lay down their lives for Him, and a multitude that no man can number has received the grace to do so, yet amongst all the martyrs the bishops shine with a brightness of their own. The aureola becomes a mitred head best. The hand that carries a crozier here most suitably bears a palm branch in the Church triumphant. The very episcopal consecration of itself culminates in that love "greater than which no man hath." And still more so when the bishop has through life, in spite of dangers and difficulties innumerable, defended and maintained the faith in all its purity.

Such a pastor was he to whose memory the following pages are dedicated. One of the most conspicuous figures in the ecclesiastical history of Ireland during the eventful seventeenth century is unquestionably Terence Albert O'Brien, the martyr-bishop of Emly. His unswerving rectitude and devotion to duty, joined to his nobility of soul and his loyalty to the Holy See, have won for him the admiration of posterity.

We do not know the exact place of his birth, but the boundaries of his ancestral domain are clearly marked, for the sept or clan to which he belonged was the Mac I-Brien Arra, whose chief fortress stood on Keeper Hill, and whose other castles were Ballina, Cnoc-an-ein-Fin, and Kilmostully.

They sprang from Brien Roe O'Brien, Prince of Thomond, eighth in descent from Brian Boru, and younger brother of Teige, the ancestor of the earls of Thomond and Inchiquin. Terence or Turlough (his was a family name in the Arra branch, but rarely met with amongst the other O'Briens) while still young conceived the desire of devoting himself to the service of God in the Dominican Order, and applied to his uncle, Father Maurice O'Brien, then Prior of St. Saviour's, Limerick. The request was gladly acceded to. Could his family and his new superior have seen the future that was in store for that child of many hopes, they would have acknowledged that it surpassed their highest expectations. At his reception he took the name of Albert, dear to Dominicans, as being that of one of the prodigies of the thirteenth century, known to all succeeding ages as "Albert the Great." If lustre was ever added to that name, it certainly was by him who was now henceforward to bear it. The year's probation showed what was in the youthful novice, so richly endowed with the gifts of nature, and the still better ones of grace. At its close, with all the devotion of his young heart, he pronounced his solemn vows before the altar of St. Saviour's, Limerick, and soon after bade a temporary farewell to the land of his birth.

In the *Regesta* of the Most Rev. Father Seraphino Sicci, General of the Order (1620-24), we find the following entry:—"1622, May 22nd. Brother Albert O'Brien was sent to Toledo for his studies." (Archives of the Order, Rome.) Archdeacon Lynch of Tuam also states in his manuscript history of the Irish bishops, to which we shall often have occasion to refer, that Terence Albert O'Brien went through his course of ecclesiastical studies in St. Peter Martyr's, Toledo. It was at that time one of the most famous schools of theology in Spain. In the list of the fifty Irish students residing in Spanish houses of the Order, which was sent to Propaganda in 1627, amongst the last names we see those of Frater Albertus Brian, Frater Arturus Geoghegan, Frater Thaddeus Moriarty, Frater Joannes Cuillain." All four were destined to receive the palm of martyrdom, though not at the same time. How closely united in mutual charity,

and how true to their high vocation were these devoted religious! Far away from Ireland as they were, they ever remembered that she expected them to do their utmost to maintain her dearest cause, that of the true faith. And fervently they prayed that God would protect the Island of Saints, and enable themselves, when their turn should come, to promote her highest interests to the best of their ability.

The subject of our article was still in Spain, in 1629, as another list sent to Propaganda shows. This is an instructive instance of the importance attached to a full course of study, at a time when less enlightened superiors would have been induced to curtail it by the specious plea of the urgent necessities of the Irish mission. The Dominican legislation of the period not only takes into account, it even lays stress on, the peculiar circumstances of the country, but only to find in them a cogent argument for bringing home none but matured priests, men of solid virtue and learning, able to guide others, and ready to face the dangers which awaited the ministers of the Gospel. How wise this was, and how well Terence Albert O'Brien repaid the care that had been bestowed on his ecclesiastical training, will abundantly appear in the sequel. With regard to the companions of his novitiate, who, with one exception, were not the companions of his martyrdom, it will be enough to say here that Father Thaddeus O'Moriarty and Father John O'Cuillin were amongst the most zealous priests that ever returned to the shores of Ireland. The third, Father Arthur Geoghegan, was apprehended on his way home; he suffered at Tyburn, in 1633. Their history will be contained in other articles.

On his arrival in Ireland, Father Albert O'Brien was assigned to St. Saviour's, Limerick. For many years, unobserved by men, he laboured assiduously for his own sanctification, as well as for that of his neighbour. During this period he was twice Prior of St. Saviour's, and once of St. Peter Martyr's, Lorrha, near Portumna. As regards his own inner life at this time, it is to be regretted that no detailed account of it has been preserved such as that given of his actions and of his influence on others at a later

period. We have, however, sufficient evidence of his virtues, as well as of the esteem with which he was regarded, in the fact of his being thrice elected Prior. This of itself would entitle him to our respect; and still more does the choice made of him in the Chapter held in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, A.D. 1643, to be Provincial of Ireland. We may mention that in the letters patent of the confirmation of his election (Archives of the Order, Rome) he is called "Albertus Bernardinus, *vulgo* O'Brien;" why "Bernardinus," we know not. But Lynch also states, in the manuscript already quoted, that he took as his name in religion, "Albertus aut Bernardinus"! Those who elected him to be their Provincial acted wisely in entrusting their common weal to one who, in the words of a contemporary, was conspicuous for his zeal. It was a time of hope, when the hearts of Catholics throbbed with the expectation of a brighter day. The Confederation had assembled in Kilkenny, and all around the social and political horizon looked fair, and promised the sunshine of national liberty. Efforts were joyfully made on every side to remove the traces of all the crimes that Queen Elizabeth and James I. had committed; and men vied, as it were, with each other in restoring religion to its ancient splendour.

It is interesting to note that nearly all the old chalices, &c., still in use in Dominican churches throughout Ireland belong to this period. Only two or three at most bear an earlier date; but, speaking from memory, even these are of the seventeenth century. This fact in the case of one Order shows how complete was the confiscation of church plate in the reigns of Elizabeth and James, even allowing for accidental losses, &c. And the other remarkable fact points as clearly to a great revival, almost instantaneous, made with a determination like that of the Macchabees, to reinstate divine worship in all its due solemnity. It is equally interesting to note that many of these chalices, as well as some other ones without date, appear to be of Spanish workmanship. Such sacred memorials of the past tell their own history. Young priests returning home from Toledo, Salamanca, &c., must have brought these chalices to Ireland.

Thus it is morally certain that some of those still in daily use were often in the hands of one or other of the "martyrs."

We saw already that at the same period the number of Dominicans in Ireland was about six hundred. They had in a few years increased most marvellously, in the designs of God, no doubt, in order to meet the enemies of His Church in the struggle that was nearer than perhaps anyone thought then. The few religious who had survived the last persecution united once more in community life; schools and novitiates were re-opened or enlarged; and large numbers of students were sent to the best schools of theology on the Continent. How holy their lives must have been, how apostolic their spirit, appeared when their virtue was put to the severest of all tests.

The guiding spirit of all the good then effected by the Dominicans in Ireland was their saintly Provincial. His energy made itself felt everywhere. We may well be surprised that, amidst the pressing cares of his new position, and the exigencies of the times, he could hope to find time for reading. Yet so it was. A letter from the General, of a later date, gives him permission to have, for his own use, a history of the General Councils, the works of St. Thomas, Cajetan, Baronius, &c. Towards the end of the year 1643 he received a summons to attend the General Chapter of the Order in Rome. The high esteem in which he was held by the Supreme Council is evident from the following letters of safe-conduct and recommendation:—

A PASS FOR FATHER ALBERT O'BRIEN

[*Translation.*]

"As the Very Rev. Father Albert O'Brien is summoned, on account of his office, to the General Chapter of the Order of Preachers, which is to be held in Rome next May, by authority of our Holy Father Urban VIII., we deem it right, on account of his noble birth, his spotless life, his eminent learning, and his office of Provincial of his Order in Ireland, to commend him to all Catholics to whom these presents shall come, because he has exerted every effort to promote the Catholic cause in Ireland. We trust that he will be welcome to all that favour our cause, and that, as it meet, he will be received by them with Christian charity and courtesy.

"Given at Kilkenny, 10th Feb., 1643 (4)."

The letter of recommendation had been written the day before.

LETTER TO FATHER LUKE WADDING FROM THE SUPREME
COUNCIL OF THE CONFEDERATION

“REVEREND FATHER,—The bearer, Father Albertus O’Brien, Provincial of the Friars Preachers in this kingdom, beinge sent for to the Generall Chapter of his Order, to be held at Rome, hath merited soe well of us and our cause, and hath beene soe zealous in furtheringe of it, both by himselfe and those subject to his authoritye, that we may not omitt to recommend him unto you as a man who hath made it his studye to advance our designes, as well by cherishinge and encouradgeinge those who did assist us, as by chastising some who thought to disquiet our proceedings. Wee pray you, therefore, to further and to give all due countenance to his affairs.

“Kilkenny, the 9th of Februarie, 1643 (4).”¹

The Provincial must have set out immediately, and travelled with expedition, for he reached Rome on the 24th of April, as appears from an entry of that date (General’s Archives). The room in the Minerva (the head house of the Order) which he occupied may still be seen. The famous Franciscan, Father Luke Wadding, was the agent of the Confederate Catholics at Rome; and none could have been found more capable or more deserving of that high office. He gave, we may be sure, a warm welcome to the Dominican, from whom, in turn, he would learn the latest news of the great events then occurring at home.

In the General Chapter of 1644 many important enactments relating to the Dominican Province of Ireland were made, in all which one may trace the noble spirit, and the influence for good which were the characteristics of Terence Albert O’Brien. These, as being so much private legislation, we shall pass over; suffice it to say that they all testify to his wisdom and zeal. Two other matters, however, may be of interest to many readers, and so will be mentioned here. It was in this Chapter that the privilege was granted to all Irish Catholics that wear the white scapular bestowed on the Order by the Blessed Virgin, of participating in the

¹From the Manuscript Register Book of Letters of Supreme Council, Gilbert’s *Hist. War*, 1641, vol. iii., p. 99.

benefits enjoyed and in the merit of the good works performed by all Dominicans throughout the world. It was in this General Chapter also that the first list of our martyrs was made. For many years no representative of the Irish Province had been able to take part in such an assembly, and unfortunately the names of those who died for the faith during that period have not been recorded in the contemporary "*Acta Capitulorum Generalium*." The exceeding violence of that long persecution which sent so many to heaven, "clothed with white robes and palms in their hands," was at the same time the partial cause of their names with few exceptions being no longer remembered on earth. But Terence Albert O'Brien resolved, as regarded the martyrs of his own time about whom he could bear witness, that this omission should not be suffered to continue. A succinct list was accordingly drawn up and presented to the Chapter. The first name on this roll of the Church's heroes was that of his fellow-student, Arthur MacGeoghegan. As he gave testimony to the glorious death of his former companion, did a voice from heaven whisper in his ear, "To-day for me, to-morrow for thee." His humility might forbid such a presentiment, but in his heart glowed a martyr's spirit, and the desire, if God so willed, of standing once more side by side with the friend of his youth, never again to be separated. And so it was to be; a few years afterwards his own name was to be the first on another list of martyrs.

During the Chapter the virtue and learning of the Irish Provincial won the admiration of all, and in time became known to the Pope, Urban VIII. At its conclusion, he and some other Irish fathers received the highest distinction, the degree, namely, of Master in Theology. As soon as his presence in Rome was no longer required, he set out for home, and on his way stopped at Lisbon for the purpose of making the usual visitation of the members of the Irish Province, priests and nuns residing in that city, the former at Corpo Santo, the latter at Belem (Bethlehem). It was during his stay in Lisbon that he received the announcement that, in consequence of a petition received from the Supreme Council, it was the Pope's intention to appoint him

to the see of Emly; and in consequence he bade farewell to his brethren in Corpo Santo, including its founder the famous Dominic of the Rosary (O'Daly), and returned without further delay to Ireland in order to convoke the Provincial Chapter for the election of his successor. The date of Father Albert O'Brien's actual elevation to the episcopacy was unknown to Dr. Burke¹ and other writers, the fact being that, perhaps in consequence of the death of Urban VIII. (29th July, 1644), he was not appointed immediately. In the following year, on October 22nd, the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, landed at Kennmare, and on November 12th entered Kilkenny when the Supreme Confederation was sitting. His first care, as Father Meehan² shows so clearly, was to fill up the ranks of the episcopate, for at the time several sees were vacant, and one at least required a coadjutor. The Nuncio's letter to Cardinal Panfilio—Kilkenny, 31st December, 1645—contains the following interesting passage:—"Father Terence, the Dominican Provincial, has been in Italy. He is a man of prudence and discretion, and experienced in the management of affairs. We may be sure that he will be a success, and the Bishop who desires to have him as Coadjutor feels himself to be in extremely bad health."³ And on 11th August, 1646 (Latest account of the dioceses), "the Bishop of Emly is confined to his bed, speechless and senseless. It appears necessary therefore to give him a Coadjutor, and a better cannot be found than Father Terence O'Brien, whose support, moreover, of the Catholic cause at the present time is deserving of the highest possible reward, as the memorial of the clergy sets forth."⁴

¹ *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 488.

² *Irish Hierarchy in the Seventeenth Century*, chap. viii.

³ "Fr. Terenzio, Provinciale dei Domenicani, è uomo di prudenza e di sagacità, stato in Italia e pratico di molti maneggi, da sperarne ogni buona riuscita, e il Vescovo che lo desidera per Coadiutore sente che è ridotto in malissimo termine di sanità." (*Nunciatura*, p. 84.)

⁴ "(Nuova Relazione delle Chiese) Il Vescovo Imolacense sta in letto, muto ed insensato, e però par necessario di dargli il Coadiutore, ne migliore può darsi di Fr. Terenzio Brien, il quale ha di più un merito presente con la causa Cattolica, degno di qualsivoglia remunerazione, come narrerà il mandato del clero."

Then "on Monday, 11th March, 1647, a secret consistory was held, in which (as according to the report of the Cardinal D'Este, the see called Calamensis had become vacant on account of the translation of Edmund Dwyer to the see of Limerick) his Holiness appointed thereto Terence Albert O'Brien, O.P., as bishop and pastor, and made him Coadjutor to the Bishop of Emly,¹ with right of succession, &c." (*Consistorial Records*.) The appointment was notified at once, for in the *Regesta* of the General (De Marinis), we find the entry, "March 25th, permission was granted to Father Terence O'Brien, Master of Theology, to accept the

¹ This Bishop's surname was O'Hurley, as we learn from both the Pontifical and the Dominican Records. They do not, however, agree about his Christian name. The *Acta Consistorialia* in the Vatican Archives, show that a Maurice O'Hurley was appointed to the see of Emly, on the 15th of June, 1620, and the Preconium of Cardinal Fabrizio Verallo, Protector of Ireland, states that Maurice was at the time "aetatis ad minus quadraginta annorum, presbyter a multis annis . . . magister in theologia, ac officium Vicarii Generalis diocesis Ecclesiae (Limericensis) per plures annos probe et laudabiliter exereuit" (*Tabularium Congr. Consistorialis*). On the other hand, a James O'Hurley was, according to the *Bullarium Dominicanum* (tom vi., p. 143), and O'Heyne (p. 17), the immediate predecessor of T. A. O'Brien in the see of Emly; and O'Heyne adds, that James O'Hurley had been Provincial of Ireland. Dr. Burke, who agrees with all this, quotes, moreover, the following passage from the *Registrum Ordinis*, "Anno 1639, die 19 Februarii, confirmatus in Provincialem, canonice electus in Capitulo Provinciali congregato in Conventu Deiparae Gratiarum Yeoghelensi 12 Octobris P. Fr. Jacobus Hurlaus;" and as there was a Vicar Provincial in 1641, he infers that James O'Hurley had been by that time raised to the episcopal dignity.

But of a James O'Hurley immediately prior to T. A. O'Brien, there is no trace in the Consistorial Records, nor in the Corsini, nor in the Barberini MSS. Neither is there in Lynch's MS. History, but he mentions that he knew Maurice O'Hurley, from whom he received Minor Orders and Tonsure. It seems infinitely less probable that there should be two Dr. O'Hurleys in succession, one of whom is not mentioned in the Roman Records (an inexplicable omission in a continuous series of most accurate and complete accounts) than that Maurice was the baptismal, and James the religious name of the same individual. That Maurice had been a Vicar-General is no reason for saying that he was not a Dominican—there are instances of regulars holding that office even in the last century—while his title of "Magister in Theologia" is almost a peculiarly Dominican one. On the other hand, it must be remarked that Rinuccini does not say in the passages above quoted that T. A. O'Brien's predecessor was a Dominican; nay, Cardinal Verallo speaks of him as "presbyter Limericensis diocesis." However he may have been taken out of a house of his Order to supply a pressing need in the Diocese. This was not uncommon even in recent times. The difference then between Maurice O'Hurley and James O'Hurley need be no greater than that which exists in regard of the

bishopric." It is certain that he was consecrated by the Nuncio (as Lynch affirms), the ceremony being performed probably in St. Canice's Cathedral, or in the Black Abbey, Kilkenny. Lynch¹ also states, that in November, 1651, he had been more than four years a bishop. This enables us to ascertain approximately the date of the ceremony.

The consecration of Terence Albert O'Brien, whose zeal and activity were indefatigable, marked the commencement of a new era not only for the diocesans of Emly, but for the Catholics of Ireland. As was, however, to be expected, those very qualities which endeared the bishop to the people made him, according to the remark of another contemporary writer,² the man in all Ireland whom the Protestants hated most. His energy and firm resolve were but too well known, and they felt instinctively that even if they got the upper hand, they might break but not bend him. Dr. O'Hurley was unable to attend to the wants of his flock, but his place was well filled. Such was the verdict of friend and foe. Very

subject of this article between Terence O'Brien and Albert O'Brien—Rinuccini calls him by the first name, the Dominicans often call him by the second.

As regards Maurice James O'Hurley, to give him for once his full name, the only possible period for his Provincialship is between 1615-1620. A blank occurs here in Dr. Burke's list of Provincials. It is true that in 1617 Fr. Roche MacGeoghegan was Vicar-Provincial, but Father O'Hurley may have held office either before or after within the period just mentioned. Lastly, with respect to the Father James Hurley who certainly was elected Provincial in 1639, he is apparently a distinct person from the bishop of the same name. At least until it can be shown that there is an omission in the Consistorial Records, the only way which occurs to the present writer of reconciling Dominican history with them, is to suppose that this James O'Hurley was never the occupant of the see of Emly. Dr. O'Hurley died about 1649 (Brady, *Episcopal Succession*).

The transcripts of the Consistorial Record with several others have been kindly furnished by the Very Rev. Father Costello, St. Clement's, Rome, who of all men is the best qualified to speak on the succession of the Irish Bishops, as he has discovered and copied all the Roman documents regarding it for about six centuries. These documents were not within the reach of Dr. Burke. He did the best with the materials then at hand.

¹ "A Domino Nuntio consecratus suae et totius Hiberniae Ecclesiae auctoritate, consilio et vigilantia ultra 4 annos indefesse succurere studebat." (Lynch.)

² "Cum autem Episcopus factus esset, tanto Religionis Catholicae negotium agebat fervore, quasi unus solus et omnis homo actitare videbatur, et plus aliis cujuscunque Status personis omnium Hæreticorum in se furorem excitaverit." (O'Daly.)

soon the diocese of Emly began to experience the bitter results of the defeat sustained by the Confederates at Cnoc-na-noss, 13th November, 1647, when Inchiquin in the pride and insolence of victory overran the whole district west of Cashel, and in his hatred of the Nuncio revenged himself on his own noble kinsman. The latter, on his part, left nothing undone to succour and console his flock in their misfortunes. Night and day, through wood and glen, did this good shepherd, at the risk of his own life, seek his sheep and defend them from the wolf. When the raid was over he was one of those thirteen bishops who on April 27th, 1648, signed at Kilkenny the famous declaration that no truce should be made with Inchiquin.

With that fidelity to the Holy See and its representatives characteristic of the Order to which he belonged,¹ he gave on every occasion proofs of his unalterable loyalty and attachment to Rinuccini till that prelate's departure from Galway, January 23rd, 1649. At the first announcement he had hastened to bid him farewell, but when he reached the neighbourhood of the city, to his disappointment, he was informed that the Nuncio's vessel, the *San Pietro*, had already sailed. He was also in Galway, August 23rd, 1650, when with four other bishops he subscribed the Jamestown Declaration (August 6th, same year) against the iniquitous policy of Ormond; and a letter written in the same city, 29th March, 1651, states that he had been unable to enter his own diocese for more than a year.²

Through all this troubled time the cause of the nation was the cause of God. This must be ever kept in mind as the reason why the Irish hierarchy took the lead in affairs which otherwise would be purely secular. The motives which animated the bishops may best be understood from their own words:—

“ We, the Archbishops, Bishops, &c., having met at Clonmacnoise, on the fourth day of December, in the year of our Lord

¹ “ It is as natural to Dominicans to defend the Holy See as it is to man to breathe.” (Rinuccini. Letter to Father Gregory O'Farrell, Irish Provincial.)

² *Spicil Ossor.*, vol. i., p. 369.

God, 1649, taking into our consideration among many other affairs then agitated and determined for the preservation of the Kingdom, that many of our flock are held by a vain opinion of hope that the Commander-in-Chief of the Rebels' forces (commonly called the Parliamentaries) would afford them good conditions, and that relying thereon, they suffer utter destruction of religion, lives, and fortunes, if not prevented. We cannot, therefore, in our duty to God, and in discharge of the care we are obliged to have for the preservation of our flocks, but admonish them not to delude and lose themselves with the vain expectation of conditions to be had from that merciless enemy. And, consequently, we beseech the gentry and inhabitants, for God's glory and their own safety, to contribute with patience to the support of the war against that enemy, in hopes that by the blessing of God they may be rescued from the threatened evils, &c. Admonishing also those that are enlisted of the army to prosecute constantly, according to each man's charge, the trust reposed in them, the opposition of the common enemy, in so just a war as that they have undertaken for their religion, king, and country, as they expect the blessing of God to fall on their actions; and to avoid God's heavy judgment, and the indignation of their native country, they neither plunder nor oppress the people, &c."

Among the twenty-two signatures is that of *Frater Terentius Imolac*.

We now approach the most glorious part of his career. He was in Limerick when that devoted city was first besieged. He had gone there, as Lynch observes, when the power of the Confederate Catholics began to wane. Such was the opinion entertained of his energy and influence, even by those outside the walls, that Ireton secretly sent him word that he would give him forty thousand golden crowns and a safe-conduct out of the kingdom to any place he pleased, if he would only cease to exhort the inhabitants to the defence of the city, and connive at its surrender. From the commencement of the siege he had opposed the very mention of a compromise with the Parliamentarians, and had used every means to encourage the garrison to hold out. His efforts redoubled when he saw that some began to waver. The Cromwellian general estimated correctly the bishop's power, but he must not have known what sort of a man the bishop was. The base suggestion was indignantly rejected. Filled with rage at being disappointed, Ireton vowed that if he

ever got possession of Limerick he would immolate O'Brien. As Linehan says¹:—

“When Ireton heard of the stern inflexibility of the Bishop, he resolved at once to except him from amnesty and every other condition he proposed to the besieged. He swore, too, that he would visit with the most awful consequences the citizens if they hesitated to bring him the head of the Bishop, together with those of the twenty men who had voted against giving the city into his hands. A council assembled; a debate ensued. Two hundred ecclesiastics now met, and with one voice they proclaimed their determination to interpose between Ireton and the twenty he had named for death; but in vain, for all ecclesiastics were excepted. O'Daly [“Dominic of the Rosary”] throws out a dark hint, which is supposed to reflect on some of those who were engaged inside the walls at the time, and adds that the witnesses to the circumstances to which he alludes were in Lisbon at the moment he wrote. O'Brien offered to give himself up, so that the others should be saved; but his proposal was rejected by the ecclesiastics.”

On October 29th, after a heroic resistance of five months, the city surrendered. Besides those slain in its defence, five thousand had already died of pestilence within its walls. The remaining inhabitants would perchance have held out longer, and might have forced Ireton to raise the siege, but for Fennel's treason. At length, however, the gates of Limerick were opened; a rush was made by the eager Puritans; and the noble-hearted bishop, faithful to the end, in ministering to the crowd of the dying in the pest-house, fell into the clutches of his enemies. He was a coveted prize, for he had often foiled their most desperate efforts. With his hands bound, and his feet chained with fetters, he was taken before Ireton, whose fiendish exultation at having the Popish prelate in his power at last may easily be imagined. He charged O'Brien with inciting the people against the English rule and religion; and without more ado passed sentence on him. The latter calmly answered that he was a bishop; that all they did and could condemn him for was the faithful discharge of a bishop's duty; and that for it he was prepared to die. While those who surrounded him offered a last insult to his sacred person, he

¹ *History of Limerick*, p. 177.

fearlessly denounced the hypocrisy and wickedness of Ireton, and summoned him soon to appear before the divine tribunal. The words were prophetic. The ruthless persecutor was only permitted to fill up the number of the martyr's brethren, in part, by the slaughter of the others—Dominic Fanning, Thomas Stritch, &c.—whom he had not “received to pardon.” Then the avenging arm of God's justice was no longer stayed, and the unhappy wretch, haunted by remorse and terror, like Herod's, in his dying hours, had to acknowledge that the innocent blood of O'Brien was the cause of his own death, was heard to shriek out: “Oh, that I had never seen that Popish bishop! It was not I, it was not I; the Council did it.”¹ But remorse was not repentance; and the ruling passion, strong in death, finally claimed the man of iron, the pitiless murderer, as its victim. Another author, whose testimony is here above suspicion—for his chief aim is ever to glorify Cromwell and his relatives—thus describes Ireton's end: “While in this last appointment, in the height of his most prosperous success, he was seized, November 15, 1651, before Limerick, with the plague, which carried him off on the 26th of the same month; and if we may believe Sir Philip Warwick (who had it from a person who was present), he died raving, crying out: ‘I will have more blood, blood, blood!’”² Such was the fate in store for this implacable enemy of religion. The prophecy and its awful fulfilment was so well known in Limerick that the new Protestant inhabitants of that city for years afterwards boldly kept Thursday, the day on which Cromwell's worthy son-in-law expired, as a *festival*, lest the Catholics should point to his untimely end as to a visible mark of divine vengeance.³ The devotion which imposed this weekly feast in commemoration of Ireton, no doubt suggested also the title of his funeral oration, “The Labouring Saint's Dismission to Rest.” Such was the shameless hypocrisy, or the blind fanaticism, of his followers.

But to return to the Bishop. The old jail, which until a few years ago stood near Mary Street, was probably the

¹ O'Daly, Lynch, &c. ² Noble's *Memoirs of Cromwell*, vol. ii., p. 322.

³ Letter of Dr. John O'Molony, *Spicil. Oss.*

place of his imprisonment during the two days previous to his execution. On his way from it to the scaffold he did his best to console the Catholics, who, according to Lynch's narrative, were weeping bitterly at the sight of the indignities already heaped on the beloved bishop. Many were overcome with dismay at the thought of being about losing, in the hour of direst need, their best friend and protector. He recommended himself to the prayers of all, while the serenity of his own look showed the gladness which filled his soul. His last words, spoken from the scaffold, were: "Preserve the faith, keep the Commandments, be resigned to the will of God, for thus will you preserve your souls. Weep not for me, but pray that I may meet death with gratitude, and happily finish my course." It was the eve of All Saints—a fitting day to bear testimony to their King, and then to be numbered amongst them. The martyr's body was left hanging for three hours, during which the Puritan soldiers treated it with every mark of contempt. They swung it to and fro in derision, and so beat it with their muskets that it almost lost the appearance of having once been human. Three days after this horrible scene had been enacted, Ireton sent the following despatch, which is in his usual canting style, to Lenthal, the Speaker of the Parliament:—"November 3rd. It hath pleased God, since the surrender, to discover and deliver into our hands two persons of principal activity and influence in the obstinate holding out of Limerick—the Bishop of Emly and Major-General Purcell, whom we presently hanged, and have set up their heads on the gates." What Protestant historians thought of the former deed of savage cruelty, may be gathered from these words of Borlase, the son of the persecuting Lord Justice of the same name. In his *History of the Execrable Irish Rebellion*, p. 299 (ed. 1680), copying Clarendon, as usual, he says:—

"The instances of blood and severity which Ireton gave on being possessed of this place were very remarkable, whilst Ireton manifested what his [the Bishop of Limerick's] fate would have been by the treatment they gave to Terlough O'Brien, the Bishop of Emly, whom they took, and without any formality of justice, and with all reproaches imaginable, caused to be publicly hanged.

This unhappy prelate had from the beginning opposed with great passion the King's authority, and obstinately adhered to the Nuncio and to that party which was most averse from returning to their allegiance, and was thus miserably put to death even in that city whence he had been a principal instrument to shut out his Majesty's authority."

Borlase wrote long after the Restoration, and this may explain his choice of certain words. The "King's" authority mentioned by him must be the pretended one in spirituals, peculiar to the successors of Henry VIII. in the government of England, by whatever name they were styled; for surely he knew that in 1651 there was no English monarch, and that the Cromwellians despised royal authority in temporals. Writing in 1680, he could not hope to impose on anyone by calling Ireton a good subject; nor, on the other hand, to escape unpleasant consequences himself if he expressed sympathy with the Roundhead policy. He may have had the unblushing hardihood to assert that the Bishop of Emly was a rebel to lawful temporal authority; but that is false. All true Catholics, but pre-eminently the Bishop and the others of the Nuncio's party, were thoroughly loyal to Charles I. It may not, however, be known to every reader that the unfortunate monarch was well aware of the fact. He writes thus to the Earl of Glamorgan: "Tell the Nuncio, that if once I can come into his or your hands, which ought to be extremely desired by you both, as well as for the sake of England as Ireland, since all the rest, as I see, despise me, I will do it."¹ But Rinuccini, in his mission to Ireland, and Terence Albert O'Brien in co-operating with him, had a higher motive than allegiance to an earthly king; and Ireton, in Limerick, was actuated more by hatred towards the Catholic religion than by the desire of establishing the Parliamentary power.

The head of the martyred bishop was fixed on a pole. It was then placed upon one of the towers of King John's Castle, over the archway leading to the city, where it long remained, perfectly incorrupt, with fresh blood dropping from it. This prodigy, which still continued when Dominic

¹Inquiry into the share which King Charles I. had in the Earl of Glamorgan's transactions in Ireland.

of the Rosary wrote his history, four years later, has always been looked on as a token of the Bishop's spotless purity. Throughout life he had been distinguished by his great holiness, which was subsequently attested to by Father Denis Hanrahan, O.P.,¹ who heard his general confession on the very day the English entered Limerick. It was from the account of the saintly prelate's life and death, written by this Dominican, that Archdeacon Lynch made the epitome contained in the oft-quoted manuscript history of the Irish bishops.

All succeeding writers have paid honour to the memory of the glorious martyr-bishop. Their words would be too long for insertion here. A testimony, however, of special interest is found in the memorial on behalf of Ireland presented, in 1667, to Clement X. by Nicholas Ffrench, the famous Bishop of Ferns: "*Interfecti in Odium Fidei* : 2. D. Fr. Terentius O'Brien, Episcopus *Imolacensis*, Ordinis Praedicatorum, laqueo strangulatus fuit in civitate *Limericensi* sic jubente *Iretonio* Cromuelli Genero, et exercitu haeretico barbaramente ei insultante." An official document in the archives of the Propaganda also testifies to the fact: "Fra Vescovi,

¹All we know of Father Hanrahan personally is, that he studied in Spain (Propaganda List, 1627). His work, entitled *Rosetum Praedicatorum Hiberniae*, was a history of members of his province illustrious by their sanctity. There is reason to think that not a single copy of it has escaped the ravages of time and of persecution. Many of the great libraries of Europe have been searched, and every other likely source of information has been examined; but all in vain. No catalogue, either of printed works or of manuscripts, even contains the name. The only positive proof, so far as our knowledge extends, that the book ever existed, is that Lynch used it. Another work has also disappeared which would be invaluable at the present time, namely, the *Index Martyrum Provinciae Hiberniae*, compiled, about A.D. 1650, by order of the General, De Marinis. Steill refers to it continually in his *Ephemerides Dominicae Sacrae*; or, *Lustgarten des Prediger-Ordens*, Dillingen, 1692. Charles de S. Vincent, one of the continuators of Souge's *Année Dominicaine*, does the same; and he adds that it was printed. Both authors distinguish it from the list published in the Acts of the General Chapter, 1656. All that can now be found in the General's Archives is a manuscript (*Coll. Annal.*, p. 957), which contains short accounts of martyrs, commencing with T. A. O'Brien. This manuscript was apparently used for the Chapter of 1656, and seems to be itself the compendium of a detailed narrative. It is certain, from comparison with the long extracts in Lynch, that the writer of this manuscript had Father Hanrahan's work before him. He does not mention the name, but the verbal coincidences with Lynch are sufficient intrinsic evidence.

Imolacense ottimo, morto martire ”¹ In the same collection, fol. 610, is preserved the summary of a petition drawn up by the Secretary of Propaganda, which ends thus : “ Per gloriosam mortem sui consanguinei Terentii O’Brien ejusdem sedis ultimi Antistitis.” The petition itself, presented in 1652, is on the preceding page, fol. 609 ; in it the clergy of Emly pray that Dermot O’Brien, a relative of the late bishop, and a faithful imitator of his virtues, be appointed Vicar-General of the bereaved diocese. The memory of Terence Albert O’Brien has never ceased to be one of the brightest glories of Emly. A few years ago, if the writer is not mistaken, the clergy of the now united dioceses of Cashel and Emly presented as their offering to the new church in Emly a memorial window representing the two martyr-prelates, Dermot O’Hurley (Cashel) and Terence A. O’Brien. The only relic of our bishop now apparently extant is his pectoral cross.²

The “ White ” manuscripts records in a few simple words his death, and those of his companions. The passage

¹Originali Antichi 111, 298, fol. 46.

²The following description of it will be read with interest :—“ And now a few words descriptive of the small crucifix belonging to this prelate, which the members present may examine for themselves. I cannot pretend to any special knowledge concerning it, but you will see that it is double—which seems to be a remarkable feature—crucifixes, so far as I am aware, representing only the figure of our Lord on the cross. This on the obverse side has the usual figure of our Lord on the cross, with the title on the top, I.N.R.I., and underneath His feet a skull ; but on the reverse side of the cross there is the figure of the Blessed Virgin, and underneath her feet a crescent moon, probably with reference to the passage in the Revelation, ‘ A woman clothed with the sun, and the moon under her feet ;’ or it may possibly be meant to represent her as crushing the head of the serpent, though the former explanation seems to me the more probable one. There is a radiated nimbus round the Saviour’s head ; and the special pattern of the cross itself determines it to be, if I am not mistaken, a cross botonée or trefflée, *i.e.*, a trefoil cross ; a form of the sacred emblem that one might naturally expect to meet with in Ireland oftener than is the case. This interesting relic has been kindly entrusted to me by its owner, Mr. Thomas O’Brien of the New Square, Mitchelstown ; and he has informed me that it was given to the Bishop’s mother at the time of his execution, and was at her death handed over to the Dominican Convent in Limerick, whence it afterwards repassed into the possession of descendants of the Bishop. As a work of ecclesiastical art, it is perhaps more curious than beautiful ; but a great interest undoubtedly attaches to it from the circumstance connected with its ownership.” (Paper read by Very Rev. Canon Moore. *Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, vol. i., No. 7, July, 1892, p. 134.)

occurs in the description of the outrages committed by Ireton's soldiery on the inhabitants of Limerick: "Some were hanged, others beheaded and quartered, and their heads fixed on the gates of the city. Among those we know were executed, the Rev. Terence O'Brien, of ye Order of St. Dominick, and Bishop of Emly, and a native of Limerick, the Rev. James Woulfe, and Rev. John Collins, children of ye Dominican Convent of Limerick, a short time after the surrender were taken and executed."

Father Woulfe, a native of Limerick, had also studied in Spain. At the date of the siege he was far advanced in years, and had been several times Prior of various houses. In 1627 he appears, from the Propaganda list, to have been one of the community of St. Mary's, Coleraine. For a long time he suffered in prison as a confessor of the faith. Confinement and privation could not avail to damp the ardour of his apostolic soul: trials such as these were not trials to him; or, rather, they were a joy, because they helped to make him a better minister of the Gospel. On his release he continued to discharge the duties of his sacred calling with the same exemplary zeal and devotion, and on all occasions he was remarkable for the zeal with which he upheld the authority of the Holy See. Those who treat of his life mention also that he was a gifted preacher. It appears from O'Daly's narrative that Father Woulfe was absent from Limerick during the siege, devoting himself to the country people at the time in sore distress, when as he knew the city was abundantly supplied with priests. As soon, however, as Limerick surrendered, and all these ministers were either banished or slain within its walls, he fearlessly entered in order to attend to the wants of the laity. He had been there scarcely a week, when one morning he was arrested just after he had said Mass, and in the course of the same day was condemned to be hanged, and was taken to the place of execution. In his last moments, when standing on the gallows, he uttered the memorable words: "We are made a spectacle to God, to angels, and to men; to God's glory, to angels' joy, to men's mockery."

Ireton dealt very summarily with the Dominicans whom

he knew to be the faithful and efficient helpers of the Nuncio. Borlase, speaking of the capture of Dominic Fanning, one of the best Catholics of Limerick, remarks that he was immediately hanged; and adds, "the same fate had Friar Wolf." Our martyr was not the "Francis Woulfe, a friar," excepted from pardon by Ireton, for the latter was one of those within the walls, if the Cromwellian General was correctly informed. For the same reason, neither was the "John Quin, a Dominican friar," also excluded from mercy.

Father John O'Cuillin,² in early life the fellow-student, and in death the fellow-martyr of Terence Albert O'Brien, is justly regarded as one of the most illustrious of the Irish Dominicans. The record of his holy life, as we find it in the

¹ See the list of the proscribed in Lenihan's *History of Limerick*, p. 183.

² It seems that this martyr is called by two names—John O'Cuillin (General Chapter, 1656, Bruodin) and John Collins (O'Daly). The date and place of martyrdom, its cause, and attendant circumstances, as recorded respectively by these authorities, so coincide that they appear to belong to the same individual. Some of them must be given here briefly. General Chapter.—"1652. For defence of Papal authority, head fastened to a lance as a trophy." Bruodin's concluding words are: "Capitur itaque a rebellibus Cromwellistis, et in odium fidei quam Collinus constanter propagavit, Limerici suspendio necatur. Anno 1652." O'Daly says: "In obsidione civitatis Limericensis—captus ab hereticis," &c. At first sight, the difference between O'Cuillin and Collins might seem, perhaps, to indicate that they could not be the same. But what is Collins but an anglicized form of the Celtic surname O'Cuillin? Anyone who is curious to learn how Irish patronymics are thus changed, and often into three or four divergent forms, has only to turn over the pages of O'Hart's *Irish Pedigrees*. A parallel instance to ours occurs in the case of another martyr, the Jesuit lay brother, Dominic O'Cuillin. His name appears as Collini in a Vatican manuscript. (See Bellesheim, *Geschichte-Irland*, vol. ii., p. 240.) To put the present statement beyond doubt, let the reader observe that Bruodin, who writes O'Cuillin in the commencement of his description, uses the other form in the passage quoted above. On the hypothesis that there were two martyrs, can it be explained how the General Chapter of 1656 omits Collins, and how O'Daly, who professes to mention all the martyrs of his own time, omits O'Cuillin? It is true that Dr. Burke makes a distinction (see the *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 568, n. xxx., and p. 572, n. xli.); but he assigns no reason for doing so. He does, indeed, insert (Athenriensis) into the passage about Father O'Cuillin, which he quotes from the Acts of the General Chapter; and if this additional statement were correct, it would be a fair proof that there were two. To explain this to the general reader: postulants, at their reception into the Dominican Order, are *affiliated* to a certain house, so that wherever they may make their novitiate, or may afterwards be sent to reside, they still, in a sense, belong to that house for which they were received, and of which

pages of Bruodin¹ who knew him personally, and who when writing his own invaluable work many years afterwards, still preserved an affectionate veneration for his memory, is full of interesting details. With its assistance we can easily trace the stages of the long course by which God prepared His servant for his final struggle and glorious victory.

Born of poor and pious parents who lived near the residence of Donat M'Namara,² a kinsman of Bruodin himself, young O'Cuillin had already begun the study of philosophy when he was clothed with the Dominican habit in St. Saviour's, Limerick. It is evident that he was possessed of superior intelligence, for we find elsewhere the observation that he acquired almost all the sciences without a master. Bruodin says that even during the year's novitiate his virtues were a subject of universal admiration. He went to Spain soon after his profession, probably in company with the future Bishop of Emly. We next hear of him as a priest in Limerick, where his preaching was rewarded by an abundant harvest of souls. Father O'Cuillin was also sent by his superiors to give missions in various parts of Thomond, where Bruodin's acquaintance with him began. While still young, he tells us, he often listened in his father's house to the fervent exhortations of the holy priest. Powerful as were the Dominican's words to move the hearts of his hearers, the example of his daily life, for those privileged to behold it, was far more so.

Though of delicate frame, he took three severe disciplines, and fasted thrice every week, in addition, of course, to the fast of many vigils, all Fridays throughout the year, and the

they are called the "sons." Thus O'Daly says of Father Collins: "Conventus Limericensis filius;" and the "White" manuscript, with equal accuracy, styles him and Father Woulfe "children of ye Dominican Convent of Limerick." We showed above that Dr. Burke gives no reason for the statement that Father O'Cuillin belonged by affiliation to Athenry.—his only argument apparently for holding that there were two distinct martyrs. We now quote the manuscript used in the Chapter of 1656, which Dr. Burke never saw: "P. Fr. Joannes O'Cuillin, conventus Limericensis." The two last words are not in the printed Acts.

¹ *Passio Martyrum*, lib. iv., chap. xv., p. 728. Pragaë. 1666. Bruodin, O.S.F.

² "Arx Ballinahensiae," Ballynahinch Castle, Barony of Upper Tullagh, Co. Clare. It is said that the M'Namaras were the Clan Cuillin.

continual one from the feast of Holy Cross, September 14th, to Easter Sunday, which were prescribed by his rule. He was the humblest of men, and possessed of such winning sweetness that none could be insensible to its attractions, much less resist its influence. Being a Dominican, it is needless to say he was a devoted client of the Queen of the Rosary. He passed many hours of the day and night in mental or in vocal prayer, wherever he might be, during those outbursts even of fierce persecution when a priest often found it necessary to change his place of refuge; and notwithstanding his toilsome labours, as a missionary, he invariably rose at midnight to say the Divine Office and that of the Blessed Virgin. He always recited them on his knees, while, as he prayed, tears of devotion continually flowed down his pale features. The same tender love of God was always manifested during his Mass. Such are the details of Father O'Cuillin's inner life, as witnessed and minutely portrayed by one who came close to him, and perhaps served at the very altar where his sanctity became more than ever visible. What a beautiful picture rises before the mind's eye; the holy Dominican, for whom the martyr's crown was waiting, absorbed in God as he celebrated the Divine Mysteries in presence of the faithful Irish catholics, for whom it was death to be there; while the boy, reverent and attentive, the future son of St. Francis, historian and theologian, treasures up in loving memory that scene of incomparable faith and piety. After years had rolled by, and Bruodin was living in exile far away from home, a religious, and a priest himself, his thoughts must often have reverted to those long past and happier days, when in his father's house he gazed upon the saintly priest destined so soon to be a martyr. Every word of his narrative breathes veneration and love.

To return to the records of Father O'Cuillin's own Order which extol his love of prayer and penance, and call him a living model of Dominican observance, they relate that on several occasions he refuted in public the assertions of the heretics, inspired fresh courage into the Catholics, and exposed himself to numberless dangers in defence of the Holy See, and its legate Rinuccini.

This intense devotion to the Holy See and burning zeal for Catholic interests is the link, the means of recognition, between Fr. O'Cuillin, the contemplative such as he is depicted by Bruodin, and Fr. Collins, the man of action such as he appears in the pages of O'Daly (*De Geraldinis*, Appendix). The latter shows the glorious deeds which shone so bright in the eyes of men, the former tells of that inner life which was the source of all that heroism: one narrates the active part he took in the defence of religion, the other prefers to dwell on the long arduous preparation by prayer and mortification for his public mission: the one shows how he came by his death, the other recounts the daily practices commenced in early life which enabled him to merit the martyr's crown: one writes what he heard from the lips of those that had escaped from Limerick, and merely says that it sprang from "efficaci fide" the other who most probably read the account in the *De Geraldinis*, and whose personal recollections of the martyr were so vivid, contents himself with calling him "Thaumaturgus ille excellentissimus." One description, in fact, supplements the other. Up to this we listened to Bruodin exclusively, now we shall hear O'Daly.

Father John Collins belonged by affiliation to the Priory of St. Saviour's, Limerick. Though small in person, and of an unprepossessing appearance, he had a noble soul, full of lively faith, and was endowed with such heroism that he performed numerous achievements which amazed all that beheld them. During the siege of Bunratty Castle, before the eyes of the Papal Nuncio, and many bishops, in the white habit of his Order, with crucifix in hand, he led the attack. He animated the Catholic soldiers to conquer, now chiding, now exhorting, now picturing to them the disgrace of defeat, now encouraging them with the hope of victory. Armed men, brave warriors fighting for the faith would have been ashamed not to follow that puny figure whose only defence was its crucifix. What prodigies of valour did not they and their leader perform! A shower of bullets fell around him, till without a wound or a moment's faltering he took his men across the ramparts, and Bunratty Castle was once more in the possession of the Confederate Catholics. This

memorable event occurred in June, 1646. Soon after Rinuccini thus writes: "At Burratty we took ten stands of colours from the English, and they will be carried in the procession when we go to sing the *Te Deum*."

During the siege of Limerick, Father Collins again selected the post of danger. He remained outside the walls in order to discover Ireton's resources, and to watch all the movements of his army. His ingenuity in detecting them was no less marvellous than the rapidity with which he communicated them to the besieged. The struggle wore on, and still he was unflagging in his noble efforts to save the Catholic stronghold. This devoted service cost him his life. So enraged were the Cromwellians at being baffled repeatedly in their attempts on Limerick by the friar, that they had his likeness circulated, and several times passed prospective sentence of death on him. At last he fell into their hands, and was identified by means of the portrait. He crowned his long and unrelaxed struggle with heresy by a martyr's death, in 1652. Yet death was to him a gain, and in it he found his greatest victory. His sole object had ever been, not to slay bodies, but to save souls, and now that he could offer for that purpose the sacrifice of his own life, his dearest wish was accomplished, all that he could do was done. Nor had the persecutors conquered him—no, his was the victory that overcometh the world, that of faith.

Such were the three Dominicans who gave testimony to the faith, when Limerick surrendered. St. Vincent de Paul, who heard about them and the others that suffered in the same devoted city, from his own missionaries on their return to Paris, is reported to have said: "que le sang de ces martyrs ne serait pas en oublié devant Dieu, et que tôt ou tard il servirait à la production de nouveaux catholiques." The words of the saints are often prophetic. It is piously believed that these three children of St. Dominic are now in heaven, among those who have come out of tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb. May the day soon come when their names shall be heard at the altars of the Church militant, and be enshrined in her liturgy.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON SACRAMENTAL ABSOLUTION

IN discussing the question of the giving, refusing, or deferring of absolution, theologians lay it down as a fixed principle, that it ought to be given to every penitent about the sincerity of whose dispositions a confessor entertains no reasonable doubt. "Absolutio," writes Gury, "*concedi debet ex justitia et sub gravi omni poenitenti rite confesso et disposito.*" The reason of the principle is obvious. The Sacrament of Penance is, from its very nature, a species of bilateral contract, wherein a penitent confesses his sins and makes heartfelt protestations of sorrow, on condition that a confessor will exercise in his behalf the exceptional powers wherewith he is invested, and remit the moral faults he has confessed. The power of the confessor is not an arbitrary one, which he can exercise or withhold at his caprice. "Gerens vices Christi," he must remember that while safeguarding the sacred right of which he is the accredited custodian, he is seated in a tribunal, the striking characteristic of which is mercy, and the decisions which he pronounces, while seated in that tribunal, must be tempered with the same divine quality. Mindful that he is the delegate of one who came, not to call the just, but sinners to repentance; who promised to make the way easy and the burden light; he has not so much to regard the nature and gravity of the sins confessed, as the dispositions a penitent brings to the tribunal; and however grave or numerous the former, in the absence of the "*suspicio prudens indispositionis,*" the refusal of absolution would be at once a violation of a penitent's rights, and an abuse of the "*potestas retinendi*" with which, as confessor, he is invested.

The very fact, however, that the exercise of the power is, in a certain sense, discretionary, depending, as it is, on the *judicium prudens*, renders it a matter of extreme difficulty; and the "*judex spiritualis*" who has, in the formation of his judgment, to weigh the evidence on either side, may

be oftentimes biassed, and the power of retaining which he possess, made to do duty for the better disposing and instructing.

That cases will arise in which it will be a matter of duty to refuse absolution, need only be stated. Certain dispositions are required on the part of the penitent, and in the evident absence or doubtful presence of these dispositions, ministering, or attempting to minister, the sacred rite, would be simply to cast pearls before swine. To determine, even in a general way, when there is evidence of such indisposition on the part of a penitent, would involve a discussion of the conditions requisite for a valid sacrament, a task requiring much more time and ability than are at the disposal of the present writer. The "propositum non peccandi" is, as a rule, the element in the judicial process which presents most difficulty; and much, if not all, the doubt on a confessor's mind will hinge upon its sincerity. The most satisfactory evidence that it has been "vere efficax et firmum" is undoubtedly the "emendatio futura"—"vera poenitentia est auteacta flere et flenda non committere;" and while relapse by no means argues an essential defect, it is oftentimes sufficient to create a serious prejudice against its sincerity. Even the most liberal-minded theologians go so far as to say that the penitent "qui post plures confessiones—usually set down as three or four—in eadem peccata et sine ulla emendatione reincidit," has so far discredited his former promises, of amendment, that he can no longer be regarded as sincere in making them. St. Liguori would go even further, and say that relapse "post unam confessionem eodem vel quasi eodem modo absque emendatione" is quite enough to raise a doubt in a confessor's mind, and to cause him to hesitate before ministering absolution. "Recidivi," he writes, "ut communiter docetur, absolvi nequeunt, si sola signa ordinaria afferunt nempe, si tantum confiteantur, se poenitere et proponere." And he describes a recidivus as one "qui post confessionem eodem, vel quasi eodem modo, est relapsus absque emendatione."

Neither the rule laid down by St. Liguori, nor the more liberal one of those who take a more merciful view of the

“recidivus,” may be regarded as determining with mathematical accuracy, the mode of treatment in individual cases. They supply simply so many data, the result, no doubt, of a wide experience and a careful observation of the weakness of human nature, to enable a confessor to arrive at a correct appreciation of a penitent’s dispositions, and to aid him in forming the “*judicium prudens*.” The Roman Catechism lays down a rule which, considering the source from which it emanates, may be taken as fairly well representing the teaching of the most approved authorities on the subject. “*Si audita confessione,*” it writes, “*judicaverit (sacerdos) neque in enumerandis peccatis diligentiam, nec in detestandis dolorem poenitenti omnino defuisse, absolvi poterit.*” And St. Liguori, in another portion of his work, states:—“*Sufficit quod confessarius habeat prudentem probabilitatem de dispositione poenitentis et non obstat ex alia parte prudens suspicio indispositionis; alias vix ullus absolvi potest.*” The question, therefore, of the absolution of the “recidivus” simply comes to this, when, notwithstanding repeated violations of his “*propositum*,” may a confessor feel the “*prudens probabilitas et sine suspicione*,” that he is now really sincere.

No hard-and-fast rule can be laid down, and individual cases as they arise must be largely solved on their own merits and entrusted to the prudence of a confessor. As the “*judex spiritualis*” he will have to weigh the evidence on either side. On the one side he will have to consider the repeated falls following immediately upon resolutions of amendment; and, on the other, the present purpose of amendment fortified with the “*signa doloris*” which accompany it. “At,” writes Lehmkuhl, “*qua ratione et quo gradu haec probatio fieri debet certa regula definiri non potest. Quo magis prejudicium contra sinceritatem doloris et ejus nudaæ assertionis ex frequenti relapsu apparet, eo magis insistendum est ut hoc prejudicium melioribus signis diluatur. Sed si tandem confessarius sibi dicere prudenter debet, non obstante frequenti relapsu, sibi de sincero dolore et proposito solide persuasum esse, non est cur absolutio dari nequeat.*” Occasionally, indeed, the evidences of the sorrow of the

“recidivus” may be so overwhelming, and the proofs of his sincerity of purpose so cogent, as to remove every doubt as to his fitness to receive the grace of sacramental absolution. On the other hand, in spite of protestations to the contrary, and viewed even in light of the teaching of the most liberal-minded theologians, his dispositions may be so very doubtful that the “custos mysteriorum Dei” cannot without a manifest betrayal of his trust attempt the ministration of the sacred rite. The presence of the “signa extraordinaria” will, no doubt, largely aid a confessor in forming his judgment, but even these are not always infallible guides; and, on the other hand, the “dolor supernaturalis,” and the “propositum firmum et efficax” are quite compatible with the absence of any very exceptional manifestations of sorrow. Ballerini puts the whole case very well where he writes: “Ceterum rei substantia in hoc residet ut confessorius undecunque judicandi argumenta hauriat prudens illud de dispositione poenitentis iudicium efformet, quod etiam sanctus Alphonsus, prouti in hac et praeecedente nota innuimus, sufficiens ad rite absolvendum censuit. Suntne haec dispositionis argumenta seu iudicia dicenda ordinaria an extraordinaria juxta quorundam theorias questio minoris momenti videri potest.”

The whole question, therefore, ultimately turns on the prudence of a confessor. In making up his mind as to the fitness or unfitness of his penitent, he will, no doubt, be aided by the *dicta* of theologians, but he must draw largely on his own experience, on his skilful diagnosis of the human heart, and on his accurate knowledge of the circumstances attending individual cases submitted for adjudication. In a work that is highly supernatural, and where divine grace is the principal agent, he can never hope to gauge the result with mathematical accuracy; but having regulated his judgment in accordance with the rules of human prudence, he may rest secure that he has done his part, and that he is free at least from any fault. The words of the Angelic Doctor are particularly consoling. “Faciet,” he writes, “unusquisque quod secundum fidem suam credit esse faciendum.”

Passing from the consideration of the circumstances wherein a confessor may feel called upon, as a matter of duty, to refuse absolution by reason of a serious doubt which he entertains regarding the sincerity of the dispositions of his penitent, a question will arise as to the utility of the practice of deferring it for a time, "*causa experimenti aut medicinae.*" "*Non omnia quae licent expediunt;*" and, although in a sense quite different from the sense in which the words are used by the Apostle, the expediency of deferring absolution for a time will sometimes suggest itself to a confessor. In the tribunal of penance, he is not merely in a judicial capacity, but discharges the duties of spiritual physician as well. As "*judex*" his duties oblige him to inquire into the sins and dispositions of his penitent, with the object of ascertaining if he be a fit subject for absolution. As "*medicus*" he has other, and, if possible, more important duties to discharge. He has to examine the nature of the spiritual maladies confessed, to inquire into the causes whence they arose, and to prescribe the remedies which, in his opinion, will be most efficacious for good, and act most effectively in preventing relapse. In this capacity the question will suggest itself to a confessor, Is it ever for the spiritual good of a penitent to withhold absolution for a time?

Amongst the older theologians, *teste* Ballerini, the question was scarcely considered at all, so much so, that in later times those who opposed the practice of deferring were disposed to regard it as Jansenistic in its origin. As the duties of a confessor became more clearly defined, and more liberal views came to be entertained, the question received an increased amount of attention. As usual, some theologians went to extremes. The Jansenists, and to some extent theologians of the more rigorous school, actuated by a false spirit of zeal, or perhaps by less worthy motives, went so far as to say that absolution ought to be deferred in every case for a time. Such a practice, it was argued, would have the effect of awakening in a penitent a greater horror of sin, a higher appreciation of the dignity of the sacred rite; while at the same time the very difficulty it would create for a penitent, would have the salutary effect of rendering him

more cautious, and possibly of preventing a relapse into sins already confessed. The authors of these views seem to have ignored the medicinal effects of the sacrament, and to have overlooked the fact that the grace it imparts may be much more effective in strengthening the soul in time of temptation than any moral restraint exercised by the withholding of absolution. The difficulty, too, of procuring absolution may be sometimes pushed too far. "Quod arduum est aliquando fit difficillimum;" and the worst evil of all may sometimes be feared, and a penitent, possibly through the mistaken zeal of a confessor, be deterred from ever, or rarely, availing himself of the grace of the sacrament "Maxime enim," as the Roman Catechism writes, "verendum est ne semel dimissi amplius non redeant."

In support of their teaching, so diametrically opposed to the merciful designs of the divine author of the sacred rite, those authors went so far as to invoke the authority of the fathers; and the names of St. Ambrose, St. Charles Borromeo, and a host of others, whose prudence in the guidance of souls can scarcely be questioned, were cited in support of a practice which was completely at variance with their merciful dealings with penitents. Into the arguments adduced from their writings, it would be simply a waste of time to enter; but, judging from the extracts supplied, these venerable names are very far from lending even the shadow of their authority to the rigorous teaching of the Jansenists. St. Charles Borromeo occasionally indeed recommends the deferring of absolution, "Est præterea," he writes, "consultum absolutionem differre;" but it is one thing to recommend it, "ad melius probandum," and quite a different thing to propound an obligation. Bellarmine deplores the facility with which some confessors give absolution; but he would equally reprobate the harsh and revolting theory of the Jansenists which would drive away penitents from the sacrament altogether, and convert what was designed to be a tribunal of mercy into one of tyrannical oppression.

On the other hand, many theologians, *magni nominis*, would never sanction the deferring of absolution, "ratione

experimenti aut medicinae." Some even go so far as to say that deferring with the hope of arousing better dispositions and securing a corresponding increase of sacramental grace, would be at once a violation of a penitent's rights and a fruitless effort to bring about what could be much more effectively accomplished by the infusion of sacramental grace itself. It would, moreover, it is argued, be utterly opposed to the merciful designs of the divine author of the sacrament. The Sacrament of Penance, besides giving grace whereby sins are remitted, supplies the soul with special helps against their recurrence; and the effect of withholding absolution for a time, however short, where a penitent is duly disposed, is to deprive him of those special helps which the sacrament is sure to confer. Sancius, a writer, described as "ingenii acutissimi," favours this opinion. "Infertur," he writes, "non fore saluberrimum consilium interdum negare absolutionem habenti consuetudinem peccandi, quantumcunque id consulat Suarez, etc. Nam si confessarius possit licite absolvere poenitentem ad id tenebitur; habet namque jus penitens ut sibi non negetur absolutio, si dignus sit, nisi ex proprio consensu, cumque consilium de meliori bono debeat esse, sane non capio melius bonum esse poenitentis carere pro aliquo tempore gratia sacramenti quam illa vestiri."

The author of that admirable work, *Instructions for New Confessors*, while admitting that it may be sometimes useful to defer absolution, argues strongly against the practice; and undoubtedly the tendency of ascetic writers is to find a substitute in the better disposing and instructing of the penitents. All appear to be agreed that it is a practice surrounded with many difficulties, and one to which a confessor will have recourse only in exceptional circumstances, and where there are very strong reasons for believing that it will redound to the spiritual advantage of a penitent. "Ceterum," writes Lehmkuhl, "id experimenti causa facere vel ad probandos poenitentes, ordinarie praxis erit contraria spiritui Christi et Ecclesiae." As a consequence, it is laid down that should any *incommodum* arise to a penitent, and there is no longer a hope entertained of a corresponding advantage,

absolution ought not to be deferred. The teaching of Gury may be taken as fairly well representing the teaching of theologians on the subject. "Nunquam," he writes, "differenda est (causa experimenti) quando dilatio magis obfutura praevidetur, nec si ex dilatione absolutionis poenitens notam infamiae subiret, raro differenda est nisi ipse dilationem acceptet."

Should no *incommodum* arise to a penitent in consequence, it is now the received opinion of theologians that absolution may be sometimes postponed with profit to a penitent. We shall cite the testimony of a few. "Si poenitens," writes Sanchez, "id non multum aegre ferat et speretur non ob id retrahatur a confessione, sed potius id fore medicinam, erit consilium differre absolutionem majori suavitate possibili adhibita, si autem oppositum speretur non erit consilium." Bonacina writes: "Non videtur denegari absolutio poenitenti qui firmum habet propositum abstinendi in futurum ab hujusmodi juramentis. Adde differi absolutionem posse, quoties confessarius judicaverit hoc expedire saluti poenitentis." "Denique," writes Lugo, "aliquando utile erit differre absolutionem per aliquot dies." And St. Liguori writes: "Certum est et commune apud omnes quod possit confessarius differre absolutionem poenitenti etiam disposito et etiam sine ejus consensu, semper ac prudenter judicat dilationem esse utilem ejus emendationi."

When such a spiritual gain may be hoped for as will justify the withholding of absolution, is a matter which the prudence of a confessor must decide. It will be his duty to protect the rights of the penitent, and at the same time to procure that he shall receive as large an amount of grace as possible from the sacred rite which he ministers. The penitent is in his hands. Coming into the tribunal of penance, he submits, so to speak, to the ruling of court, and acknowledges his willingness to accept whatever remedies the confessor, who is at once judge and physician, will consider most effectual in improving his spiritual condition. The penitent's rights are, therefore, in no way interfered with by the deferring of absolution; and if for a time he is deprived of the exceptional helps provided by the sacrament, he has consolation in the fact that, with further probation,

a more intense sorrow, and a more serious purpose of amendment, he may yet receive a larger share of sacramental grace. Besides, the very deferring of absolution is in itself a special help, and with the "monita paterna," which are sure to accompany it, one that will be most effective in arousing a penitent to a sense of his duty, to a higher appreciation of the dignity of the sacred rite, and deterring him from the commission of sins, the malice of which he may never have sufficiently realized.

To determine *in specie* where the practice of deferring may be attended with medicinal profit, would be a matter of extreme difficulty, and one regarding which no very definite rule can be laid down, "Expedire hic et nunc," write the Salmanticenses, "abstrahendo a circumstantiis certe determinare non possumus cum ex multis pendet." "Ceterum," writes St. Liguori, "unusquisque in hoc puncto impertiendae vel deferendae absolutionis, sese dirigere debet juxta lumen sibi a Deo datum." St. Liguori in discussing the absolution of the "recidivus" distinguishes between the cases where the cause of sin is something internal or intrinsic to a penitent, and where it is something outside him. Theologians generally, without formally committing themselves to his teaching, adopt the distinction. Where the cause of sin is intrinsic to a penitent—some weakness of nature which he carries about with him, St. Liguori would rely on the sacramental grace for help, and seek in it, rather than in the withholding of absolution, a remedy for the spiritual maladies of the "recidivus." Where the cause of sin is something outside a penitent, particularly if it be a proximate occasion of sin which may be easily avoided, the withholding of absolution, he maintains, may be even obligatory on a confessor, as being the only medicinal help which can exercise a salutary effect.

Salvatori, in his *Instruction for New Confessors*,¹ otherwise so lenient in the matter of giving absolution, mentions two cases in which he would always defer it:—

"Should a person [he writes] voluntarily keep in his house a proximate occasion of sin, or should he retain possession of

¹ Part ii., Sect. i., p. 214.

stolen property, I would always defer giving him absolution, even though he should manifest signs of true repentance. This I would do for two reasons—first, because it being in his power (as I have supposed) to rid himself of this voluntary proximate occasion, and to restore this stolen property, if he does not discharge this twofold duty at once, it is a clear sign that he is not sincere. Secondly, because the actual possession in one's house of a source of pleasure, or of another person's property, has too great power over the human heart in influencing it to forget its duties. Wherefore it is expedient that it should be placed, as it were, under the necessity of not allowing itself to be conquered."

Outside these cases—and they are perhaps the most pressing that can be made—the question of deferring absolution will arise, for the most part, in connection with those who have contracted a habit of sin, which now, as oftentimes before, they express their determination to correct, or who, by reason of their lengthened absence from confession, appear neither to realize its gravity, nor to estimate at their proper value the advantages to be derived from sacramental absolution. "Differenda est absolutio," writes Reuter, "si consideratis omnibus dilatio videatur poenitenti profutura, v.g., ut magnum capiat horrorem peccatorum, gravitatem eorum magis apprehendat, firmetur magis contra relapsus, concipiatur major dolor et firmiter propositum, astringatur magis ad utendum mediis prescriptis, rem alienam restituat damna compenset aliasque obligationes impleat."

In every community, amongst those who approach the tribunal of penance once only in the year, there will be found some who come there, it is to be feared, quite as much to keep up an appearance of religion, and to escape a stigma, as through a sense of their own destitute condition, or any real appreciation of the remedies supplied by sacramental absolution. The circumstances of their lives may protect them from the too frequent commission of the more serious crimes, and their confessions may not reveal as much wickedness as many of those who approach the sacraments more frequently; yet there is an indescribable something about them—a spiritual inactivity—which, although quite compatible with the "*probabilitas prudens de dispositionibus*," makes you feel that giving absolution all at once would

be making the sacrament too cheap, and setting a seal on a very indifferent mode of life. Frequent confession would be, no doubt, for these, the most desirable of all remedies ; but of frequent confession, although oftentimes recommended, they will not avail themselves ; and year after year, under the very shadow of the censure of the Church, they present themselves for absolution. “Unusquisque in suo sensu abundet ;” but to the present writer it would appear that, in the circumstances described, the deferring of absolution may be sometimes attended with advantage. It will cause these people, otherwise so careless and indifferent, to think more seriously of their impoverished spiritual condition ; it will enhance, in their eyes, the dignity of the sacred rite ; and possibly, too, be the means of inducing them to have recourse to it more frequently. The very willingness—oftentimes expressed of their own accord—with which they accept the deferring of absolution goes to show that they feel a want in themselves which, in the meantime, by co-operating with the grace of God, they hope to supply, and thereby to secure a larger share of sacramental grace.

A most important duty of a confessor, “*qua medicus*,” is to prescribe such remedies for his penitent as will protect him from relapse, and it may sometimes happen that the confessor, while thoroughly satisfied with the present dispositions of a penitent, believes that the remedies prescribed will prove unavailing, and that he will again relapse into sins similar to those confessed. Theologians [not merely suppose such a case possible, but, furthermore, regard it as at least a probable opinion, that neither the “*certo credit*” of a confessor or a penitent, or both, as to relapse on the part of a penitent, is sufficient to discredit his present dispositions. The plain inference is, therefore, that a confessor may form the “*judicium prudens*,” and feel justified in pronouncing sentence of absolution, while believing that his penitent will again fall into sin, and that the future record of his life will be merely a repetition of the past. Examples of the kind will occur to every person who has to deal with those addicted to the sin usually designated as “*malum consortium*.” At present these penitents, under the influence

of divine grace, sincerely detest their sins, and promise to amend; but such is their weakness in time of temptation—well known to a confessor from experience—that there is reason to believe that a little time only will have elapsed when the same sinful habit will be renewed. Here, too, it is believed, deferring of absolution will be sometimes attended with advantage; for, while it will not be denied that the possession of sacramental grace for a time, however short, is a treasure of exceptional value, we should not lose sight of the terrible description given by our Blessed Saviour of the relapsing sinner, and of the awful punishment in store for those “*qui semel illuminati iterum prolapsi sunt.*” The very fear, which the deferring of absolution will infuse into their minds, together with the uncertainty of their present spiritual state—always powerful motives—will stimulate them in time of temptation, and render them more cautious in avoiding dangerous occasions. De Lugo appears to contemplate this class of cases where he writes: “*Similiter ergo, quando merito timet poenitentem nunc absolutum facile relapsurum statim in eadem crimina nisi ipsa difficultate et dilatione absolutionis territus melius agnoscat gravitatem peccati et necessitatem emendationis; potest differre absolutionem ut poenitens utiliter admonitus non remaneat in tanto periculo reincidentiae quantum alias certissime subiret.*”

There is another class of cases, and it is only one to which the present writer will refer, in which the deferring of absolution, in his opinion, may be attended with advantage. A salutary effect is to be found in those who have contracted a habit of cursing. Everybody must notice, with pain, the facility with which such a habit is contracted, and how frequently youths, who have scarcely yet learned the malice of more serious sins, will have no difficulty in invoking the name of God, and the Sacred Name on the most trivial occasions. So strong has the habit grown, and so natural has it become to them to indulge their impious imprecations, that rarely, if at all, have they sufficient advertence to make them responsible for individual acts. But then, there is the habit contracted

which they are bound by a grave obligation to correct, and it is scarcely possible but they have sometimes adverted to the necessity of correcting it. The habit of cursing is, as a rule, contracted by example, and people indulge in it, more, perhaps, from a desire of appearing grandiloquent, and giving emphasis to their ordinary conversation, than from any inherent tendency of human nature. To correct it there is required simply a certain amount of vigilance, which will oftentimes be best acquired by withholding absolution for a time. For, as Medina, quoted by Ballerini, observes, cursing is a fault of the tongue rather than of the heart, and is easily amended. "Quia," he writes, "hoc peccatum magis est in lingua quam in corde et sic facile corrigitur si adsit mediocris attentio." And Ballerini, after analyzing the "dicta" of theologians on the subject, sums up by saying, "Ejusmodi linguae vitia habent quaedam incommoda, non aliis vitiis communia; atque adeo dilatio absolutionis suadetur ob causam quae non est cuilibet consuetudini communis."

Whatever may be said of the truth of these views—and they are put forward with great diffidence—few will be found to question the practical wisdom of the recommendation embodied in the constitution of the illustrious Pontiff Leo XII. :—

"Quocunque [he writes] animo sint qui accedunt ad sacramentum Poenitentiae, nihil ei (confessario) magis cavendum est, quam ne . . . quisquam . . . sacramento reconciliationis infensus discedat. Quare si justa sit causa, cur differenda sit absolutio, verbis, quoad poterit . . . humanissimis persuadeat confessis, necesse est, id et munus officiumque suum et eorum ipsorum salutem omnino postulare, eosque ad redeundum quamprimum blandissime alliciat, ut iis fideliter peractis, quae salubriter praescripta fuerint, vinculis saluti peccatorum gratiae coelestis dulcedine reficiantur."

D. FLYNN, C.C.

PRIEST, POET, AND PREACHER

“ Oh, ye who bend above his grave,
 And deck it over with roses sweet,
 Make room for one whose heart doth crave
 To lay a tribute at his feet.
 Spurn not this offering of mine,
 Although, perchance, it may be least—
 A little spray of Northern pine
 From one who loved the poet-priest.”

AMONGST the many garlands that have been woven in honour of the memory of the Irish-American poet-priest of the Southern States, it may be fitting that one should appear from an Irish priest, of pure Celtic blood, in the pages of our national ecclesiastical magazine. The different incidents of the life of the late Rev. A. J. Ryan, and every scrap of his literary compositions, in poetry and prose, have been for many years noted and treasured up by the present writer. But, in order not to trespass on ground occupied by others, he proposes in this sketch to confine himself principally to the narration of some facts new, at least to the generality of readers, on this side of the Atlantic, and to a brief review of Father Ryan as a preacher and a religious poet.

One of the most baneful effects of the English domination in Ireland was the stunting of its intellectual development. The priceless mine of Irish talent had to remain long buried under a mountain of repression and neglect. But now, in this new era of freedom, our emerald gems of reasoning and poetry win the admiration of the world of letters by their freshness, fecundity, and brilliancy :—

“ Et gemma deterso luto,
 Nitore vincit sidera.”

J. B. O'Reilly, the late Brother Azarias (Father P. Mullany, of Killenaule, County Tipperary), Archbishops Ryan, Ireland, and Hennessy, and the subject of our present essay, Father Ryan, are striking examples of what the sparkling Celtic intellect is capable of under the fostering ægis of the Stars and Stripes.

Now, as to our poet-priest's name : he himself gave it, and signed it, "Abram Jefferson Ryan." He never used the form "Abraham" in his letters, or any other way. Father Ryan was born in Norfolk, Virginia, on the 15th August, 1837, and baptized in Hagertown Church, Maryland. His parents were Irish, and came from the County Limerick. Having early evinced a disposition for the priesthood, he was sent, after his classical studies, to The Barrens, the Vincentian seminary at Cape Girardeau, Missouri, where he made his theological course, and was ordained in 1861. At the outbreak of the Civil War, Father Ryan sought for and obtained the position of chaplain in one of the Southern regiments (the 8th Tennessee), and in his ecclesiastical capacity he followed the fortunes of the stars and bars until their final eclipse at Appomatox Court-house.

One of his brothers, David Jefferson Ryan, was a captain in the Confederate service, and was killed in one of the early engagements, at the age of sixteen. The brother's death marks an era in the poet's own life, a strong influence on his career. As he said himself, "The war meant a little to me, studying theology in college, until David was killed, and then I was another man." This may cast a new light of grief and love on Father Ryan's strong war poems :—

"Thou art sleeping, brother, sleeping,
In thy lonely battle grave ;
Shadows o'er the past are creeping ;
Death, the reaper, still is reaping ;
Years have swept, and years are sweeping,
Many a memory from my keeping,
But I'm waiting still and weeping
For my beautiful and brave.

"Forth, like many a noble other,
Went he, whispering soft and low :
' Good-bye—pray for me, my mother ;
Sister, kiss me—farewell, brother ;'
And he strove his grief to smother,
Thus from all he loved to go."

His brother's death, and his sympathy for their mother,

furnished the poet-priest with the subject of another of his beautiful poems, the ode *In Memory of My Brother* :—

“ Young as the youngest who donned the grey,
 True as the truest that wore it,
 Brave as the bravest he marched away
 (Hot tears on the cheek of his mother lay);
 Triumphant waved our flag one day—
 He fell in the front before it.”

Mrs. M. E. Hery-Ruffin, in a communication to the *Mobile News*, writes :—

“ Of his mother he often spoke tenderly and reverently, saying that his separation from her was a daily sacrifice. She was living at the time of the publication of his poems, 1881, in St. Louis. I think Father Ryan one day remarked that he was puzzled about dedicating his book; and when I said, ‘Dedicate your book to your mother,’ he seemed greatly pleased that I should appreciate his devotion to her; and, as the volume itself shows, he followed the dictates of his own heart and my suggestion.”

The dedication is made in these words :—

THESE SIMPLE RHYMES
 ARE LAID AS A GARLAND OF LOVE
 AT THE FEET OF HIS MOTHER, BY
 HER CHILD,
 THE AUTHOR.

Another member of the family, of whom Father Ryan often spoke, was his young sister, an accomplished musician, who died suddenly while the poet was completing his theological studies.

The poem headed “Presentiment: My Sister,” has the following :—

“ And I knew the voice; not a sweeter
 On earth or in heaven can be;
 And never did shadow pass fleeter
 Than it, and its strange melody;
 And I know I must hasten to meet her,
 ‘Yea! Sister! Thou callest to me!’

.

And I saw the hand with the garland,
Ethel's hand—holy and fair ;
Who went long ago to the far land
To weave me the wreath I shall wear ;
And, to-night, I look up to the starland,
And pray that I soon may be there."

Father Ryan was an enthusiastic Southerner—his heart's affections were wrapped up in the Southern cause, and some of his grandest lyrics were sung in eulogizing it. In fact, it may be said that it was that cause which made him a poet, for, although there is no question but that other songs which treat of religious subjects might have won him renown, it is as the poet of the "Lost Cause" that he will be most remembered.

His poem of "The Conquered Banner," is a song of surpassing sadness and tender sweetness—a wail of sorrow from the broken heart with which the South saw its hopes die out when that banner was furled. Here is the first stanza of that poetic Celtic wail :

" Furl that Banner, for 'tis weary ;
Round its staff 'tis drooping dreary ;
Furl it, fold it, it is best ;
For there's not a man to wave it,
And there's not a sword to save it,
And there's not one left to lave it
In the blood which heroes gave it ;
And its foes now scorn and brave it ;
Furl it, hide it—let it rest !"

Naturally, the Irish blood in his veins inspired Father Ryan to sing of Innisfail; and his magnificent address to "Erin's Flag" will be long remembered and quoted, together with the soul-stirring and more finished apostrophe to "The Sword of Lee" :—

" Out of its scabbard ! Never hand
Waved sword from stain as free,
Nor purer sword led braver band,
Nor braver bled for a brighter land,
Nor brighter land had a cause so grand,
Nor cause a chief like Lee."

In a beautiful poem, written for the *Boston Pilot*, and entitled "The Song of the Deathless Voice," his devotion

to Erin and love for the old Celtic race manifests itself in glowing imagery:—

“ Am I not in my blood as old as the race whence I sprang?
 In the cells of my heart feel I not all its ebb and its flow?
 And old as our race is, is it not still for ever young
 As the youngest of Celts in whose breast Erin’s love is
 aglow?
 Ah! blood forgets not in its flowing its forefather’s wrongs—
 They are the heart’s trust from which we may ne’er be
 released;
 Blood keeps in its throbs the echoes of all the old songs,
 And sings them the best when it flows thro’ the heart of
 a priest.”

The above does not appear in the volume of Father Ryan’s collected poems, first published by the firm of J. L. Rapier & Co., Mobile, at the instance of a young legal friend, Harmis Taylor, who in the Preface states that: “ These, his poems, have moved multitudes. They have thrilled the soldier on the eve of battle, and quickened the martial impulses of a chivalric race; they have soothed the soul wounds of the suffering; and they have raised the hearts of men in adoration and benediction to the great Father of all.”

Father Ryan, in his own Preface, informs us that:—

“ These verses [which some friends call by the higher title of Poems—to which appellation the Author objects] were written at random—off and on, here, there, anywhere—just when the mood came, with little of study, and less of art, and always in a hurry. Hence they are incomplete in finish, as the Author is, though he thinks they are true in tone. His feet know more of the humble steps that lead up to the Altar and its Mysteries, than of the steps that lead up to Parnassus and the Home of the Muses, and souls were always more to him than songs.”

From the *Louisville Courier Journal*, we learn that the Southern poet-priest was a musician as well as a poet. He would frequently go to the house of one of his parishioners, and, telling the servant not to call anyone, would take his seat at the piano. He would play and improvise for hours, and upon coming back to the things of this world would be surprised to find he had spent four or five hours in perfect

ignorance of his surroundings. He himself informs us, in his Lecture on "The Flower of Consent"¹:—

"I went over to the piano, to sing a hymn in honour of holy Mary, and I wondered again how all the melodies of music rest on only seven notes. And I thought again, as often before, how in the nature that surrounds, and in its works, we find so many beautiful types and striking counterparts of the wonders of God's grace in the realms of revelation."

Shortly after the war, Father Ryan became attached to the diocese of Mobile, the bishop of which at that time, the late Right Rev. John Quinlan, whose heart was as big as his frame was massive, welcomed the sad singer to his see, and appointed him to an important trust, at the Cathedral of the Immaculate Conception. Prior to going to Mobile, Father Ryan had been located at Nashville and Clarksville in the diocese of Nashville, and he also did duty for a while at Natchez, Miss. During his stay at Mobile, Father Ryan became in a manner the preacher of the cathedral; and whenever it was known that he was to occupy the pulpit, the church proved insufficient to hold the vast audiences which always gathered to listen to his eloquence; and, for that matter, his lectures may be described as poetic discourses in prose form. The whole nature of the man seemed imbued with lofty thoughts, and whether he spoke in prose or wrote in verse, one could not help recognising that it was a true poet who was speaking.

After some years of duty in Mobile, Father Ryan, who was deeply engaged then in literary work, asked and obtained his superior's permission to retire from the more active ministry, in order that he might be able to give more time to his books, on one of which, *The Story Runneth Thus*, he was engaged at the time of his death. He first assumed pastoral charge of the Church of the Holy Redeemer, Eupaula, Ala; but finding even that too burdensome, he retired to Biloxi, Miss., where he made his residence for several years. As this place is only six miles from Beauvoir, where the ex-President of the Confederation, Jefferson Davis, had his home, the intimate friendship which existed

¹ *Crown for our Queen*, p. 120.

between the priest and the deposed President naturally led to frequent communication between them; and some of Father Ryan's pleasantest hours were spent at Beauvoir in talking with his host over the sad incidents of the war, and recalling the memories of mutual friends who fell in their efforts to build up a southern confederacy. Father Ryan was invited to visit Boston by the Jesuit Fathers. During his sojourn as guest at their college, he frequently preached at their Church of the Immaculate Conception, and delivered a certain number of lectures in the city and its vicinity.

Returning to the south-west, his time was mainly occupied in preaching missions and giving lectures. His last visit, previous to going to Louisville to die, appears to have been to Reading, Ohio, of which place the Rev. Charles M'Callion was pastor. It was Father Ryan's intention in visiting Louisville to make a spiritual retreat, after which he proposed to complete his book. But, shortly after his arrival, he was taken ill with an old complaint, organic heart disease. Although the good Franciscan friars did all they could for him, calling in the best physicians of the city, the distinguished patient rapidly grew worse, and passed away on the night of the 22nd April, 1886.

In his illness, the priestly poet's mind wandered pitifully back to the scenes of his earlier days. Anon he was with the troops on the battlefield, exhorting them to do their duty, and anon he was addressing vast congregations with all of his old-time eloquence. The end was near, however, and death came at last to claim the sufferer, and bring the weary spirit rest. The news of Father Ryan's demise caused universal sorrow in the South, where he was best known, and consequently most loved; and throughout the North there were many who grieved when they heard that the poet-priest's tuneful voice had been stilled for evermore.

Whilst the remains of the dead singer lay in state at the Franciscan convent, Louisville, they were viewed by a constant stream of friends. At 10.30 they were removed to St. Boniface's Church, where the funeral services were held. The ex-Confederate soldiers of Louisville attended the funeral in a body, and a committee of their number, amongst

whom were many distinguished ex-Confederate officers, judges of the United States and state courts, and prominent citizens acted as pall-bearers and a funeral escort. They carried with them a floral cross, an immense Passion cross of lilies, surmounted by a Neil rose crown, to which was attached a card inscribed, "Love and sympathy of the ex-Confederate soldiers of Louisville." This they placed upon his coffin as a tribute to his revered memory. Before removing the remains from the monastery the confederate veterans assembled at the bier, where General Alpheus Baker read resolutions expressive of the deep sorrow occasioned by Father Ryan's death, and of the love and veneration in which he was held by his old comrades. The body was borne to the depot, and shipped to Mobile, where it was interred with full military honours. These incidents are in a great measure copied from a notice appearing in the *Boston Republic*, May, 1886.

FATHER RYAN'S GRAVE

A Mobile (Ala.) correspondent of the *New Orleans Times Democrat* writes:—

"Just beyond Three-mile creek, and on top of the plateau which rises beyond the valley, is located the Catholic cemetery. No more beautiful spot could be found for the last resting-place of the dead—far away from the noise and turmoil of the city, surrounded by gardens, but shut in by the luxuriant growth of the Southern summer hedges of Osage orange, combined with the blackberry and wild Cherokee roses, that form a barrier stronger than walls of brick, in the sweet solitude of a summer afternoon. Hereabouts are the resting-places of many who had played prominent parts in the days gone by, but who now sleep the sleep of the just.

"In the eastern portion of the cemetery, where the rays of the morning sun first fall upon the hallowed precinct, rest the remains of Rev. A. J. Ryan—Father Ryan, as he was wont to be called by Protestants as well as Catholics, whom all Mobile loved for his gentle and earnest manner as man and priest—a man who sang the sweetest songs of the fair South, and her brave sons battling for a lost cause. Renowned as poet, priest, and patriot, the name of Father Ryan is known and honoured wherever the spirit of freedom lives. Here, undisturbed, rest the remains of Father Ryan, in the lot of the 'Children of Mary,' a church

organization composed of young ladies of the church for whom he was spiritual director.

“A large white marble slab covers the vault in the earth beneath. At the head of the slab, contained within a circle, surrounded by stars and clouds, is a reproduction of the Confederate banner, and emblematical of ‘The warrior’s banner takes its flight to greet the warrior’s soul.’ The head is marked by a large cross of white marble, five feet high, and resting on a brownstone base that raises it one foot higher. The cross in its centre bears the insignia of his holy office, the cup and wafer.”

The late poet-priest of the South frequently told the following anecdote of his stay in New Orleans:—It was during the war, when General Butler was in charge of the city. A Catholic soldier in the Union forces there died, and because some one blundered no religious rites were observed at the funeral. It was reported to Butler that Father Ryan had refused to read the burial service. In a towering rage Butler sent for the priest, and in the most peremptory and offensive way demanded to know why he had not given all the honours of the Church to the deceased. Father Ryan quietly explained the matter, showing that he was not to blame; that the fault was due to the comrades of the dead soldier, and added: “It is, therefore, not true that I refused to bury him. It is also not true that I have publicly and repeatedly refused to officiate at the funeral of any Federal soldier or officer. On the contrary, it is the reverse of the truth, for, General, it would give me great pleasure to bury the whole lot of you!” Butler’s stern face relaxed into a grim smile, and from that day he and Father Ryan had no further trouble in common.

The following tribute, by A. A. Mosher, to the memory of Father Ryan, was published immediately after his death in *The Catholic Mirror*:—

“IN MEMORY OF FATHER RYAN.”

“Dead! ah, say not so!
 It is too harsh a word to speak of him,
 Although the soul-light in his gentle eyes be dim.
 And silent be the voice we loved, e’en though
 Beneath the Southern flowers by the Alabama’s flow
 The pale face of the poet-priest is tenderly laid low,
 His is not dead—ah, no!”

“ Soft ! he sleeps, 'tis best—
The rest he longed for so hath come at last,
With Christ's own passion hath his passion passed.
He died upon his cross, he chose it, 'twas his own ;
He loved it best of all, yet oft his human heart made moan ;
There sighs through all his melodies a minor undertone
That plead for rest.

“ ‘ When ? ’ he used to say—
‘ I wonder when. In spring ? shall I die then ? ’
Ah, well ! he knew it would be sweet, no matter when,
In balmy spring, when all the earth is gay,
Or summer morn, or autumn eve, or wintry day,
When in December's ice-bound tomb sleeps beauteous May,
It would be sweet alway,

“ Yes, it was in spring
That thou did'st kneel and kiss His sacred feet
In His own home in Heaven. Oh ! it was meet
That thou shouldst go when loud hosannas ring,
When heaven and earth's commingled voices sing,
Their Easter alleluias to the risen King ;
Meet thou shouldst bring.

“ Then the cross you bore,
And lay it down as thou, victorious from the strife,
Entered thy native land, thy home of peaceful life.
Thy cross-life now is ended, and thy crown-life is begun ;
Thou hast seen our Father face to face, and heard Him say :
‘ Well done ;
I welcome thee, thou faithful heart, receive the crown, My
son,
Thy faith hath won.’

“ Sleep ! no cares molest
Thy quiet slumber on thy peaceful Southern shore,
Whose tender, gentlest zephyrs soft are whispering ever-
more
To fairest flowers that bloom above thy pulseless breast.
‘ Alabama,’ and the river murmurs soft, so softly, lest
It wake thee—‘ Alabama, Alabama, here we rest,
For ever rest.’ ”

N. MURPHY.

THE FORMATION OF THE PALESTINIAN CANON

1. HISTOIRE DU CANON DE L'ANCIEN TESTAMENT. Par A. Loisy. Paris, 1890.
2. INTRODUCTIO IN SACRAM SCRIPTURAM. Auctore Ubaldo Ubaldi. Vol. ii. Romae, 1882.
3. HISTOIRE DU PEUPLE D'ISRAEL. Par Ernest Renan. Tome Quatrième. Paris, 1893.
4. INTRODUCTION TO THE LITERATURE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By S. R. Driver, D.D. Edinburgh, 1891.

THE interest taken in the study of the Old Testament writings shows no signs of abating. Publications appear in vast numbers, year after year, from men of all shades of belief; some attacking the sacred books, others throwing fresh light upon problems still unsolved regarding them. Meanwhile the task of the Christian apologist continues to be one of great importance and of growing complexity. For he has now to deal with a solid phalanx of critical opinion which pretends, with more or less unanimity and consistency to explain the history of Israel, the prophetic teachings, and the growth of the Torah, together with the development of religion among the Israelites, upon principles certainly entirely different from—some would say inconsistent with—the tradition of the Christian Church on these subjects.

In the following pages we do not propose to discuss the value of the teaching of modern criticism. Our task is to examine into the way in which the collection of the books forming the Palestinian canon was made; to see how far the destructive criticism of these days is consistent with traditional teaching as to the Jewish canon; and whether our own views are altogether in conformity with the views of early ecclesiastical writers, and Jewish tradition on the subject.

The theory, which was almost universally held for fifteen centuries, and which still finds defenders among Catholic and Protestant writers, assigns the formation of the Jewish canon to Esdras, some associating with him in that work the men of the great synagogue. That such was the opinion of

St. Irenæus, Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, St. Basil, Theodoret, St. John Chrysostom, Venerable Bede, and a host of others, does not admit of a doubt. Indeed many of them go farther still, and assert that Esdras re-wrote all the books of the Old Testament from divine inspiration.

What evidence is there for this theory, so simple in itself, and, if true, at once disposing of the question of the Jewish canon? To put it plainly, when we look for positive historical proof, we find nothing of a satisfactory character, whilst there are many things that militate against the likelihood of such an explanation. In fact, ancient ecclesiastical witnesses seem to have been deceived by the author of the apocryphal fourth book of Esdras; and, combining what they found there with the words of Josephus, and certain expressions and chapters in the book of Esdras-Nehemias, to have constructed their theory as to formation of the Hebrew canon.

In the fourth book of Esdras¹ the writer is represented (xiv.) as lamenting to God the destruction of the Law, and begging from Him power to re-write it; that, after his death, men might not be left destitute of divine instruction. God grants Esdras' request, and he prepares to write with five skilled scribes. Next day he hears a voice saying to him, "Esdras, open thy mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink;" after which we read (vv. 39-48):—

"Then opened I my mouth, and behold He reached me a full cup, which was full, as it were, with water, but the colour of it was like fire. And I took it and drank; and when I had drunk of it my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my heart, for my spirit strengthened my memory; and my mouth was opened, and shut no more. The Highest gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote by course, the things that were told them, in characters which they knew not,² and they sat forty days; they wrote in the day time, and at night they ate bread. As for me, I spake in the day, and by night I held not my tongue. In forty days they wrote ninety-four³ books. And it came to

¹ Written towards the close of the first century A.D. Cf. Schürer, ii. 656, f.: cf. Driver, pp. 30, 31.

² An allusion to the introduction of "square" characters by Esdras.

³ So the Syriac, Ethiopian, Arabic, and Armenian. The Vulgate has two hundred and four. Ubaldi (vol. ii., p. 162) founds an argument on the number two hundred and four, without even mentioning what seems undoubtedly the correct reading.

pass, when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spake, saying, The first that thou hast written¹ publish openly: but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them only to such as be wise among the people; for in them is the spring of understanding, the foundation of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge."

Here Esdras is represented as re-writing in their entirety the twenty-four books of the Jewish canon, and seventy more besides, which clearly represent the apocryphal books. It is undoubtedly this passage in pseudo-Esdras that chiefly influenced the early fathers in their account of the Jewish canon; in fact, as M. Loisy says²: "All the ecclesiastical writers who have attributed to Esdras the formation of the canon depend more or less, directly or indirectly, on the apocryphal document of which we have been speaking." We do not deny that the account given in the canonical book of Esdras-Nehemias regarding the part played by Esdras in the publication of the Law (Neh. viii.-x.), and the statement that he was "a ready scribe in the law of Moses" (Es. vii. 6), contributed to the same belief, or that the writers to whom we refer were influenced by the words of Josephus, in which he says that the succession of the prophets ceased with the reign of Artaxerxes.³ But we contend that the evidence which almost entirely decided the opinion of the early fathers on the Jewish canon was the pseudo-Esdras.

Now, that the words of the Fourth Book of Esdras cannot be received as serious, history requires no proof. The account it gives of the re-writing of the sacred works is deservedly rejected by all. As for the canonical book of Esdras-Nehemias, it has not a word to say on the formation of the canon by Esdras; whilst Josephus is also silent on the subject. But, surely, if Josephus, the great historian and antiquarian of the Jews, had anything to say as to the author of the Jewish canon, he would have said it when writing on the subject of the canonical books. Nor can we neglect to notice the fact that the name of Esdras is omitted in the book of Ecclesiasticus (xliv.) among the great men

¹ That is, the twenty-four canonical books.

² Page 20.

³ *C. Apionem*, i. 8.

that had illustrated Israel. Would this have been possible, if the rôle attributed to him by later writers were not derived from legend rather than history? ¹ As far as we can see, therefore, there is no evidence for the ancient view which considers Esdras as the author of the Old Testament canon.

We proceed next to set forth the conclusions of modern Biblical science regarding the canon of the Palestinian Jews. First, then, as to the canonization of the law. Modern critics are pretty well unanimous in assigning the composition of the twofold document which they discover running through the Hexateuch, and which they call the prophetic narrative, to a date certainly not later than B.C. 750. Deuteronomy, they say, and the kindred legislation, was first published in B.C. 621, when, in the reign of King Josias, the book of the Law was discovered in the temple.² Up to that time the Priestly Code had not been committed to writing. But during the captivity, when the temple was destroyed, and worship at an end, the priests were at work writing down the liturgic customs of the past. They did not, however, confine themselves to merely rescuing from oblivion their ancient traditions; they aimed at reformation; ³ and when Esdras, the priest, returned to Jerusalem, in the year 458 B.C., he carried with him the Priestly Code, or last part of the Hexateuch.

In the second book of Esdras (viii.) a circumstantial account is given of how the priest Esdras read the Law, in the presence of the whole people of Israel, in what was, in all probability, the year 444 B.C. Of that Law Wellhausen says: "There is no doubt that the law of Ezra was the whole Pentateuch;" ⁴ and, speaking of the part that Esdras had in completing the Law, Driver says⁵: "It would not be inconsistent with the terms in which he is spoken of in the Old Testament to suppose that the final redaction and completion of the Priest's Code, or even of the

¹ Notice that the names of Zorobabel, Jesus, son of Josedech, and Nehemias, occur in that chapter.

² 4 Kings, xxii.

³ Wellhausen, *History of Israel*, p. 404, &c.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 408.

⁵ *Lit. of the Old Testament*, p. 32.

Pentateuch generally, was his work." Renan, too, whose *History of Israel* resumes the very latest teaching of the "higher criticism," thinks it "not only possible, but even probable, that Esdras had a hand in the redaction of the final ritual and levitical additions"¹ to the Hexateuch.

Renan then asks, was Esdras the promulgator of the Law?² And he adds that probably the second book of Esdras represents, in a general way, the truth in that matter. It may, indeed, be taken to be the general teaching of later critical scholars, that the Law referred to in the second book of Esdras was, for all practical purposes, our Pentateuch, and that Esdras was the man who laid the foundation of the Jewish canon by promulgating the Law.³

We reproduce here a passage from the most eminent of German critics, with a view to making clear the opinion held by men of that school as to the part taken by Esdras in the formation of the Jewish canon:—

"Ezra and Nehemias [writes Wellhausen]⁴ and the eighty-five men of the great assembly [Neh. viii. *et seq.*], who are named as signatories of the covenant, are regarded by later tradition as the founders of the canon. And not without reason: only King Josiah has a still stronger claim to this place of honour. The introduction of the Law, first Deuteronomy, and then the whole Pentateuch, was, in fact, the decisive step by which the written took the place of the spoken word, and the people of the word became a 'people of the book.' To *the book* were added, in course of time *the books*; the former was formally and solemnly introduced in two successive acts, the latter acquired imperceptibly a similar public authority for the Jewish Church. The notion of the canon proceeds entirely from that of the written Torah; the prophets and the hagiographa are also called Torah by the Jews, though not Torah of Moses."

Esdras, therefore, having canonized the Pentateuch, it is easy to account for the presence of the book of Josue in the

¹ Vol. iv., p. 108.

² Page 118.

³ Kuenen, whilst holding that the different parts of the Hexateuch had been written when Esdras published his Torah, in 444 B.C., maintains that what he published was only the Priestly Code. The work of writing the Priestly Code with the remaining portions of the Hexateuch was, however, quickly taken in hand by the *Sopherim*, and before the end of the fifth century they had produced the Hexateuch. (Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, p. 314.)

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, p. 409.

sacred volume ; for modern criticism regards that book as an integral part of the Hexateuch. It was only, according to Renan,¹ because people regarded the law of Moses as the great object of the Hexateuch that the part following the death of Moses came to be looked upon as a distinct work, and so, in course of time, was separated from the Pentateuch.

When the Hexateuch had once received its final form "it became customary, without doubt," says Renan,² "to transcribe after it the book of Judges, and the books named after Samuel, such as they had been drawn up under Ezechias, and interpolated under Josias. The books of Kings were placed after them." So the former prophets found their way into the canon. Already, before the exile, the same writer thinks, a collection of the prophets had been made, especially of those anterior to Isaias, which contained the prophecies of such men as Osee and Amos. For Renan regards the volume of the Minor Prophets as nothing more than an anthology, culled from a larger volume, comprising chiefly passages favourable to the union between the kingdoms of Israel and Juda, and what we should now call "Messianic prophecies."

The collection of the prophets was finished about the same time as the publication of the Law, so that there was now in existence a second volume side by side with the book of Moses. This second collection was not, however, yet closed. The writings of a certain unknown prophet, who flourished in the days of Nehemias, were yet to be added. But when the prophecies of Malachias had found a place in the sacred volume, nothing more was inserted. The canon of the prophets was closed. Accordingly, the result of the resuscitation of prophecy which took place in the times of the Maccabees—Renan refers to the book of Daniel—had to rest content with a place among the *Ketoubim* or hagiographa. Even writings to which a very high degree of inspiration was attributed, could not force an entry among the canonical books, and had to remain outside, in the last pages of the

¹Page 114.

²*Loc. cit.*

sacred volume. In fact, besides the Torah, and the Former and Latter Prophets, no books ever formed part of the Jewish canon strictly so called. Such is the history of the Jewish canon, according to modern criticism. In the following pages we propose to discuss the evidence upon which that history is based; then we shall be in a position to say how far we agree with the conclusions of modern critics, and in what we differ from them. As Ubaldi remarks,¹ it seems clear that no *canon* or authentic collection of the sacred books existed before the Babylonian captivity. And, indeed, from one point of view, it would be more satisfactory to begin the examination of the history of the canon from the time of Esdras; for all are agreed that the Law existed, practically in its present form, at that time. Still, for completeness sake, it will be necessary to enter briefly into the question of the state of the sacred writings before the captivity, though, in doing so, we shall be obliged to postulate the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch. As, however, the results of this preliminary inquiry in no way affect the history of the canon from the time of Esdras, no confusion can possibly arise from it.

It seems to have been customary with all ancient peoples to preserve their sacred writings in the temples. It is not surprising, therefore, to read that Moses ordered the Pentateuch, when completed, to be placed by the ark (Deut. xxxi. 25); and that, later on, the book of Josue was added to it, as forming a kind of supplement to it (Jos. xxiv. 26). The Hexateuch was thus, in a way, canonized from the very earliest times. Still, it must not be imagined that from the time of Moses the Law enjoyed undisputed supremacy. Far from it. It was constantly resisted and neglected. Indeed in the eighteenth year of Josias, in practice it seems almost to have been unknown.² Nor did it ever reign supreme till after the captivity.

That collections of the Psalms existed before the exile, there can be no doubt. But whether they possessed anything more than a liturgical character, is not clear. Certainly

¹ Vol. ii., p. 137.

² Cf. Loisy, p. 34.

the Psalter, as we have it now, was not completed before the time of Esdras.¹ So, too, we know that collections of Proverbs existed in very early times. Thus there is no reason to doubt that such a collection was made in the time of Solomon; and we read of another in the days of Ezechias (Prov. xxv. 1). Still it seems to us unlikely that the book of Proverbs in its entirety existed, or that the collection of Proverbs was regarded as canonical before the exile.² Renan, as we have seen above, is of opinion—nor is there any reason to suppose him mistaken—that already before the captivity a volume of the prophetic writings existed, from which what we still possess of the Minor Prophets was taken. There are many indications of the existence of such a volume. Thus, Jeremias seems to have been familiar with the writings of his predecessors; Zacharias, who flourished during the exile, refers (vii. 12) to “the Law” and “the Former Prophets,” as being two complete works; and Daniel seems to have had at hand a collection of the prophetic writings which he made the subject of study, for he alludes in one place³ to “the Books,” as to a work containing, among other things, the prophecies of Jeremias. These facts go to show that collections of the writings of the prophets existed before the exile, and were preserved with care. There is no evidence, however, that any official or canonical collection had been made before that date.

Moses and Josue committed to writing the leading events of the Exodus and the Conquest of Canaan. So, too, chroniclers were not wanting to write down the events of the later history of the people of Israel. The book of Judges is largely based upon contemporary documents;⁴ the facts narrated in the books of Samuel were recorded by the prophets Samuel, Gad, and Nathan (1 Para. xxix. 19); and that the history of the later kings was written down by contemporary annalists, is clear from the sources quoted by

¹ Cornely, vol. ii. (2), p. 108.

² Cf. Cornely, vol. ii. (2), p. 142, *et seq.*

³ ix. 2. The Douay version has “books,” but the Septuagint and Hebrew have both the article.

⁴ Cornely, vol. ii. (1), p. 215.

the author of the book of Kings.¹ If we compare these references with the corresponding ones in the books of Chronicles, it becomes evident that the annals of both kingdoms were kept regularly by the prophets, such as Ahias, Addo, Semeias, and Hosai.²

Thus it appears that the history of Israel from the time of Moses to the captivity was written down regularly by the prophets. When and by whom our canonical books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, were first compiled from these sources, is a matter not at all so easy to decide. "The kind of bond," says M. Loisy,³ "that exists between them does not prove that they were originally composed to be placed one after the other; the bond does not come assuredly from the original authors, but rather from him or from those who united them at a period necessarily posterior to the composition of the latest among them, the book of Kings. This book having been compiled from more ancient documents in the latter part of the exile, we may admit, that towards the end of the captivity, or shortly after the return, the books which were known later on by the name of the Former Prophets existed in collection."

It seems, indeed, not only likely, but practically certain, that the collection of the historical books was not made before the exile. It may, indeed, be regarded as established, that with the exception of the Law and the book of Josue, no canon of Scripture existed up to that date. In whatever reverence other collections were held, they existed merely as private collections; even the Law itself still awaited its final and formal canonization.

From what we have been saying, it follows that the history of the Old Testament canon, properly speaking, begins only with the Babylonian captivity. We proceed now to take the question up from that date. And first, as is but right, we turn to see what light, if any, Jewish tradition can throw upon the matter.

¹ Cf. The Book of the Words of the Days of the Kings of Israel, eighteen times; those of Juda, fifteen times.

² Cf. Cornely, vol. ii. (1), p. 295, *et seq.*

³ Page 37.

Whatever tradition the Jews possess on the subject of their canon is contained in the Talmud and in the writings of Josephus. We begin with a quotation from the Talmud, which will enable us to see the opinions of the Jewish rabbis on the question, towards the end of the second and in the beginning of the third century of our era. After naming the books of the Old Testament, the passage runs as follows:—

“And who wrote them? Moses wrote his own book and the section concerning Balaam¹ and Job. Joshua wrote his own book and eight verses of the Law.² Samuel wrote his own book and Judges and Ruth. David wrote the book of Psalms, at the direction of ten elders, viz., Adam, Melchizedek, Abraham, Moses, Heman, Jeduthan, Asaph, and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his own book and the book of Kings and Lamentations. Hezekiah and his college wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the Great Synagogue wrote Ezechiel, The Twelve, Daniel and Esther. Ezra his own book and the genealogies of the book of Chronicles as far as himself.”³

With regard to this passage, Dr. Driver remarks:⁴ “The entire passage is manifestly destitute of historical value.” We cannot here enter into a discussion of its contents, which certainly contain some very crude notions as to the authorship of the sacred books. It will be sufficient to note that very little reliance can be placed in it, and that it seems merely to reflect the views of the Jewish schools, about the year 300 A.D., derived entirely, or nearly so, from the internal evidence afforded by the books themselves.⁵ One thing, however, is clear from the passage, that the author held that all the canonical books had been written by the time of Esdras, no doubt because he looked on Esdras as the author of the Jewish canon.

We next go back to the first century of our era, and see what view Josephus held as to the Palestinian canon:—

“We have not [he says⁶] an innumerable multitude of books among us, disagreeing from and contradicting one another [as the

¹ Num. xxii. 2, xxv. 29.

² Deut. xxxiv. 5-12.

³ Bâba Bâthra, 14 b.

⁴ Page 33.

⁵ Loisy, p. 22, *et seq.*

⁶ *C. Apionem*, i. 8.

Greeks have, but only twenty-two books, which contain the records of all the past times; which are justly believed to be divine; and of them, five belong to Moses, which contain his laws and the traditions of the origin of mankind till his death. This interval of time was little short of three thousand years; but as to the time after the death of Moses till the reign of Artaxerxes, King of Persia, who reigned after Xerxes, the prophets, who were after Moses wrote down what was done in their time in thirteen books. The remaining four books contain hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life. It is true, our history hath been written since Artaxerxes, very particularly, but hath not been esteemed of like authority with the former by our forefathers, because there hath not been an exact succession of prophets since that time. And how firmly we have given credit to those books of our own nation, is evident by what we do; for, during so many ages as have already passed, no one has been so bold as either to add anything to them, or take anything from them, or to make any change in them; but it becomes natural to all Jews, immediately and from their very birth, to esteem those books to contain divine doctrines, and to persist in them, and, if occasion be, willingly to die for them."

Here we have, from a zealous Jew, who lived in the first century, and who had made a special study of the antiquities of his country, an account of the sacred books of the Jews. It is perfectly plain from his words, that, in his time, the Jews regarded the canon of twenty-two¹ books as definitely closed; and, in fact, closed so long that the twenty-two books of the canon had come to be regarded as on an incomparably higher level than all other books. There is, however, no mention of Esdras; and, furthermore, no allusion to any formal closure of the canon. All that we can glean from Josephus is, that no canonical books were written after the time of Artaxerxes, because after his time no prophet was raised up in Israel.

The two passages we have quoted contain whatever tradition the Jews possess regarding the collection of their sacred books; and it does not seem to go beyond pointing in a general way to the reign of Artaxerxes and Esdras as being concerned with the fixing of their canon.

¹ Josephus' twenty-two books are equivalent to the twenty-four of the Talmud; for he probably numbers Ruth with Judges, and Lamentations with Jeremias.

What part, then, had Esdras in the formation of the canon? When we look for positive evidence on this point, we find that the canonical book of Esdras-Nehemias supplies the only reliable information we have. It is there said of Esdras that he was "a ready scribe in the law of Moses" (1 Es. vii. 6 : cf. vv. 11, 21) ; and it is clear also that he was a prime mover in the solemn publication of the Pentateuch (Neh. viii.-x.), in the year 444 B.C. What he did in the way of amending the text of the law, it is impossible to say ; but it is certainly not unlikely that many explanatory notes and sentences were introduced by him. Nor does it seem to us unnatural to suppose that he played an important part in the work of collecting the prophetic writings, and in the final editing of the historical books ; since it is clear that he was distinguished for his learning in regard to sacred literature. However that may be, there is a practical unanimity among writers of all schools that Esdras promulgated and canonized the Pentateuch ; and that, too, in the form we now have it. On the other hand, it is clear that when the apocryphal book of Esdras was written, towards the year 100 A.D., legend had grown up around the name of Esdras, and assigned to him a rôle for which there is no warrant in history.¹

The second book of Maccabees opens with two letters sent by the Palestinian Jews to their brethren in Egypt, in the year B.C. 144. In the second of these letters the following words occur :—"The same things were also reported in the

¹ Some writers maintain that Esdras, together with the men of the great synagogue, which, "according to Jewish tradition, was a permanent Council established by Ezra, which continued to exercise authority in religious matters till about B.C. 200" (Driver, xxxiii.), formed the Palestinian canon. For such a theory there is no reliable evidence. Indeed, though many think the existence of such a body as the great synagogue "in every way consistent with the history of Judaism, and with the internal evidence of the books themselves" (Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, vol. i., p. 251), we are compelled to say that we do not at all believe in the existence of that body in the time of Esdras. The idea seems to have grown from the account of the convocation that assembled at Jerusalem, and subscribed the covenant to observe the Law (Neh. viii.-x.). As for the evidence of the Talmud, it is full of myth and extravagance, and no reliance can be placed on it. (Ubaldi, p. 142, *et seq.*; Loisy, p. 27.) Indeed, there is no trustworthy historical testimony to the existence of such a body in the time of Esdras.

public archives and in the records relating to Nehemias; and how, founding a library, he gathered together the things concerning the kings and prophets, and the (writings) of David, and letters of kings about sacred gifts" (ii. 13). Does this passage refer to an increase of the canon effected by the labours of Nehemias? It certainly seems so to us.

It will have been noted that no mention is made of the Pentateuch among the writings collected by Nehemias. Why? Because, as we say, that book had been already placed in the canon. If, as some maintain, Nehemias was founding a library in the ordinary sense, surely the Law would have found a place in his collection. Again, by the words *τὰ τοῦ Δαυεὶδ*, which we render, "the writings of David," it is obvious that the Psalms are meant. But in gathering together the Psalms, Nehemias was not procuring volumes for a library; he was making a collection of sacred hymns; he was editing a psalter, probably ours, since the existence of Maccabean psalms has not been established.²

If we are right in thus explaining the meaning of the gathering together of the "writings of David" by Nehemias, by analogy, it would seem that we ought to explain in a similar manner the collection that he made of "the things concerning the kings and prophets" (*τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων καὶ προφητῶν*). In other words, this phrase would seem to refer to a formal canonical collection of the histories of the kings and the prophetic writings. This is the more likely, because all writers agree that the final work of editing and arranging the historical and prophetic works had gone on during the latter years of the exile, and the early years after the return; and because the most trustworthy tradition which we possess assigns the formation of the canon of the Former and Latter Prophets to this period.

The third part of the quotation is not so easy to explain: *καὶ ἐπιστολὰς βασιλέων περὶ ἀναθημάτων*, which we have

¹ We follow the Greek, which seems undoubtedly the right reading. The Douay Bible follows the Vulgate, which has, "Congregavit de regionibus libros" for *ἐπισυνήγαγε τὰ περὶ τῶν βασιλέων*.

² Loisy, p. 39.

³ *Ibid.*

translated: "and letters of kings about sacred gifts." Cornely¹ takes the words to refer to the book of Esdras-Nehemias; but, surely, the description is quite unsuited to the book. It is more natural to say that the phrase points to a collection of royal letters, made, no doubt, with a view to sacred history, and from which, perhaps, the epistles introduced into the book of Esdras-Nehemias were taken.²

The words we have quoted from the book of Maccabees make no claim for Nehemias, beyond that of collecting the Former and Latter Prophets together with the book of Psalms. There is no mention of any formal promulgation of these books. Nor is there any reason to suppose that any such took place. The books were already held in reverence at this time; and now that they were brought together as a select body of writings, apart, they grew in public esteem every day.

The next evidence we have bearing on the canon belongs to the year B.C. 180, when the son of Sirach wrote the book of Ecclesiasticus.³ In the prologue to the Greek translation of that book, the writer says of the son of Sirach, who was his grandfather, that "he had given himself to a diligent reading" of the sacred books. The result of that reading is clearly contained in the chapters xlv.-xlix. of Ecclesiasticus, in which Siracides closely follows and analyses the Old Testament writings, and passes encomiums upon the great men of Israel. Chapters xlv. and xlvi. are taken up with the Pentateuch; xlv. 1-12, with Josue; xlvi. 13-15, with Judges; xlvi. 16-xlvii. 13, with the book of Samuel; xlvii. 9-12, refers to the Psalms of David; xlvii. 14-xlix. 9, to the book of Kings; xlviii., to Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, and perhaps Ecclesiastes. The prophecy of Isaias is referred to in xlviii. 23-28; that of Jeremias in xlix. 9 (the preceding verse seems to point to Lamentations); verses 9-11 concern Ezechial; verse 12, the Minor Prophets; and verses 13-15, the book of Esdras-Nehemias.⁴

¹ Vol. i., p. 46.

² Loisy, p. 45.

³ The last we hear of Nehemias is in the year 433 B.C. Driver assigns the date of Ecclesiasticus at 200 B.C.

⁴ Cf. Loisy, 42, *et seq.* Some find an allusion to Job in xlix. 9; some suspect xlix. 12.

The chapters of Ecclesiasticus we have just analysed undoubtedly throw much light on the growth of the collection of the sacred books, since the time of Nehemias, two centuries and a half before. The books that had been "diligently read" by Siracides evidently included among them the Law, the Former and Latter Prophets, and the Psalms. But his library of sacred writings contained besides, Proverbs, the Canticle of Canticles, Lamentations, Esdras-Nehemias, and probably Job and Ecclesiastes. Nor is there any reason to doubt that the book of Chronicles was there. For the fact of no direct allusion being made to it, is satisfactorily accounted for by reason of its similarity with the book of Kings.

But special interest attaches to the names omitted by Siracides in his enumeration. There is no mention of Daniel, Esther, or Esdras, in the catalogue. With regard to Daniel, Ubaldi quotes, without disapproval, the following suggestion of Quatremère:¹—"Perhaps the prophecies of Daniel, though written by their author, under the inspiration of God, partly during the captivity and partly after the liberation and return of the people to Judea, were not collected into one book till after the author's death, when the books of the prophets had been already arranged in the canon; or, perhaps, it was only then that the book of Daniel was brought to Jerusalem; whence it came to pass, that it was added to the canon, "among the latter books, after the others." Ubaldi is of opinion that the want of order to be discerned among the prophecies of Daniel, and the fact that some parts are wanting in the Hebrew, lend support to this view.

The practically unanimous verdict of modern critics assigns the book of Daniel to the age of the Maccabees, one argument in support of such a date being the absence to Daniel's name from the book of Ecclesiasticus. Does not the explanation suggested by Ubaldi answer this difficulty? May we not say that the prophecies of Daniel, coming to Jerusalem in an unconnected state after the canon of the

¹ *Journal de Savants*, Oct., 1845.

prophets had been closed, remained outside the sacred volume ; and, perhaps, even at the time of Siracides, though looked upon with reverence, had not yet taken their place among the sacred writings.

The same reasoning applies to Esther, which is similar to Daniel, not only in being excluded from the book of Ecclesiasticus, but also in containing certain Deuterocanonical parts not to be found in the Hebrew version. As for the omission of the name of Esdras, we have already noticed that fact. Esdras and Nehemias laboured together in regard to the sacred books. The one was the learned scribe, the other the civil governor ; the one worked more or less in private, the other was always before the public. So it came to pass that much of the credit due to Esdras did not appear before men, whilst the name of Nehemias was handed down to posterity in the public records.

We pass on now to consider certain words which appear in the second book of Maccabees, and which are, in fact, a continuation of the passage already quoted from that book in reference to Nehemias. They refer to Judas Maccabeus, and, in our opinion, to the third and final definite enlargement of the Palestinian canon. "In like manner," the words run (ii. 14, 15), "Judas gathered together for us all the writings that had been cattered (*τὰ διαπεπτωκότα*) by reason of the war that we had ; and they remain with us. If, therefore, ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them to you." The war referred to is the war of Antiochus, and the persecution that followed it (B.C. 168), when, by order of the King, the sacred books of the Jews were searched out and burned (1 Macc. 56, 59, 60), and those in whose possession they were found put to death.

Such a persecution would naturally inspire the people with an increased love for their sacred books ; and so we are not surprised to learn that, when the crisis had passed, the national leader, Judas¹ Maccabeus, who lived till B.C. 161, devoted his attention to the collection of the scattered books.

¹Some identify the Judas of the text with Judas Essenius, so as to include the books of the Maccabees in his collection ; but without grounds.

It will be observed that Judas is not said to have brought together a number of writings that had never been united before; his labours were devoted to gathering together what had been scattered (*τὰ διαπεπτωκότα*). No doubt he endeavoured to obtain a number of copies of the sacred books; but the words of the text mean more than that. They certainly seem to refer to some sort of formal collection, such as that which existed in the time of Siracides, and probably more extensive still. We take this to be the case—firstly, because this account of Judas Maccabeus is placed in conjunction with a passage narrating the labours of Nehemias in regard to the canon of the sacred books; and, secondly, because the writer invites the Alexandrian Jews: “If, therefore, ye have need thereof, send some to fetch them to you.” Now, at this time, the sacred books had long been translated into Greek, and it was the Greek text which the Alexandrian Jews used. Moreover, the Jews of Egypt were unaffected by the persecution of Antiochus. Why, then, should they be invited to send to the persecuted and impoverished Jews of Palestine for copies of the Hebrew books? Could they not procure their own copies? If, however, we suppose that Judas had been devoting his attention to some kind of formal collection of the sacred writings, especially the hagiographa, the invitation is natural enough. For, in that case, it is not unlikely that the collection of Judas contained one or two books which, though esteemed highly before, had not yet been admitted among the hagiographa. Shall we suggest as instances Daniel and Esther? In that case it is natural to suppose that the Alexandrian Jews would have been anxious to secure copies of the newly-canonized books, with a view to having them translated into the Greek language.

The same conclusion is rendered still more likely by the language of Josephus in regard to the canon. For Josephus speaks of the twenty-two canonical books as if they had been held sacred by the Jews for centuries; and certainly the two centuries or so that elapsed between his time and that of Judas Maccabeus are little enough to allow of the growth of such a tradition. Nor do we find any evidence

at a later date of any collection of the sacred books having been made; whereas, as we have seen, most of the hagiographa had been already collected in the time of Siracides; and so the action of Judas would have been confined to re-uniting the scattered writings, and inserting in the canon one or two works that were already on the verge of canonization.

It must be remembered, moreover, in regard to the collection of Judas Maccabeus, that we have no evidence of any formal promulgation on his part of the writings he received into the canon. His labours were confined to receiving certain books into the volume of the hagiographa; and, no doubt, it required time before these writings were considered on a footing of equality with the older members of the canon.

Thirty years after the death of Judas Maccabeus, the grandson of Siracides translated the book of his grandfather into Greek, and prefixed to it a prologue, which goes to confirm the conclusion at which we have arrived in regard to the collection of the hagiographa. For, from the words of the prologue it is plain that in the time of the writer, the three-fold division of the sacred books was already a thoroughly established fact. Indeed, though the prologue is very short, the writer three times refers to the three classes of writings contained in the canon. Thus he speaks of the many and great things they have learnt from the "Law, the Prophets, and the others that have followed them" (*καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦς*). And he says of his grandfather, how he had been a diligent reader of "the Law, the Prophets, and the other books of our fathers" (*καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πατρια βιβλία*). That the allusion is not here to the national literature in general, follows from the fact that the writer adds that his grandfather "had a mind *also* to write something himself, pertaining to wisdom and doctrine," showing the character of the books he had been speaking of. Finally, further on, the author of the prologue refers to "the Law, the Prophets, and the rest of the books" (*καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων*), as a collection of writings standing apart from all others.

From these words there can be no doubt that in the year

B.C. 130, the division of the books of the Hebrew canon into three classes was already *un fait accompli*. Taken in conjunction with the facts that, fifty years previously, Siracides had at hand a collection of the sacred books containing nearly all the hagiographa, and that thirty years before Judas Maccabeus had devoted his attention to another collection of Jewish Biblical literature, this new evidence certainly seem to show that the canon of Judas Maccabeus contained the complete catalogue of the sacred writings. It is true, Driver says,¹ of the preface to Ecclesiasticus, that "it does not show that the hagiographa was already completed, as we now have it; it would be entirely consistent with the terms used; for instance, if particular books, as Esther or Daniel, or Ecclesiastes, were only added to the collection subsequently." No doubt, if the words of the prologue are taken alone they throw no light on the extent of the hagiographa. But, taken with the other facts we have mentioned, and with the words of Josephus on the sacred books of the Jews, they certainly seem to show that at this time the canon existed just as it did in the days of Jesus Christ.

Having now reviewed the evidence available in regard to the Jewish canon, the following conclusions seem to us to follow from it. All agree in regarding Esdras as the promulgator of the Torah of Moses, the Pentateuch. It seems to us that, not many years later, Nehemias added to the canon the Former and Latter Prophets, together with the book of Psalms. The final collection of the hagiographical writings was of slower growth. Already before the book of Ecclesiasticus was written, however, most of them had been received; and the third part of the canon was finally closed by Judas Maccabeus, about the year B.C. 165.

J. A. HOWLETT.

¹ Page xxviii.

Theological Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

IMPEDIMENTUM AETATIS.

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I trouble you for your opinion on the following question :—

Would the circumstance of abduction, or where the girl has voluntarily absconded with a man, and the certain ruin of the girl's character, for she has cohabited with him in a public hotel for seventeen days, justify her marriage at the age of thirteen years and four months. Coupled with these circumstances is the fact, which to a pastor of souls is a very important one, that the girl has either to go on the streets, or live with the seducer. He is twenty-seven or twenty-eight years of age, and was, and is, willing and anxious to marry the girl, and by so doing make her and her family all the reparation in his power. The parents of both parties were and are anxious to have the marriage take place, and for this purpose have worried the pastor. Lehmkuhl says, and he has been quoted against me, that before the age of fourteen the marriage of females *rarissime licebit*.

But, surely, these words plainly imply and clearly signify that there are circumstances which justify marriage before fourteen; and, if any, I make bold to say those of the case I have just stated justify the marriage. The Church declares the marriage of females to be valid at the age of twelve; and of males, at the age of fourteen; and unless there be some circumstance or combination of circumstances that would justify marriage at these ages, the law of the Church is the quintessence of absurdity. The law of the land is in perfect accord in this country with the law of the Church in that particular. A Catholic judge, who has just tried the case, stated it as his own opinion, and had consulted, he said, an eminent "clergyman who could inform him on such subjects, that there could be no difficulty to the marriage of the girl."

I may mention, by way of sequel to the strange solution of this strange case, that the judge has bound the young man to give bail in a very large amount, in order that he should do what he was, and is, willing and anxious to do, viz., to marry the girl. I may add, by way of conclusion, that the girl of whom I write,

would, in size, strength, and appearance, pass for a girl of eighteen or twenty.

Thanking you in anticipation for your opinion, and its insertion in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD.

PAROCHUS LIMERICENSIS.

We have to distinguish three classes of persons in connection with the impediment of age: those who have not yet come to the use of reason; those who have attained the use of reason, but have not reached the canonical age of fourteen years for boys, and twelve for girls; and, finally, those who have completed the statutable number of years.

1. Persons, who have not yet come to the use of reason, are incapable, *de jure naturali*, of contracting marriage. This is true even if one of the parties should have attained the use of reason.

2. When the full use of reason is attained, the impediment from the natural law ceases; but the Church, following the old Roman law, declares void all marriages contracted before the age of fourteen in the case of boys, and twelve in the case of girls. Consequently, we call the impediment of age a *diriment impediment*. To this *diriment* law, independently of dispensation, there is one recognised exception, viz., *nisi malitia suppleat aetatem*; "hoc est, nisi ante aetatem statutam a lege personae intelligant quid agant, cum matrimonium contrahunt, et simul ad copulam habendam potentes sint."¹

In all cases of this class, as the reason of the *diriment* law does not apply to them, a marriage contracted even without a dispensation would be certainly valid. But for its liceity some theologians would require the permission of the bishop, or rather, usually, of the Pope, as the circumstances in which a bishop can give this permission rarely occur. Thus Mazzotta, to whom Lehmkuhl refers, writes:—"Si vero habeat potentiam expeditam ad copulam; si contrahat sine licentia Episcopi graviter peccat: quia hoc, quod certe in se grave est, prohibetur graviter in jure . . . at si contrahat cum licentia Episcopi, nihil peccat. Cavetur autem (in jure)

¹ *De Angelis*, l. iv., tit. ii., 4.

ne Episcopus, nisi ex urgentissima causa, eam concedat; et quia vix solet haec causa intervenire, ideo omnes Episcopi hanc dispensationem remittunt ad Pontificem.”¹ On the other hand, De Angelis, in continuation of the passage already quoted, writes:—“Quae si verificantur, ad contrahendum matrimonium ante annos pubertatis non est necessaria venia superioris, cum haec limitatio regulae a jure expresse ponatur; iudex proinde intervenire tantum debet, quando dubium est, an verificetur exceptio necne, et non cum de exceptione constat, ut in hypothesi.”

3. With regard to those who have passed the statutable age, the impediment of age no longer exists. But of these again we have to distinguish two classes:—(a) Persons may have reached the age of puberty, but still be *inhabiles ad matrimonium consummandum*. Even for these the impediment of *age* no longer continues. But there may be the impediment of *impotentia*; and, consequently, of this class of persons Lehmkuhl writes: “Verum antequam proxima potentia existat, rarissime *licebit* matrimonium contrahere.” (b) Persons who have reached the age of puberty, and are, moreover, *habiles ad matrimonium consummandum*, are not forbidden by any direct law, whether *diriment* or simply *prohibitive*, from immediately contracting marriage. But reverence for the matrimonial contract and the religious feelings of a country may require that marriage should ordinarily be deferred until the contracting parties attain a more mature age. Hence Lehmkuhl writes: “Aetas illa ab Ecclesia statuta ubique quidem valoris matrimonii norma est, at non ubique norma licite et convenienter matrimonium contrahendi. Ecclesia enim debuit regiones etiam meridionales respicere, ubi natura maturius completur: in frigidioribus autem regionibus sane non expedit, imo vix *licebit* ad nuptias transire, quum primum canonica aetas adfuerit. Raro videtur ibi convenire, ut puella ante decimum octavum aetatis annum, juvenis ante vigesimum matrimonium ineat; saepe etiam ulterius expectandum erit, ne ante aetatem robustiorem vires debilitentur.”²

¹ Tr. vii. D. i. 2, ii., cap. xii., § i.

² Vol. ii., p. 533, note 1.

Similarly, the *Mechlin Theology*: "Notandum insuper quod, licet statim post adeptam pubertatem matrimonium valide contrahi possit, ordinarie tamen maturior aetas sit expectanda, ut sponsi rem gravissimam maturiori iudicio peragant, et obligationibus conjugalibus adimplendis sint aptiores."¹

To apply these principles to our correspondent's question, we have to bear in mind that both the contracting parties have passed the canonical age; and, as the sad and sinful incident narrated by our correspondent supposes, that they are *habiles ad matrimonium consummandum*. Why, then, should our correspondent's view, that they can and ought to be married, be controverted? The words of Lehmkühl, quoted against our correspondent: "Verum antequam proxima potentia existat, rarissime *licebit* matrimonium contrahere," regard persons who, though of canonical age, are still *inhabiles ad matrimonium consummandum*. There is no law forbidding persons, who have attained the canonical age, and who are *habiles ad matrimonium consummandum*, from immediately contracting marriage. No doubt, as we have seen in the quotations from the *Mechlin Theology* and Lehmkühl, persons ought ordinarily to defer marriage until they have attained a more mature age. But it is not quite evident that this is necessary under pain of sin: "Sane non expedit," Lehmkühl says, "imo vix *licebit* ad nuptias transire, quum primum aetas canonica adfuerit." And, even if it were certainly obligatory under pain of sin, the circumstances described by our correspondent—the sinful career of these unhappy young people, the wreck of the girl's character, the danger for her future, her maturity in size, strength, and appearance—all go to prove that this is an exceptional case, and that these young people ought be allowed to get married.

DE SIGILLO CONFESSIONIS

REV. DEAR SIR,—A confessor receives restitution money from his penitent, and undertakes, at the penitent's request, to hand it to Paul, to whom it is due. Before the confessor hands

¹ No. 72.

the money to Paul, the penitent asks another priest to make the restitution. This other priest comes to the confessor and addresses him thus :—"Father, the penitent who asked you to make that restitution wants me, and not you, to give it to Paul. He has asked me to see you, and to tell you so. Do not make the restitution ; I will do it myself. When convenient, you will give me the money you have received from your penitent for restitution to Paul."

Thus addressed, can the confessor, under these circumstances, keep silent until he consults the penitent? Would silence be construed into a violation of the *sigillum*? Should the confessor say: "Speak not to me about confession. I know not what you speak about. I can make no reply in regard to anything that may have passed between the penitent and myself." Or can the confessor act on a verbal message; or even a written message from his penitent? How should the confessor act under the circumstances?

SACERDOS.

Theologians distinguish two ways in which a confessor may get permission to use the knowledge of the confessional. First, the penitent may say to the confessor, either at confession, or after confession :—"I give you permission to use this knowledge as if you got it outside confession." And secondly, the penitent may say formally or equivalently :—"I give you permission to use this knowledge—which, however, will remain sacramental knowledge—for this special purpose and no further." All theologians agree that permission can be given in the first way described; though some would require a detailed extra-sacramental communication of the knowledge which the penitent wishes to release from the seal of sacramental secrecy. This knowledge is, of course, no longer sacramental knowledge. It may be, from its own nature, a *secretum naturale*. And from this natural obligation of secrecy the priest can be released by the penitent, either orally or by letter, *per se* or *per alium*.

Scotus and Scotist theologians deny that permission can be given in the second manner above described. Amongst many other arguments, they argue from the case of a cleric who would consent to cede his right to the *privilegium canonis* or *fori*. As a cleric, they say, cannot cede his

right, for example, to the *privilegium canonis*, because it is ordained not in favour of an individual, but to safeguard the dignity of the clerical order; so also a penitent cannot release a confessor from the obligation of confessional secrecy, because the sacramental seal was primarily imposed and commanded, not in the interest of the individual penitent, but as a protection for the sacrament itself, to secure and maintain the reverence due to the sacrament, *ne odiosum redderetur sacramentum*. Hence, according to these theologians, a penitent cannot, in any possible way, give permission to his confessor to use his *sacramental* knowledge.

Though we admire the elevated and reverential doctrine of the Subtle Doctor, and though it deserves our serious attention, if only as an admonition and a standard of what should be our scrupulous care for the inviolability of our confessional secrets, and for the reverence due to the sacrament itself, still we have no doubt about the truth of the contrary teaching of St. Thomas, Suarez, De Lugo, &c.; viz., that a penitent can give the confessor permission to use his *sacramental* knowledge: "Nihilominus," writes Suarez, "contraria sententia et communis et vera est. . . . Ratio est quia hæc sigillum, quamvis sit sacrum, continetur tamen sub genere secreti, et ejus naturam ac rationem participat. Est autem hæc natura secreti, ut ejus usus pendeat ex voluntate committentis, sicut depositum ex voluntate deponentis, vel sicut promissio ex voluntate ejus, cui est facta."¹ These theologians reply to the argument of the Scotists, that not alone is the penitent's personal right ceded, but that the penitent's permission effectually shields the reverence due to the sacrament. For how could this power of giving permission to use the confessional knowledge deter people from confession, or make the sacrament *odiosum*? Do penitents not know that it is in their power to give or refuse their permission, and that the priest cannot use his sacramental knowledge without their *spontaneous* permission? Moreover, so far from rendering the sacrament generally odious, this doctrine ought to enhance its value still more in the estimation of the faithful. For surely it is a great

¹Disp. xxxiii., sec. v.

comfort for penitents to know that, in extreme cases, where a grave obligation, *e. g.* of restitution, cannot be discharged by themselves without grave danger to their character, they may safely rely on the services of their confessor; and that by a partial and temporary relaxation of the sacramental *sigillum*, and without revealing their own identity to a third party, the duty can be discharged through a priest, who, when his commission is accomplished, will be again absolutely, and in regard to all persons, bound by the seal of confession. This is confirmed by the ordinary practice of the faithful, and by the teaching of theologians in regard to those who are *secondarily* bound to sacramental secrecy. If, for example, a confessor, with the permission of his penitent, applied to the Bishop for faculties to absolve from reserved cases, the Bishop would be bound by the *sigillum*. If he were to reveal that such a confessor had applied to him for faculties for reserved cases, he would not only violate a natural secret, and do an injustice to the penitents who had recently been at confession with that priest, but he would violate the *sacramental sigillum*. We, therefore, hold that a penitent can give permission to his confessor to use his *sacramental* knowledge; and, accordingly, that the person to whom this knowledge is communicated, is similarly bound by the *sigillum*.

How must this permission be given? 1. It must be formally and expressly given; and hence the confessor cannot act on the penitent's presumed permission. 2. This formal and express permission may be given orally, or in writing, by sign, or, as they say, by fact; "Perinde autem est sive verbo, sive scripto, sive nutu aut facto licentia detur."¹ Permission is given *by fact*, for example, when the penitent after confession commences to speak to the priest about something told in confession. This permission cannot however be extended to other sins mentioned in confession, and to which the penitent does not refer outside confession. 3. The permission must be given for some good purpose. 4. It must be freely given by the penitent; "Ut sit libera ac

¹ *Mecklin Theol.*, n. iii.

spontanea, non vi, injuria, dolo, vel etiam per metum reverentialem ipsius confessarii obtenta."¹ 5. Finally, permission given by the penitent may be afterwards revoked.

Now to apply these principles to our correspondent's questions, we would say:—1. The confessor's silence in the circumstances described by our correspondent could not reasonably be regarded as a violation of the *sigillum*. There is very little difference between remaining silent and saying: "I can make no statement in regard to a past confession." Silence should be regarded not as a violation of the *sigillum*, but as a priest's habitual demeanour, when interrogated in reference to the confessions of his penitents. 2. A confessor can act on the *certain* permission of his penitent, whether granted orally, or conveyed by letter, or through a third person. This is not stated expressly by the theologians, but it clearly follows from the principles which they lay down. Thus De Lugo writes: "Obligatio hujus secreti sequitur naturam et conditionem secreti naturalis, ut semper maneat sub potestate committentis illud;"² and Suarez, as already quoted: "Hoc sigillum, quamvis sit sacrum, continetur tamen sub genere secreti, et ejus naturam ac rationem participat. Est autem haec natura secreti, ut ejus usus pendeat ex voluntate committentis, sicut promissio ex voluntate ejus, cui est facta." And hence, as in the cases quoted by these theologians, we think a penitent can give permission to use the sacramental knowledge either orally, or by letter, *per se*, or *per alium*.

"How should the confessor act under the circumstances?" We think that, though mediate verbal permission is *per se* sufficient, a confessor should not, as a rule, accept it. It is manifestly liable to abuse, and may, if practised generally, expose the sacrament to danger of irreverence. With regard to the particular case mentioned by our correspondent, we think the confessor could lawfully accept this mediate permission through a brother priest. This priest does not ask that the money be given to him immediately; he makes the restitution himself; and he says to the confessor: "When convenient you will give me the money you have

S. Lig., n. 651.

² Disp. xxiii., sect. v., § iv.

received from your penitent." This, even independently of his priestly character, is sufficient evidence that he has been sent by the penitent. We should, however, much prefer to deal directly with the penitent. The confessor might say: "I am perfectly satisfied that you have been commissioned to speak to me; but I have an objection to speak to any other than a penitent on matters relating to confession. A penitent has sent you to me in reference to a certain obligation of restitution. I say nothing about the subject; but as the penitent has sent you to me, I will later on speak to himself on the subject."

Finally, we may draw attention to the different position of the two priests, in case the confessor accepted this mediate verbal permission. The confessor remains bound by the *sigillum*. He cannot afterwards speak even to the other priest about this confessional matter, just as two persons who have the same confessional knowledge cannot speak to each other on the subject. But the other priest has not got his knowledge in the confessional—at least the case does not necessarily suppose this; consequently, he is bound only by the natural law of secrecy; and hence, if he speaks to the confessor again on the subject of the penitent's injustice and restitution, he is not violating the *sigillum*; but he would seem to be violating a natural secret, by communicating extra-sacramental knowledge to a person who previously had only sacramental knowledge of this secret.

MAY A HONORARIUM BE TAKEN WHEN A PRIEST SAYS
A SECOND MASS ON SUNDAYS OR HOLIDAYS?

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I ask you a question in connection with the answer given to "Ignorans" in the July number of the I. E. RECORD?

In Section III. of his reply, Dr. Coghlan says: "The common law of the Church, as interpreted by various decisions of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, forbids a second *honorarium* to be taken when a priest says a second Mass on Sundays or holidays."

I have heard a less strict view of the law maintained. That view is expressed by Professor Haine of Louvain thus: "Nulla

exstat *lex generalis*, quae hoc stipendium [i.e. pro secunda Missa] prohibeat. Quare declarationes Romanae an. 1845, 1858 et 1862 stipendium accipere vetantes, . . . cum non fuerunt promulgatae *sub forma legum generalium*, non obligant nisi in diocesisibus pro quibus fuerunt latae vel in quibus episcopi eas declararunt obligatorias.”¹ As this opinion seems contrary to the teaching of such well-known authorities as Gury and Lehmkühl, I should be glad to know whether Haine’s opinion may be safely followed, so that a priest in a diocese where the prohibition against a second *honorarium* has not been published, may consider himself at liberty to receive two *stipendia* on the same day. A. J. M.

Though we owe an apology to many correspondents, whose communications we have unavoidably held over for some time, we desire in a special manner to offer an explanation to our present correspondent for our delay in replying to his letter.

This question arises out of an answer given to a correspondent in the July number of the I. E. RECORD (1893). And we regret very much that this reply did not appear in the August number. Moreover, our correspondent’s question could easily have been answered by a reference to a past number of the I. E. RECORD; but we were then on vacation, and it was impossible to find out the proper reference. Since that time we have not laid hands on our correspondent’s question until the present time; and hence the delay in replying.

In the July number of the I. E. RECORD (1893), we laid down that a priest may not take a *honorarium* for his second Mass on Sundays or holidays, when he has already received a *honorarium* for his first Mass. Our correspondent quotes Haine to prove that there is no general law forbidding the taking a second *honorarium* on Sundays and holidays; that it is forbidden only by certain Roman declarations, which bind only in the dioceses, to which they were addressed. We received a similar question in April, 1890; and our correspondent will find the answer, which is also a full answer to the present question, in the May number of the I. E. RECORD, 1890.²

DANIEL COGHLAN.

¹ Haine, *Theol. Moralis. Elem.*, tom. iii., p. 97.

² I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xi., page 440.

Liturgical Notes

THE ASSOCIATION OF THE HOLY FAMILY

SOME months ago¹ we gave in these pages an analysis of the rules for establishing and carrying on the Association of the Holy Family; and in the course of our remarks we raised a few important questions, for the solution of which there did not appear to us to be sufficient data given. What was then desired has since been supplied by the President of the Association, the Cardinal-Vicar of Rome. Several questions were proposed to him from time to time, and these, together with the replies of his Eminence, will be found in another place.² Here we intend to give a summary of them, and to point out their practical bearing on the working of the Association.

1. In case the father of a family refuses or neglects to have the family enrolled, the mother can have it done validly; and if both father and mother neglect, or even refuse to let their family be enrolled, the eldest child, or a grand-parent, if living with the family, can likewise have it done. This is clearly conveyed by the third of the replies given by the Cardinal-President on December 12, 1893:—

“*Quær.* Utrum negligente vel invito patrefamilias, possit mater vel aliqua ex praecepis familiae personis v. gr. avus familiam adscribere Piae Associationi? *Resp. Affirmative.*”

2. But should all the principal members of the family neglect or refuse to perform their duty, then the younger children can have themselves enrolled individually. This is an exception to the rule, that individuals, as such, cannot be members of the Association. Another very important exception to this same rule regards the case of unmarried servants, soldiers, and, of course, all others similarly circumstanced. They, too, it would seem, should, if possible, have themselves enrolled along with their own families at home; but, in case of negligence or unwillingness on the part of their

¹ June, 1893. Vol. xiv., p. 555.

² See “Documents,” pp. 186, 7, 8, 9.

own families, they can, like the younger children of a family, have themselves enrolled individually in the parish in which they reside. The fourth of the recent replies of the President of the Association is our authority for these statements :—

“*Quaer.* Utrum possit filii familias, servi, milites sese adscribere Piae Associationi seorsim a propria familia? *Resp. Negative et ad mentem.* Mens vero est ut singuli cum suis adscribantur, quibus negligentibus vel recusantibus poterunt seorsim sese adscribere.”

Although in this question express mention is made of three classes of persons, and of three classes only, we are not bound to conclude that the privilege of being enrolled individually is necessarily restricted to these three classes. The motive which induced the Cardinal-President to grant the privilege was, that, otherwise, these persons could not be enrolled at all. Now this motive is quite general, and, consequently, we are free to conclude that everyone, who, for any reason whatsoever, is permanently, or even for a long time, prevented from getting enrolled with his or her own family, can be enrolled as an individual. This, as a little reflection will make evident, affects a large class of persons, who are not included in any of the three classes mentioned in the question.

With regard to servants, something still remains to be said. As we have just shown, servants are to get enrolled along with their own families, where this is possible; otherwise they are to be enrolled individually. But when a servant gives up the parental domicile he, or she, can no longer get enrolled with the family at home. For, according to the fifth of the replies, from which we have been quoting, no one can be enrolled in a parish other than his own; though, as laid down by the eighth, a quasi-domicile in a parish suffices to make that parish one's own for the purpose of enrolment.

“*V. Quaer.* Utrum aliquis possit sese *valide* adscribere in aliena parocchia? *Resp. Negative.* Nec proinde potest parochus *valide alienos* adscribere, et qui taliter fuerunt adscripti debent denuo in propria parocchia adscribi.

“*VIII.* Sufficitne quasi domicilium pro valida adscriptione? *Resp. Affirmative.*”

Hence servants and others who have given up the parental domicile, and have not yet contracted family

relations for themselves can only be enrolled as individuals, and that in the parish in which they have their domicile or quasi-domicile.

3. One of the questions which perplexed us most when we first attempted to study the rules of this Association, regarded the place and manner of making the act of consecration. We were unable to determine whether each family might make it at home, or should come to the parish church and make it there; similarly, in the hypothesis which seemed to us to be very probable, that each family could consecrate themselves at home, a further doubt arose as to whether the parish priest or his representative should be present on the occasion. Both these doubts have been removed, not explicitly indeed, by the replies we are now examining, but implicitly by them, and by the practice in Rome itself, and throughout the Continent generally. It is quite certain, then, that each family can at home consecrate itself to the Holy Family, without the presence of any priest, by merely reciting before a picture or image of the Holy Family the act of consecration approved of by the Pope.

4. Another point which has given rise to considerable discussion regards the registration of the members of the Association. The Association being essentially an Association of families, not of individuals, the question naturally arose as to whether it would suffice to enter the name of the family, that is, of the head of the family, in the parochial register, or whether the full name of every member of the family should also be entered. The Cardinal President was asked by two parties at different times to settle this point. But unfortunately the two replies given were seemingly contradictory. For, whereas one stated that it would suffice to enter in the register the name of the head of the family, the other stated, apparently as explicitly and as clearly, that the names of all the members should be entered. Both replies will be found in the letter published in this number from the Very Rev. M. O'Callaghan, C.M.,¹ by whom the first one was elicited, and who has been indefatigable in establishing the Association, and in explaining and

¹ See page 188.

elucidating the rules. For convenience sake, however, we will give them here :—

“(1) Se sia sufficiente d’registrare il nome del Capo della Famiglia, e se in questo caso i membri partecipino a tutte le indulgenze? Affirmat: ‘Il Capo di Famiglia pero diebiari il numero dei membri componenti la famiglia.

“[Is it enough to register the name of the head of the family; and, in that case, do the members share in all the indulgences? It is enough: the head of the family, is, however, to declare the number of members composing the family.]

“(2) An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familiae in tabulas Consociationis Sacrae Familiae referat vel singula familiae membra adscribere debeat? Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundum.”

This latter decree first appeared in the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* for October last, and as soon as Father O’Callaghan saw it he called the attention of the Roman Vicariate to the apparent contradiction between it and the reply he had himself received.

The following reply which reconciles the apparent contradiction, was sent to him on the 15th December last :—

“Singula familiae membra, non singula familiae nomina; ideoque concordat cum alia responsione, nempe sufficit ut caput familiae declaret numerum, e. gr. N. N. cum quinque membris.”

The editor of the *Analecta Ecclesiastica* also inquired of the Cardinal President what was the precise meaning of the words, *singula familiae membra*, used in the second of the two questions given above.

“Nunc quaeritur quid sit intelligendum per *singula familia membra*? Resp. Intelligi debet pro *numero totali* membrorum, non autem pro *singulis eorundem nominibus*.”

The reply in this case is to the same effect as that sent to Father O’Callaghan. Hence it is now certain that it is not necessary to enter in the parochial register the name of every member of the families to be enrolled, and that it suffices to enter the *name* of the head of the family, and to write after this name the *number* of members in the family; that is, as the family actually exists at the time of enrolling.

5. Some difficulty was caused about the form of certificate of enrolment, which should be given by the parish

priest to the families enrolled. From a reply of the Cardinal President, dated April 7th, 1893, it would seem that each bishop should get from him a copy of the certificate used in Rome, and should have as many copies printed from this as would suffice for all the parishes in his diocese. This complicated matters very much. For many bishops had already given instructions to their priests to establish the Association, together with directions as to how they were to proceed. And many of the parish priests, too, following their bishop's instructions, had enrolled their people, without, of course, even knowing what was the form of the Roman certificate. Yet if a certificate precisely the same in form as the Roman one was necessary for valid membership, their people could gain no indulgence until such certificate was procured, filled up, and given to each family. Happily, however, this difficulty was only apparent, and arose entirely from a misinterpretation—but a pardonable one—of the meaning of the reply, which gave rise to the difficulty. It now seems that this reply was merely *directive*, and therefore imposed no obligation. It was intended as a direction to bishops regarding one means of securing that uniformity in the working of the Association, which the Holy Father so much desires. The following questions and replies relating to this point sufficiently explain each other. The former question about which the latter is asked was answered on April 7th, 1893, and the reply to the latter was issued on the 12th December last:—

“Ad Dubium iii., n. 1, relatum in Ephem. *Analecta Ecclesiastica* p. 413:—‘An pro lucrandis indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card. Praeside subscripta uti innuere videntur Regulae (ii., a.) ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum?’ responsum est ‘*Affirmative, et ad mentem.* Mens vero est ut Episcopus uno accepto ab Emo Praeside diplomate reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius, et singulis familiis consociatis tradet.’ Nunc autem quaeritur utrum haec responsio sit *imperativa* vel *directiva* tantum? *Resp.—Directiva tantum et ad mentem.* Mens vero est quod nullomodo indigeant Episcopi nec parochi talibus diplomatibus (quae frequentationa fuerunt requisita) quum in Brevi *Neminem fugit* res apprime definiantur. Unde responsio mere *directiva* fuit ad unitatem scilicet a Summo Pontifice commendatam, magis, magisque servandam.”

6. The remaining replies of the Cardinal President are not of so much practical importance. From them we learn that parish priests can establish the Association in their parishes without applying to the Ordinary for a rescript, such as is required for the canonical erection of a confraternity. Hence the parish priest, and not the bishop, is primarily responsible for enabling his people to share in the benefits of this pious Association. What if the parish priest neglects his duty, and fails to establish the Association in his parish? Are his people, through his neglect, to be deprived of the many advantages to be derived from membership of this Association? Not necessarily, we think. If each or any family in the parish procures a suitable picture of the Holy Family, makes before it the Act of Consecration, and, through the head of the family, transmits his or her name, together with the number of members in the family, to the parish priest, we are of opinion that such family will enjoy all the privileges of membership, even before the parish priest has procured a register, and entered their names in it. We should not be so confident of this, could the diocesan director, in default of the parish priest, inscribe the names of families over whom he has not parochial jurisdiction. But this he cannot do, as we learn from the seventh of the recent replies:—

“Potestne saltem Director Diocesanus independenter a parochis indiscriminatim Diocesanos adscribere? *Resp.—Negative, quia ex Brevi Apostolico adscriptio solis parochis committitur.*”

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

LEGAL DECISION CONCERNING BEQUESTS FOR MASSES

REV. DEAR SIR,—Many of your readers, I have no doubt, will be interested in a judicial decision lately made in the Wisconsin Courts, for, if the judgment given be good in law, there is nothing to prevent a similar judgment to be delivered, under similar circumstances, at this side of the Atlantic. I find the case briefly reported in the *Catholic News* of January 13, 1894. The *Catholic News* is a weekly paper, well conducted, and very true to its name, published at Preston. Here is the extract I make :—

“A curious case has just been decided in the Wisconsin Courts, bearing on the question of Masses for the dead, and bequests with reference to these. Owen M’Hugh, who died some time ago, made just before his death, bequests of his entire estate, with the exception of one thousand dollars to one daughter, and six hundred dollars to another, to the Bishop of Green Bay, to be used for Masses. The children of the deceased filed a contest, alleging undue influence. The judge, in his decision, held that the bequest was void because it was not a gift, but established a trust ; that such trust was too indefinite and uncertain for any court to enforce, and there was no ascertainable beneficiary. In his decision the Court said :—‘If it had been a gift to the Bishop, coupled with a request that he use it in saying the Masses, no one would have questioned its validity, but when the testator undertook to create a trust which the courts might be called upon to enforce, then it must comply with the statutes and rules of law in order to be valid.’ Very much the better plan is to use the money for the same or any other good purpose during life ; then no court or relatives can come between a man and the disposition of his own possessions.”

SACERDOS SAECULARIS.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE—(continued)

Iam postulat a Nobis instituti consilii ratio, ut quae his de studiis recte ordinandis videantur optima, ea vobiscum communicemus, Venerabiles Fratres. Sed principio quale adversetur et instet hominum genus, quibus vel artibus vel armis confidant, interest utique hoc loco recognoscere.

Scilicet, ut antea cum iis praecipue res fuit qui privato iudicio freti, divinis traditionibus et magisterio Ecclesiae repudiatis, Scripturam statuerant unicum revelationis fontem supremumque iudicem fidei; ita nunc est cum Rationalists, qui eorum quasi filii et heredes, item sententia innixi sua, vel has ipsas a patribus acceptas christianae fidei reliquias prorsus abiecerunt. Divinam enim vel revelationem vel inspirationem vel Scripturam sacram, omnino ullam negant, neque alia prorsus ea esse dicunt, nisi hominum artificia et commenta: illas nimirum, non veras gestarum rerum narrationes, sed aut ineptas fabulas aut historias mendaces; ea, non vaticinia et oracula, sed aut confictas post eventus praedictiones aut ex naturali vi praesensiones; ea, non veri nominis miracula virtutisque divinae ostenta, sed admirabilia quaedam, nequaquam naturae viribus majora, aut praestigias et mythos quosdam: evangelia et scripta apostolica aliis plane auctoribus tribuenda.

Hujusmodi portenta errorum, quibus sacrosanctam divinorum Librorum veritatem putant convelli, tanquam decretoria pronuntiata novae cuiusdam *scientiae liberae*, obtrudunt: quae tamen adeo incerta ipsimet habent, ut eisdem in rebus crebrius immutent et suppleant. Quum vero tam impie de Deo, de Christo, de Evangelio et reliqua Scriptura sentiant et praedicent, non desunt ex iis qui theologi et christiani et evangelici haberi velint, et honestissimo nomine obtendant insolentis ingenii temeritatem. His addunt sese consiliorum participes adiutoresque e ceteris disciplinis non pauci, quos eadem revelatarum rerum intolerantia ad oppugnationem Bibliorum similiter trahit. Satis autem deplorare non possumus, quam latius in dies acriusque haec oppugnatio geratur. Geritur in eruditos et graves homines, quamquam illi non ita difficulter sibi possunt cavere;

at maxime contra indoctorum vulgus omni consilio et arte infensi hostes nituntur. Libris, libellis, diariis exitiale virus infundunt; id concionibus, id sermonibus insinuant; omnia iam pervasere, et multas tenent, abstractas ab Ecclesiae tutela, adolescentium scholas, ubi credulas mollesque mentes ad contemptionem Scripturae, per ludibrium etiam et scurriles iocos, depravant misere. Ista sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae commune pastorale studium permoveant, incendant; ita ut huic novae *falsi nominis scientiae*¹ antiqua illa et vera opponatur, quam a Christo per Apostolos accepit Ecclesia, atque in dimicatione tanta idonei defensores Scripturae sacrae exurgant.

Itaque ea prima sit cura, ut in sacris Seminariis vel Academiis sic omnino tradantur divinae Litterae, quemadmodum et ipsius gravitas disciplinae et temporum necessitas admonent. Cuius rei causâ, nihil profecto debet esse antiquius magistrorum delectatione prudenti: ad hoc enim munus non homines quidem de multis, sed tales assumi oportet, quos magnus amor et diuturna consuetudo Bibliorum, atque opportunus doctrinae ornatus commendabiles faciat, pares officio. Neque minus prospiciendum mature est, horum postea locum qui sint excepturi. Iuverit ideo, ubi commodum sit, ex alumnis optimae spei, theologiae spatium laudate emensis, nonnullos divinis Libris totos addici, facta eisdem plenioris cuiusdam studii aliquandiu facultate. Ita delecti institutique doctores, commissum munus adeant fidenter: in quo ut versentur optime et consentaneos fructus educant, aliqua ipsis documenta paulo explicatius impertire placet.

Ergo ingeniis tironum in ipso studii limine sic prospiciant, ut iudicium in eis, aptum pariter Libris divinis tuendis atque arripiendae ex ipsis sententiae, conforment sedulo et excolant. Huc pertinet tractatus *de introductione* ut loquuntur *biblica*, ex quo alumnus commodam habet opem ad integritatem auctoritatemque Bibliorum convincendam, ad legitimum in illis sensum investigandum et assequendum, ad occupanda captiosa et radicitus evellenda. Quae quanti momenti sit disposite scienterque, comite et adiutrice theologia, esse initio disputata, vix attinet dicere, quum tota continenter tractatio Scripturae reliqua hisce vel fundamentis nitatur vel luminibus clarescat.

Exinde in fructuosiore hujus doctrinae partem, quae de interpretatione est, perstudiose incumbet praeceptoris opera; unde sit auditoribus, quo dein modo divini verbi divitas in profectum

¹Tim. vi. 20.

religionis et pietatis convertant. Intelligimus equidem, enarrari in scholis Scripturas omnes, nec per amplitudinem rei, nec per tempus licere. Verumtamen, quoniam certa opus est via interpretationis utiliter expediendae, utrumque magister prudens devitet incommodum, vel eorum qui de singulis libris cursim delibandum praebent, vel eorum qui in certa unius parte immoderatus consistunt. Si enim in plerisque scholis adeo non poterit obtineri, quod in Academiis majoribus, ut unus aut alter liber continuatione quadam et ubertate exponatur, at magnopere efficiendum est, ut librorum partes ad interpretandum selectae tractationem habeant convenienter plenam: quo veluti specimine allecti discipuli et edocti, cetera ipsi perlegant adamentque in omni vita. Is porro, retinens instituta majorum, exemplar in hoc sumet versionem vulgatum; quam Concilium Tridentinum *in publicis lectionibus, disputationibus, praedicationibus et expositionibus pro authentica* habendam decrevit,¹ atque etiam commendat quotidiana Ecclesia consuetudo. Neque tamen non sua habenda erit ratio reliquarum versionum, quas christiana laudavit usurpavitque antiquitas, maxime codicum primigeniorum. Quamvis enim, ad summam rei quod spectat, ex dictionibus Vulgatae hebraea et graeca bene eluceat sententia, attamen si quid ambigue, si quid minus accurate inibi elatum sit, "inspectio praecedentis linguae," suasore Augustino, proficiet.² Jamvero per se liquet, quam multum navitatis ad haec adhiberi oporteat, quum demum sit "commentatoris officium, non quid ipse velit, sed quid sentiat ille quem interpretetur, exponere."³ Post expensam, ubi opus sit, omni industria lectionem, tum locus erit scrutandae et proponendae sententiae. Primum autem consilium est, ut probata communiter interpretandi praescripta tanto experrectiore observentur cura quanto morosior ab adversariis urget contentio. Propterea cum studio perpendendi quid ipsa verba valeant, quid consecutio rerum velit, quid locorum similitudo aut talia cetera, externa quoque appositae eruditionis illustratio societur: cauto tamen, ne istiusmodi quaestionibus plus temporis tribuatur et operae quam pernoscendis divinis Libris, neve corrogata multiplex rerum cognitio mentibus juvenum plus incommodi afferat quam adiumenti.

Ex hoc, tutus erit gradus ad usum divinae Scripturae in re

¹ Sess. iv. *decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

² *De doct. chr.*, iii. 4.

³ S. Hier. ad Pammach.

theologica. Quo in genere animadvertisse oportet, ad ceteras difficultatis causas, quae in quibusvis antiquorum libris intelligendis fere occurrunt, proprias aliquas in Libris sacris accedere. Eorum enim verbis, auctore Spiritu Sancto, res multae subiiciuntur quae humanae vim aciemque rationis longissime vincunt, divina scilicet mysteria et quae cum illis continentur alia multa; idque nonnunquam ampliore quadam et reconditiore sententia, quam exprimere littera et hermeneuticae leges indicare videantur: alios praeterea sensus, vel ad dogmata illustranda vel ad commendanda praecepta vitae ipse litteralis sensus profecto adsciscit. Quamobrem diffitendum non est religiosa quadam obscuritate sacros Libros involvi, ut ad eos, nisi aliquo viae duce, nemo ingredi possit.¹ Deo quidem sic providente (quae vulgata est opinio Ss. Patrum), ut homines maiore cum desiderio et studio illos perscrutarentur, resque inde operose perceptas mentibus animisque altius infigerent; intelligerentque praecipue, Scripturas Deum tradidisse Ecclesiae, quae scilicet duce et magistra in legendis tractandisque eloquiis suis certissima uterentur. Ubi enim charismata Domini posita sint, ibi discendam esse veritatem, atque ab illis, apud quos sit successio apostolica, Scripturas nullo cum periculo exponi, iam sanctus docuit Irenaeus:² cuius quidem ceterorumque Patrum doctrinam Synodus Vaticana amplexa est, quando Tridentinum decretum de divini verbi scripti interpretatione renovans, *hanc illius mentem esse declaravit, ut in rebus fidei et morum, ad aedificationem doctrinae christianae pertinentium, is pro vero sensu sacrae Scripturae habendus sit, quem tenuit ac tenet sancta Mater Ecclesia, cuius est iudicare de vero sensu et interpretatione Scripturarum sanctarum; atque ideo nemini licere contra hunc sensum aut etiam contra unanimum consensum Patrum ipsam Scripturam sacram interpretari.*³

Qua plena sapientiae lege nequaquam Ecclesia pervestigationem scientiae biblicae retardat aut coërcet; sed eam potius ab errore integram praestat, plurimumque ad veram adiuvat progressionem. Nam privato cuique doctori magnus patet campus, in quo, tutis vestigiis, sua interpretandi industria praeclare certet Ecclesiaeque utiliter. In locis quidem divinae Scripturae qui expositionem certam et definitam adhuc desiderant, effici ita

¹ S. Hier ad Paulin. *de studio Script. ep.* liii. 4.

² *C. haer.* iv. 26, 5.

³ Sess. iii., c. ii., *de Revel.*: cf. Conc. Trid., sess. iv., *decr. de edit. et usu sacr. libror.*

potest, ex suavi Dei providentis consilio, ut, quasi praeparato studio, iudicium Ecclesiae maturetur; in locis vero iam definitis potest privatus doctor aequè prodesse, si eos vel enucleatius apud fidelium plebem et ingeniosius apud doctos edisserat, vel insignius evincat ab adversariis. Quapropter praecipuum sanctumque sit catholico interpreti, ut illa Scripturae testimonia, quorum sensus authentice declaratus est, aut per sacros auctores, Spiritu Sancto afflante, uti multis in locis novi Testamenti, aut per Ecclesiam, eodem Sancto adsistente Spiritu, *sive solemnii iudicio, sive ordinario et universali magisterio*,¹ eâdem ipse ratione interpretetur; atque ex adiumentis disciplinae suae convincat, eam solam interpretationem, ad sanae hermeneuticae leges, posse recte probari. In ceteris analogia fidei sequenda est, et doctrina catholica, qualis ex auctoritate Ecclesiae accepta, tamquam summa norma est adhibenda: nam, quum et sacrorum Librorum et doctrinae apud Ecclesiam depositae idem sit auctor Deus, profecto fieri nequit, ut sensus ex illis, qui ab hac quoquo modo discrepet, legitima interpretatione eruatur. Ex quo apparet, eam interpretationem ut ineptam et falsam reiiciendam, quae, vel inspiratos auctores inter se quodammodo pugnantes faciat, vel doctrinae Ecclesiae adversetur.

Huius igitur disciplinae magister hac etiam laude floreat oportet, ut omnem theologiam egregie teneat, atque in commentariis versatus sit Ss. Patrum Doctorumque et interpretum optimorum. Id sane inculcat Hieronymus,² multumque Augustinus, qui, iusta cum querela, “Si unaquaeque disciplina, inquit, quamquam vilis et facilis, ut percipi possit, doctorem aut magistrum requirit, quid temerariae superbiae plenius, quam divinorum sacramentorum libros ab interpretibus suis nolle cognoscere!”³ Id ipsum sensere et exemplo confirmavere ceteri Patres, qui “divinarum Scripturarum intelligentiam, non ex propria praesumptione, sed ex maiorum scriptis et auctoritate sequebantur, quos et ipsos ex apostolica successione intelligendi regulam suscepisse constabat.”⁴

Iamvero Ss. Patrum, quibus “post Apostolos, sancta Ecclesia plantatoribus, rigatoribus, aedificatoribus, pastoribus, nutritoribus crevit,”⁵ summa auctoritas est, quotiescumque testimonium

¹ Conc. Vat. sess. iii., cap. iii., *de fide*.

² *Ibid.*, 6, 7.

³ Ad Honorat. *de utilit. cred.*, xvii. 35.

⁴ Rufin. *Hist. eccl.*, ii. 9.

⁵ S. Aug. c. Iulian. ii., 10, 37.

aliquod biblicum, ut ad fidei pertinens morumve doctrinam, uno eodemque modo explicant omnes: nam ex ipsa eorum consensione, ita ab Apostolis secundum catholicam fidem traditum esse nitide eminet. Eorundem vero Patrum sententia tunc etiam magni aestimanda est, quum hisce de rebus munere doctorum quasi privatim funguntur; quippe quos, non modo scientia revelatae doctrinae et multarum notitia rerum, ad apostolicos libros cognoscendos utilium, valde commendat, verum Deus ipse, viros sanctimonia vitae et veritatis studio insignes, amplioribus luminis sui praesidiis adiuverit. Quare interpretes suum esse noverit, eorum et vestigia reverenter persequi et laboribus frui intelligenti delectu.

Neque ideo tamen viam sibi putet obstructam, quo minus, ubi justa causa adfuerit, inquirendo et exponendo vel ultra procedat, modo praeceptioni illi, ab Augustino sapienter propositae, religiose obsequatur, videlicet a litterali et veluti obvio sensu minime discedendum, nisi qua eum vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere:¹ quae praeceptio eo tenenda est firmiter, quo magis, in tanta novitatum cupidine et opinionum licentia, periculum imminet aberrandi. Caveat idem ne illa negligat quae ab eisdem Patribus ad allegoricam similemve sententiam translata sunt, maxime quum ex litterali descendant et multorum auctoritate fulciantur. Talem enim interpretandi rationem ab Apostolis Ecclesia accepit, suoque ipsa exemplo, ut e re patet liturgica, comprobavit; non quod Patres ex ea contenderent dogmata fidei per se demonstrare, sed quia bene frugiferam virtuti et pietati alendae nossent experti.

Ceterorum interpretum catholicorum est minor quidem auctoritas, attamen, quoniam Bibliorum studia continuum quemdam progressum in Ecclesia habuerunt, istorum pariter commentariis suis tribuendus est honor, ex quibus multa opportune peti liceat ad refellenda contraria, ad difficiliora enodanda. At vero id nimium dedecet, ut quis, egregiis operibus, quae nostri abunde reliquerunt, ignoratis aut despectis, heterodoxorum libros praeoptet, ab eisque cum praesenti sanae doctrinae periculo et non raro cum detrimento fidei, explicationem locorum quaerat, in quibus catholici ingenia et labores suos iamdudum optimeque collocarint. Licet enim heterodoxorum studiis, prudenter adhibitis, iuvari interdum possit interpretes catholici, meminerit

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.*, l. viii, c. 7, 13.

tamen, ex crebris quoque veterum documentis,¹ incorruptum sacrarum Litterarum sensum extra Ecclesiam neutiquam reperiri, neque ab eis tradi posse, qui, verae fidei expertes, Scripturae, non medullam attingunt, sed corticem rodunt.²

(To be continued.)

DECISIONS REGARDING VARIOUS POINTS IN CONNECTION
WITH THE "PIOUS ASSOCIATION OF THE HOLY FAMILY"

E VICARIATU URBIS.

DUBIA DE ERECTIONE CONFRATERNITATUM SACRAE FAMILIAE.

I.

Rme Domine :

Emus Card. Parocchi, Archiconfrat. S. Familiae Praeses, per me infrascriptum propositis dubiis respondet :

I. An requiratur in singulis parocciis erectio canonica ab Episcopo ad instar Confraternitatum proprie dictarum?—Resp. *Negative* ; fit per diploma quod Emus Praeses mittet.

II. An requiratur declaratio authentica, per diploma in scriptis vel alio modo ab Episcopo vel moderatore de erectione consociationis in singulis parocciis?—Resp. *Negative* ; sed moderator servet quae in Regulis habentur (III. b).

III. An pro lucrandis Indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochiis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card. Praeside subscripta, ut innuere videntur regulae (II. a), ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum?—Resp. *Affirmative et ad mentem*. Mens vero est, ut Episcopus, uno accepto ab Emo Praeside diplomate, reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius, et singulis familiis consociatis tradet.

IV. An festum S. Familiae associationis primum, die Dominica infra Oct. Epiph., etiam iis in dioecesibus recoli debeat, in quibus ea die fit in choro solemnitas Epiphaniae?—Resp. *Affirmative* ; sed Episcopus aliam festivitatem seligere potest pro sua prudentia.

Romae, ex Aedibus Vicariatus, die 7 Aprilis 1893.

RAPHAEL CHIMENTI,

Pro-Secret. Conf. S. Fam.

(*Rmo Dno Karst, Vic. gen. Dioec. Meten.*)

¹ Cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii., 16 ; Orig., *de princ.* iv. 8 ; in *Levit. hom.* 4, 8 ; Tertull. *de praescr.* 15, *seqq.* ; S. Hilar. *Pict. in Matt.* 13, 1.

² St. Greg., *M. Moral.*, xx. 9 (al. 11).

II.

Dub. I. An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familiae in tabulas Consociationis Sacrae Familiae referat, vel singula familiae membra inscribere debeat?—*Resp.* Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.

Dub. II. An parochus pro inscriptione familiarum alterum sacerdotem delegare possit?—*Resp.* Nil vetat quominus parochus in familiarum inscriptione sacerdotem adhibeat adiutorem.

Dub. III. An sufficiat ut familiae in sociorum numerum adscisci cupientes hoc suum desiderium per litteras vel interpositas personas parochi intiment, vel omnino requiratur ut caput familiae vel eiusdem membrum quoddam coram parochi eum in finem personaliter compareat?—*Resp.* Omnino decet ut caput familiae se personaliter sistat apud parochum.

E VICARIATU URBIS.

DUBIA CIRCA PIAM ASSOCIATIONEM A SACRA FAMILIA.

E. mus Card. Parocchi Piae Associationis a S. Familia Praeses. per me infrascriptum responso dimittit nonnulla Dubia proposita a R. mo DD. F. Cadène, Directore Ephemeridis *Analecta Ecclesiastica*.

I. Ad Dubium III. n. 1, relatum in Eph. *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, p. 413:—"An pro lucrandis Indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card Praeside subscripta uti innuere videntur Regulae (II a) ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum?" Responsum est "*Affirmative et ad mentem.* Mens vero est, ut Episcopus, uno accepto ab Emo Praeside diplomate, reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius, et singulis familiis consociatis tradet." Nunc autem quaeritur utrum haec responsio sit *imperativa*, vel *directiva* tantum?—*Resp. Directiva tantum et ad mentem.* Mens vero est quod nullomodo indigeant episcopi nec parochi talibus diplomatibus (quae frequentiora fuerunt requisita) quum in Brevi *Neminem fugit* res apprime definiantur. Unde responsio mere *directiva* fuit, ad unitatem scilicet a Summo Pontifice commendatam magis magisque servandam.

II Ad 2^{am} Dubium in eadem Ephemeride relatum p. 413:—"An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familiae in tabulas Consociationis S. Familiae referat vel singula familiae membra inscribere debeat?"—Responsum est *Negative* ad 1^{am} partem, *affirmative* ad 2^{am}—Nunc quaeritur quid sit intel-

ligendum per *singula familiae membra*?—Resp. Intelligi debet pro *numero totali* membrorum, non autem pro *singulis eorundem nominibus*.

III. Utrum negligente vel invito patrefamilias, possit mater vel aliqua ex praecipuis familiae personis v. gr. avus, familiam adscribere P. A.?—Resp. *Affirmative*.

IV. Utrum possint *filiifamilias, servi, milites*, sese ascribere P. A. seorsim a propria familia?—Resp. *Negative et ad mentem*. Mens vero est ut singuli cum suis simul adscribantur, quibus negligentibus vel recusantibus, poterunt seorsim sese adscribere.

V. Utrum aliquis possit sese *valide* adscribere in aliena paroecia?—Resp. *Negative*. Nec proinde potest parochus *valide alienos* adscribere, et qui taliter fuerunt adscripti, debent denuo propria paroecia adscribi.

VI. An saltem possit parochus adscribere suos propinquos usque ad quartum Consanguinitatis gradum, qui alibi domicilium habent?—Resp. *Negative*.

VII. Potestne saltem Director Dioecesanus, independenter a parochis indiscriminatim Dioecesanos adscribere?—Resp. *Negative*, quia ex Brevi Apostolico, adscriptio *solis* parochis committitur.

VIII. Sufficitne quasi-domicilium pro valida adscriptione?—Resp. *Affirmative*.

IX. An parochi vel Directores Dioecesani, in Rituali Romano possint apponere formulas et orationes adsignatas pro Consecratione et renovatione Consecrationis?—Resp. *Negative*, usquedum S. Rituum Congr. ipsa per se provideat.

X. Utrum in tabulis (images) vel statuis S. Familiam repraesentantibus possint exhiberi ante pectus Corda D. Infantis, B. V. M. et S. Josephi?—Resp. *Non expedire* quoad Corda D. Infantis et B. Matris. Quoad S. Josephum, *non licere*.

Romae, ex Aedibus Vicariatus, die 12 Decembris 1893.

RAPHAEL CHIMENTI,
Pro-Secret. Conf. S. Familiae.

PIOUS ASSOCIATION OF THE HOLY FAMILY.

REV. DEAR SIR,—May I venture to call attention to some decisions from His Eminence the Cardinal Vicar in Rome, viz. :—

1. "An pro lucrandis Indulgentiis requiratur ut a singulis parochiis obtineatur pagina aggregationis a Card. Praeside subscripta,

uti innuere videntur regulæ ad modum aggregationis Confraternitatum proprie dictarum? Resp. Affirmative et ad mentem—Mens vero est ut episcopus, uno accepto ab Em. Praeside diplomate, reliqua ipse curabit imprimi ad normam illius et singulis familiis consociatis tradet.” (7th April, 1893.)

On the 12th December, 1893, the Cardinal Vicar was asked if the foregoing reply was imperative or directive, and he answered: “*Directiva tantum et ad mentem.* Mens vero est quod nullo modo indigeant episcopi nec parochi talibus diplomatibus (quæ frequentiora fuerunt requisita) quum in Brevi *Neminem fugit* res apprimè definiantur. Unde responsio mere *directiva* fuit, ad unitatem scilicet a S. Pontifice commendatam magis magisque servandam.”

Another decision was given also on 7th April, 1893, which runs thus:—

2. “An sufficiat ut parochus solum nomen patris vel capitis familie in tabulas consociationis sacrae familie referat vel singula familie membra inscribere debeat? Resp. Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.”

On the 24th July, 1893, another from the Cardinal-Vicar appears to contradict this No. 2 decision; it runs thus:—“Se sia sufficiente d’registrare,” &c., as given in the I. E. RECORD of September, 1893; which in English reads: “Is it enough to register the name of the head of the family; and in that case do the members share in all the Indulgences? It is enough: the head of the family, however, is to declare the number of members composing it.”

On the apparent contradiction between these two decisions being brought before the Roman Vicariate, the following reply was elicited on the 15th December, 1893:—“*Singula familie membra, non singula familie nomina, ideoque concordat cum alia responsione, nempe sufficit ut caput familie declaret numerum ex. gr. N. N. cum quinque membris.*”

Believe me, Rev. Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

M. O’CALLAGHAN, C.M.

ST. VINCENT’S, CORK,
January 13th, 1894.

Notices of Books

LET US GO TO THE HOLY TABLE. By Père Lambert. Translated by Rev. W. Whitty, M.S.S., House of Missions, Enniscorthy. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

WE have read this little book with great pleasure, and we think a debt of gratitude is due to the Rev. translator for the care and trouble he has taken to present it to the public in an English dress. It is a book we should gladly see in the hands of every Catholic; and we have no hesitation in saying that those who peruse its pages carefully, will draw therefrom both pleasure and profit. Unlike so many books of its kind, it is remarkable, as well for the solid instruction it conveys, as for the earnest zeal of the author to impress it upon the minds of his readers. Cardinal Parocchi, when giving approbation to the work, alludes to these qualities:—"Your expositions of doctrine, so perfectly in accordance with the principles of sound theology, impart a vivid light to the mind: while the warmth of your appeals sets the heart on fire."

In the first part of the work, consisting of four chapters, are given the reasons for frequenting the Holy Table, viz., because—first, Jesus Christ desires it; second, the Church invites to it; third, the saints counsel it; and fourth, our own needs demand it. In the second part, the question, "How often should we go to the Holy Table?" is answered. And here, having just touched upon what is of strict duty, &c., he proceeds to show what is the mind of the Church, and what the teaching of her saints and doctors on the very important question of frequent communion; at the same time answering briefly, but fully and convincingly, the many objections so often urged against this salutary practice. The object he has in view is (to quote the words of his Lordship the Bishop of Evreux) "to root out the remnants of a detestable Jansenism; to make known to ignorant, and to recall to careless souls the immense love of Jesus in the Holy Sacrament of the Altar; to induce as many as possible to approach the Holy Table; and thereby to lay open to Christians of every age and condition the fountains of the true life."

We fear there are still remaining, even here in Ireland, some relics of the old rigorism in regard to this matter of frequent communion; and that souls are sometimes debarred from receiving

this life-giving food as often as our loving Lord would wish, and their own dispositions entitle them to eat of it. If this little book gets the wide circulation and attentive study it deserves, it will, assuredly, be the means of bringing more guests to this heavenly banquet, and the end of the translator will have been attained. We may add, that it will be found that, in its English dress, it loses nothing of the simplicity and force of the original; and, moreover, that, as regards paper and printing, &c., it has been brought out in a way well worthy of the eminent firm to whom the work of publication was entrusted.

R. P. BERNARDINI A PICONIO ORD. CAP. TRIPLEX EXPOSITIO.
BEATI PAULI APOSTOLI EPISTOLAE AD ROMANOS.
Emendata et aucta per P. Michaellem Hetzenauer ord.
cap.

BERNARDUS A PICONIO was born at Piconium in A.D. 1633. Piconium—more usually called Picquigny—is situated in that district of France which used to be known as Picardy, and is, as far as we know, not very remarkable for anything besides being thus associated with the name of the celebrated commentator on St. Paul's Epistles. His family name is unknown. He took that of Bernard on the occasion of his receiving the habit of the Capuchin Order, which he entered at an early age. After his ordination to the priesthood he was appointed professor of theology in the principal house of the Order in Paris. He excelled as much in humility as in learning, and succeeded in declining the offices of honour and responsibility with which his brethren were anxious to entrust him. In the solitude of his cell, with his books, Bernard was most at home. In 1701 he sent a message to the outer world in the shape of a book, entitled *Pratique efficace pour bien vivre et pour bien mourir*, which, spoken to himself in the stillness of his retreat, he thought too momentous to keep secret. He is best known, however, by his *Commentary on the Pauline Epistles*, which was published in 1703.

Posterity has confirmed the favourable judgment pronounced upon the *Triplicis Expositio* by the author's contemporaries, and which the *Journal des Savants* of the day expressed in the following terms:—"Triplicem expositionem esse sacrum ciborum penarium et aquarum viventium puteum—esse accommodatum non tantum usui theoretico sed etiam usui practico; continere claram analysin,

classicam periphrasin, et eximium commentarium." Biblical criticism has advanced considerably since Bernard's time; and to amend his great work, according to the needs of the subject, is the laudable undertaking of Father Hetzenauer in giving us this new edition. The main features of the original arrangement are retained. The *Commentary* is considerably enlarged, and the Greek text is added, each verse being given in Latin and Greek. There is also added to the work a special index, which will be of use to those who wish to know the Apostles' views on particular subjects. The different styles of type are agreeably contrasted, and the publishers have left nothing undone to help the success of a publication which deserves a popular reception.

T. P. G.

THE SPIRIT OF THE SACRED HEART. A Manual of Prayers compiled from various approved sources. London: Burns and Oates. New York: Catholic Publication Society Co.

NOWADAYS we have so many prayer-books and manuals of devotion, that it is difficult to introduce much variety into any new publication of the same class. However, we think that the compiler of this manual has succeeded in performing this feat. In addition to the ordinary devotions, common to most prayer-books, we find others, which we have not seen elsewhere, and which seem well calculated to foster the piety and devotion of the faithful. Many of the devotions and prayers have been approved by the bishops of England for public use in the Church. The manual has received the *imprimatur* of his Eminence the late Cardinal Manning. The print is large and legible, and the general arrangement of the book is very neat, and reflects great credit on its publishers.

W. F. B

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

MARCH, 1894

THE DANGERS OF RELIGIOUS CONTROVERSY

OF late years we have had many signs of increasing literary activity among the Catholics of England, especially in one branch of theology. The controversialist is abroad. The children of Holy Church were never less disposed to submit in silence to the charges and criticisms of Protestant writers and preachers. Like the animal of a famous French definition, the English Catholic is now a creature so ferocious, that he defends himself when he is attacked. The answers thus offered to our assailants are both many and various. We have had enough and to spare of controversial sermons and lectures, and papers read at conferences, books and pamphlets, tracts and leaflets, and letters to the press. And the tone and character of these controversial answers is fully as varied as their outward form. All the titles of Touchstone are worthily represented. We have the "retort courteous," and the "quip modest," and in too many cases the "reply churlish," the "reproof valiant," the "countercheck quarrelsome," the "lie circumstantial," and even the "lie direct." The controversy, moreover, is by no means confined to tactics of defence, and our writings and speeches are sometimes offensive in every sense of the word.

In all this we may surely find some reason for encouragement and thankfulness. Some of these controversialists have done good service to the cause of truth; and all have

given a pleasing and unmistakable proof of their faith and zeal. With the sole object of winning men to the one true fold, they give themselves to what is too often a toilsome and thankless task, and enter a field where they may expect many hard knocks, with but little chance of fame or fortune. But while we readily and gladly acknowledge these merits, we cannot regard the spread of controversy with feelings of unmixed satisfaction. There are even some reasons for viewing it with grave alarm. A good cause often suffers as much from the misguided zeal of its supporters as it does from the attacks of avowed opponents. This is especially the case with discussions on religion. Mr. Cotter Morrison was surely right when he said that "it is one of the commonest of occurrences for controversialists to produce exactly the opposite result to that which they intend; and that as many an apology for Christianity has sown the first seeds of infidelity, so an attack upon it might well intensify faith."¹ Now that so many among us are rushing eagerly into this field, it may not be amiss to remind ourselves of some of the dangers of religious controversy.

In the opening chapters of his *Summa Contra Gentiles*, St. Thomas lays down some general principles which are of great value to the champion of orthodoxy. He touches on the importance of a true knowledge of the errors of our opponents, and the necessity of some common source of argument in which they must needs agree with us. In dealing with heretics we may appeal to any part of the Scripture; with Jews we must keep to the Old Testament; while in the case of those who admit neither we must betake ourselves to natural reason. But the most striking passage is that in which the saint speaks of the use of arguments from reason in supporting the mysteries of revelation. These, he says, may serve as an exercise and solace for believers; but for the purpose of convincing heretics they are worse than useless. Such reasons cannot be conclusive, and their very insufficiency would confirm the errors of our opponents, who might think that we believed on such worthless grounds.

¹ *Life of Gibbon*, chap. i., p. 12.

“Sunt tamen ad hujusmodi veritatem manifestandam rationes aliquae verisimiles inducendae, ad fidelium quidem exercitium, et solatium, non autem ad adversarios convincendos: *quia ipsa rationum insufficientia eos magis in suo errore confirmaret*, dum aestimarent, nos propter tam debiles rationes veritati fidei consentire.”¹ St. Thomas, it is true, is only speaking of one class of arguments; but his words have obviously a wider application. It is only when we seek to prove the revealed mysteries by mere natural reason that our arguments are necessarily weak and inconclusive. But it is quite possible to use weak and worthless witnesses, in cases where excellent reasons are available. And whenever we do this, we incur that danger against which the saint has warned us. The insufficiency of our reasoning will only serve to confirm our opponent in his error.

It is well to add, that the reasons from which St. Thomas anticipates this unfortunate result are neither false nor futile. They are true, as far as they go, and have a real value of their own. But they do harm because they are applied to a purpose for which they are insufficient. What then must be the danger arising from the use of arguments which are altogether false and baseless? If our opponents are confirmed in their errors because they think we believe on weak grounds, what must be the case when they are led to suppose that we have no reasons at all? A suspicion of folly is bad enough, but it is far worse to have our honesty called in question. And this is only too likely to be the case, if our cause be supported by statements at variance with established facts, and quotations from doubtful or spurious documents. There is no need to press the point that blunders of this kind will bear evil fruits and go far to strengthen Protestant prejudice. We may differ in our estimate of the use and advantage of controversy in religion, and the tactics which commend themselves to some will be roundly condemned by others. But no one will be found to palliate such offences or to question the harm they do. Yet if all are agreed in principle, it is only too clear that all are

not sufficiently aware of the facts. To judge by some Catholic writers, one would suppose that our Anglican friends enjoyed a monopoly in misquotation and fallacious arguments. It is easy to see how this happy illusion has arisen. With so many genuine authorities and valid reasons ready to hand, it might well be hoped that Catholic controversialists would keep clear of all weak and worthless weapons. But if we give our friends the benefit of that searching criticism which is too often reserved for our opponents, we shall find that this is by no means the case. And the reason of this is not far to seek. To study the fathers and councils in their native folios, is a work that needs time and patience; hence many are fain to take refuge in the ready resource of quoting at second-hand. In this way the errors of the past are apt to become stereotyped, and a slip made in all honesty and good faith by some writer in a less critical age is repeated again and again in spite of correction and exposure. To take an extreme case, a French theologian of the sixteenth century had the temerity to supply the lost books of one of the early fathers by some of his own work. He had no intention of deceiving his readers, but it was only natural that some of the less cautious should fall into the pit, and some words of his were soon cited as those of a father of the fifth century. The blunder was exposed by Suarez nearly three hundred years ago; yet it is perpetuated in a popular manual of the present day! There is surely room for more care and criticism in these matters. It is too much to ask for perfect accuracy, for no endeavours can enable us to escape all errors; but we should be spared not a few painful and dangerous blunders if our champions would only take the trouble to verify all their quotations, instead of trusting to second-rate authorities and second-hand learning.

2. Religious controversialists are thus in some danger of injuring their own cause by blunders and fallacies. But this is by no means the greatest of our dangers. If we run the risk of doing harm by weak arguments, we may do far more by the use of strong language. Criticism is much to be desired; but courtesy and charity, and let us add justice, are yet

more necessary. It is true indeed that plain speaking is sometimes a duty. The unscrupulous and dishonest writer who brings lying charges against the Church has no right to complain of the lash. And we should have no sickly tenderness for such offenders. *Judex damnatur cum nocens absolvitur*. But before the critic assumes this responsible office, he must be well assured that the chastisement is really deserved, else his severity will only engender needless bitterness, and will injure no cause so much as his own. We all know what some Anglicans are wont to say of "Roman methods of controversy." But is there not a little too much of the same language on our side of the wall? Thus, we find a recent writer on "Anglican Orders" saying that the work of his opponent is an attempt to pervert the "plain facts" of English history. "It is to be regretted," he adds, "that such replies are called for by the decline in the moral tone of modern Anglican controversy, owing to the demoralizing influence of the late Dr. Littledale. In the days of the old Tractarians, Anglican controversy was a model for gentleness of manner and honesty of purpose. But some of their modern successors are no longer humble searchers after truth, but defenders of a cause, mere advocates with a gallery to play to, and who do not disdain the tactics of an Old Bailey lawyer." We need not notice the very obvious retort which this passage might suggest to an Anglican. But is not this severe critic writing somewhat at random when he speaks of the Tractarian controversy as a model for "gentleness of manner"? Modern Anglicans have said many hard things about us. But they can scarcely beat the bitter language of the great Tractarian chief, against whose "cursing and swearing" Hurrell Froude was fain to protest. And did not some zealous Catholics of that day roundly deny the "honesty of purpose" of the Oxford leaders? These critics, as we now know, were strangely mistaken. But while we deplore their blunder, let us take good care that we do not imitate them. What warrant have we for making this charge of dishonesty against these modern Anglican controversialists? It may be urged that a garbled extract or a false authority has been given, or a

fallacy repeatedly exposed unblushingly brought forward as a valid argument. But how do we know that the writer was aware of this at the time? It may be that the misquotation was made at second-hand, and the previous answers and exposures passed by in sheer ignorance. Such carelessness is, no doubt, deplorable enough, but it is not dishonesty. And, as we have seen, our own writers are not always free from blame on this score. By all means let us have a high standard of accuracy, and clear the field of all stock misquotations and time-honoured blunders; but it is neither just nor charitable to adopt a Lesbian rule that will make the same slip in the Catholic but a careless word, and in the Anglican rank dishonesty. If we make any difference at all, it should rather be the other way. *Ceteris paribus*, a Catholic writer who makes a blunder in quoting the fathers or schoolmen is more to blame than a non-Catholic who falls into the same error.

This danger is in many ways more serious than the last. After all, it is only the ignorant and inexperienced that are likely to damage our cause by weak and worthless arguments. But the use of strong language is an infirmity of nobler minds. The true scholar who is familiar with the books which are being misquoted, and sees through the sophistry of a false argument, may too readily judge by his own case, and take it for granted that his opponent is well aware of the falsity and fallacy of his reasoning. At the same time, the critic's denunciation of the supposed dishonesty will be vehement in proportion to his own love of truth and zeal for religion. And what is the natural result when the castigation thus administered is undeserved? Stung by the injustice of the charge and the violence of the attack, and scandalized by the apparent want of charity, the Protestant is only too likely to be strengthened in his original belief. He is not in a fit state to be convinced of his error. And the reasons and statements which come to him accompanied by a false charge of dishonesty are naturally viewed with some suspicion. In this way the apologist, instead of leading his opponent towards the truth, only succeeds in irritating him, and driving him to the opposite extreme. It may be well to

add that this can even happen in the case of heresiarchs and others who unhappily fall away from the faith. These, indeed, must bear their own burden; but the blame of their fall is not always all their own. Others may help to bring it about by the scandal of an evil life or the insidious influence of loose and dangerous teaching. And others, again, may hasten the catastrophe by the injudicious violence of their attacks. Catholic champions may well take warning by the wise words with which Cardinal Pallavicino laments the bitterness of Luther's first opponents. "The answer," he gently says, "might well have been less bitter, that it might help rather as a light to the wanderer than as a sword against an enemy." "And it may be," he adds, "that his assailants by declaring him a heretic before the time made him to become one."¹

3. Closely akin to this use or abuse of strong language is the danger arising from the employment of sarcasm and ridicule. The two very commonly go together; and scathing condemnation is too often seasoned with gibes and flouts and sneers. But there is this difference between them, that severity is sometimes, if rarely, necessary; whereas the same can hardly be said of sarcasm and ridicule. What good can they possibly do? A writer with a keen sense of the ludicrous may often be tempted to indulge in raillery and satire in order to give fresh piquancy to his paper, and make a hit; but if he expects to convert his opponent by the help of this cheap wit, he is verily living in a fool's paradise. If such unworthy weapons have any real effect, it is far more likely to be for evil. Here it would be well to recall the weighty words of Cardinal Manning in his Inaugural Address to the Catholic Academia in 1866: "Every year the doctrine of invincible ignorance has a narrower application to the people of England; and for that reason we

¹"E questa (contradizione) forse dall' Echio sarebbesi potuta fare meno acerba, affinche giovasse non tanto d' arme contro à nemico, quanto di fiaccolo verso ad errante. Puo essere che i contraddittori col dichiararlo Eretico prima del tempo, lo facessero diventare." (*Istoria del S. Concilio di Trento*, lib i., c. 6). He says, however, that perhaps the opponents being on the spot knew better what was necessary. And he does full justice to the learning and authority of Eck.

have need to be all the more patient, tender, and considerate. Thousands around us are in a crisis of life and death. If anything on our part ruffle or disturb the calmness of heart on which candour depends, we should have much to answer for. Sarcasm and ridicule are dangerous tools; they may make us feared, and win a literary name, but they do not draw souls to the truth. Jesus and His disciples never used these weapons. Let the use of them together with all personalities be with your adversaries."¹

This earnest and eloquent protest against the use of sarcasm and ridicule finds a strange comment in some recent exhibitions of theological buffoonery. When will our well-meaning jesters learn the fatal folly of their course? By throwing ridicule on the practices of Ritualists, we shall only make ourselves contemptible. It has been urged indeed, by one amiable apologist, that the laughable element is in the facts themselves, and the critics do but warn our opponents that they are doing what is ridiculous. But if we weigh the matter well, we shall hardly come to this conclusion. Ceremonies may be new and original, and excite our mirth by their strangeness. But it does not follow that they are intrinsically absurd. If in any case there is something really ridiculous in the blunders of our Anglican friends, it is obvious that the joke, such as it is, can only be seen by those who know that they are blunders. Thus the persons for whose benefit the satire is presumably written, will miss the point; and it will only minister to the amusement of a certain class of Catholics. Whether it is likely to increase their charity and their reverence for holy things, is another

¹ *Essays on Religion and Literature*, Second Series, p. 16. To this we may add the following passages from the same writer's *England and Christendom*: "The Catholic Church bears the heart of Him 'Who will not break the bruised reed, nor quench the smoking flax.' No one who has a love for souls can look upon this rising of the Spirit of Life in the Anglican system without a tender and loving care" (p. xliii.). "But I have written, some say, hard things of the Church of England. Are they hard truths or hard epithets? If they are hard epithets, show them to me, and I will erase them with a prompt and public expression of regret; but if they be hard facts, I cannot change them" (p. 128). In the same spirit he says, in one of his latest published letters, "charity unites; controversy repels."

question. To some of us, at least, it will always seem that there is something sacred in the religious rites of all men, no matter how mistaken they may be in their belief; and to make such things the subject of mockery, comes perilously near to making a jest of religion itself.

4. So far we have seen some of the dangers that beset the controversialist. He runs the risk of defeating his own object, whether by the weakness of his arguments, or by the indiscreet violence of his method of war. But it is well to remember that there is a danger in success as well as a danger of failure. A writer who confines himself to attacking the Anglican position, may keep clear of all worthless arguments and all offensive words; he may make out a masterly case, and thoroughly convince his opponent; and yet do far more harm than the veriest bungler in theology. This is no paradox, but the plain truth. It is quite possible to shake or overthrow an imperfect belief without putting anything better in its place. And the controversialist who achieves this negative result has little cause for rejoicing in his success. No Catholic can wish to rob our separated brethren of the broken light that is still left them, and turn them into the dreary darkness of doubt and scepticism. Yet this is the natural outcome of certain methods of controversy. And it is much to be feared that some of us are not sufficiently aware of this danger of spreading unbelief by curious questioning and destructive criticism.

5. In these, and in other ways, the Catholic controversialist may unwittingly do harm to his readers, strengthening their prejudice by his blunders, irritating them by his hard words, or upsetting their belief by merely negative and destructive tactics. But besides all this, he is in some danger of doing harm to himself. By employing arguments which he does not fairly test, and quotations which he does not verify, he may unconsciously impair his own candour and sincerity. In like manner, his charity may suffer by his too severe or sarcastic treatment of his opponents; and here, again, the danger of success is greater than the danger of failure. The ready writer, or lecturer, who has become a master of his art, and has a smart answer for every question

or objection, may easily acquire a controversial temper of mind, and trust over much to his own arguments; and so long as he only meets with difficulties which he knows how to solve, he may be unconscious of the fact that his own religion rests on syllogisms rather than on simple faith. This danger is by no means a new one, yet there are circumstances that make it specially to be feared at the present day. The controversy with Protestants is comparatively easy; and weapons fashioned by master hands are ready for our use. If a man of ordinary ability will only devote himself to this field—and look no farther or deeper—he may soon become a formidable antagonist; hence come those confident cock-sure controversialists, who talk as though the weary labyrinth of history were a plain turnpike road, and all who differed from their conclusions must needs be knaves and fools. What must be the danger that awaits such shallow thinkers, when once they are forced out of their own narrow field, and brought face to face with the deeper problems of biblical criticism and religious philosophy?

It remains to ask how these dangers can be avoided. Some of us may incline to think that formal controversy, however well it may be conducted, will generally do more harm than good; and these will long for an “end of controversy” shorter and simpler than Milner’s; but those who despair of attaining to this desirable end, and those who look upon religious controversy as a good and useful work, may at least agree in seeking to improve its methods and mitigate its dangers. The following may be suggested as among the surest means of effecting this reform:—(1) A searching criticism which shall rigorously exclude all false and doubtful arguments and unverified quotations, together with all misstatements of our opponents’ teaching, and all unproved charges of dishonesty. It is all very well to correct the mistakes made on the other side. But criticism, like charity, should begin at home. (2) A spirit of charity which shall make our writings, in Pallavicino’s noble words, a light to the wanderers rather than a weapon of war; which shall make us mindful of the difficulties that beset our

separated brethren, of the force of education, and early associations, and the strength of honest unconscious prejudice. This will make us shun all harsh judgments and hard names, and words that wound, and lead us to say with the greatest of all our champions: "Illi in vos saeviant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, et quam difficile caveantur errores . . . Illi in vos saeviant, qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis, ut possit intueri solem suum."¹

If we do thus, we may haply lessen, if we cannot altogether avoid, the dangers of religious controversy.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

THE BURIAL-PLACE OF ST. PATRICK—II.

"In Burgo Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno
Patritius, Brigida, et Columba pius."

WE have seen in our last paper,² that there is very conclusive evidence that St. Patrick was buried, not at Saul or at Armagh, but at Downpatrick. And there is a very ancient and general tradition, that the relics of St. Columcille and of St. Brigid were also enclosed in the same tomb with those of our national apostle. So now we come to examine what historical evidence can be adduced in favour of this wide-spread tradition.

First of all, it is perfectly certain that St. Columba died in his monastery at Iona, about the year 597, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and that he was buried by his devoted disciples in the monastery where he died. The testimony of his biographer Adannan, a holy and learned man, with reference to those facts, cannot for a moment be called in question by any competent scholar. His blessed body, rolled up in clean linen, was placed in a *busta* or *ratabusta*, according to the common text, and was then buried

¹ St. Augustine, *Contra Epistolam Fundamenti*, c. 2.

² See I. E. RECORD (Third Series), page 1, January, 1894.

with all due veneration.¹ Lower down in the same chapter this *humatio* is described as a *sepultio*, and in the next section as a *sepultura*; so that the writer clearly meant that the remains of the saint were enclosed in a coffin, and then buried in the earth; but he nowhere indicates the exact spot where the grave was made. The word *ratabusta* is not found in *Du Cange*, nor anywhere else, so far as we know. It is probably an error of the scribe, who wrote "in ratabusta" for "intra busta," the latter phrase according to its classical usage meaning a grave rather than a coffin. It matters little, indeed, because the meaning is in either case that the body of the saint was buried in an ordinary grave.

Adamnan, however, though so explicit as to the burial, makes no reference to any enshrining, or translation, or disturbance of Columba's relics; so that it is only natural to assume that up to the period when he wrote, Columba's grave was undisturbed. Adamnan became abbot in 679; and the *Life of Columba* was certainly written during his tenure of office as abbot; but in all probability not before the year 690. After that period he spent most of his time in Ireland; whereas certain references to Iona indicate that the life was written during his abbacy in that island.

Now, although Tirechan expressly declares that his *Annotations* were derived from the oral information, or from the book of Bishop Ultan, who died about 657, we need not assume that they were written during the lifetime of his master, and perhaps not even until many years after his death. Tirechan himself most probably lived on to the end of the seventh century: and he might well have composed his *Annotations* during the last ten years of his life. The statement, which he makes, that there was a "conductio martirum, id est, ossuum Columcille de Britannia," to Downpatrick, appears to be an explanation given by Tirechan himself to identify the "church very near to the sea," as that to which the bones of Columcille were carried from Britain. Bishop Reeves, indeed, thought these words were

¹"Venerabile corpus mundis involutum sindonibus, et preparate positum in ratabusta, debita humatur cum veneratione." (Book iii., c. 23.)

at first a gloss on Tirechan's text, which was afterwards inserted in the text by the copyist; but even in that case the gloss must have been there before 807, when the *Book of Armagh* was copied. Our own opinion is, that the words were an explanation, given either by Tirechan or his copyist; that they cannot have been written before 690; and possibly may have been added by some copyist during the eighth century, but not later. Hence we infer that the bones of Columcille, or some notable portion of them, were actually transferred to Downpatrick at some time during the eighth century; and most probably about the beginning of that century.

But here several difficulties crop up, which it is necessary to explain.

The question occurs at once, if the relics of Columcille were transferred to Downpatrick so early as the beginning of the eighth century, or perhaps even earlier, how are we to explain certain entries in our national annals of a later date? For instance, when the Danes desolated Iona, in 824, we are told by Walafridus Strabo, who probably got his information from one of the companions of the martyred abbot, that when Blathmac refused to surrender the hidden treasure—

“ Pretiosa metalla .

Reddere cogentes, queis Sanctae Columbae
Ossa jacent, quam quippe suis de sedibus arcam
Tottentes tumulo terra posuere cavato,
Cespite sub denso, guarī jam pestis iniquae;
Hanc praedam cupiere Dani ”—

the saint was most cruelly martyred by the greedy pirates. But how reconcile this story with an earlier translation to Downpatrick?

The answer appears to be that a portion of the saint's relics were retained at Iona, when the rest were carried to Downpatrick; that this portion was enshrined, as might have been expected, during the eighth century, in a precious shrine—*preciosa metalla*—an expression that could hardly be used of the plain *busta*, or wooden coffin, in which they were first interred. In other words, it was the *shrine* of the

relics of St. Columba that was hidden away; a shrine richly adorned, as we know was then the custom, with gold and precious stones, but which at the same time did not contain all the relics of the saint, but only that portion of them preserved at Iona, when the rest were transferred to Downpatrick about the beginning of the eighth, or the close of the seventh century.

It is stated in the *Annals of Ulster* that some four years later, in A.D. 828, "Diarmait, Abbot of Ia, went to Alba with the reliquaries of Columcille." This seems to imply that they were carried from Ireland, to which they had been brought in 824, back again to Alba, or Scotland, by the newly-elected Abbot of Iona. Now the word *minna*, which is used by the annalist, so far as we know, is not applied to designate the corporeal relics of a saint; but it usually designates what may be called the extrinsic relics of the saint; that is, things intimately connected with him during life, but at the same time quite distinct from his bones or ashes. The late learned Bishop Reeves adopted this view as to the meaning of the word *minna*,¹ as used in the *Annals*; and if this be true, the conveyance of the *minna* of Columcille from Erin to Alba and back again, more than once, does not mean that his blessed bones, or any part of them—the "martira" of the saint—were taken from Downpatrick, but that certain extrinsic relics of Columba—his bell, his psaltery, his cowl, or his staff, it may be—were carried hither and thither by the abbots of Iona. We venture to think that this is the true view of the various translations of the *minna* of St. Columba reported in the *Annals*; and it will go far to reconcile the apparently conflicting statements of Tirechan and of the writers who come after him.

All these subsequent writers of the *Annals* are, in our opinion, to be understood in the same sense. For example, in A.D. 830, the *minna* of Columcille were again brought back to Ireland; and once more, in 848, the *minna* of the saint were carried to Ireland, which shows that they must

¹ See Adamnan's *Vita Columbae*, page 316, note.

have returned to Iona in the meantime. Again, in 877, the "shrine of Columcille, with all his *minna*, arrived in Ireland to escape the foreigners."¹ In all these cases we have reference to a *scrin*, or shrine, of the saint, containing, it may be, some small portion of the relics of his sacred body; but it is quite evident that its chief contents were the *minna*, which according to the usage of the *Annals* must not be understood as *martra*, or *martira* in Latin, that is corporeal relics, but rather of extrinsic relics connected with the saint during life, of the character which we have already explained. It is quite obvious that all those translations of the *minna* of Columcille would, in that case, be quite compatible with the quiet rest of his corporeal relics in Downpatrick.

With regard to St. Brigid's remains, there is somewhat more doubt and uncertainty. That she was at first interred in her own church at Kildare, on the left-hand side of the high altar, is beyond question. This is expressly stated in her Life by Cogitosus.² He declares that in that church "the glorious bodies of both, that is, of Bishop Conleath and of this virgin Saint Brigid, repose on the right and left hand of the decorated altar, placed within tombs richly adorned with various decorations of gold and silver, and gems and precious stones, with crowns of gold and silver pendant from above." As this passage is very important, and has in our opinion been greatly misunderstood, we have translated it literally, and subjoin the Latin text in the note.³

From this passage Petrie makes a very strange deduction. He assumes that the "monuments" which are here described were *shrines*, in which the bodies of the saints, or rather their relics, were enshrined according to the custom that certainly became very general during the course of the eighth century. And as the *Annals of Ulster*, under date of

¹ *Annals of Ulster*.

² See *Vita S. Brigidæ*, chap. xiv.

³ "Nec de miraculo in reparatione Ecclesie tacendum est, in qua gloriosa sanctorum, hoc est episcopi Conleath et hujus virginis S. Brigidæ corpora a dextris et a sinistris altaris decorati, in monumentis posita ornatis vario cultu auri, et argenti, et gemmarum, et pretiosi lapidis, atque coronis aureis et argenteis desuper pendentibus, requiescunt." (Messingham's *Florilegium*.)

A.D. 799, tell us that the relics of St. Conlaeth were placed in a shrine (*scrin*) in that year, he infers that the *Life of Brigid*, by Cogitosus, must have been written *after* that year, but before 835; when, as we know from the same *Annals of Ulster*, Kildare was plundered by Gentiles from Inver-Dea, and half the church burned. It is clear that the beautiful tombs would not be left intact in that raid, if they existed at the time.

But "monumenta" are not shrines at all. The word, both in classical and mediæval Latin, when used in this connection, means a tomb, monument, or grave, in which the dead were buried. On the other hand, the *shrine* or *scrinium*, or *scrin*, as it is called in Irish, was a small and highly ornamental metal case for containing the relics or some memorial of a saint, of which we have several examples still existing. But they cannot with propriety be called "monumenta," and we do not recollect that the word has ever been applied to any of them. Then, again, Cogitosus describes the *bodies* of the saints as resting within the monuments; whereas whenever there is question of enshrining the word always used is *relics*; that is, *reliquiæ* in Latin, and *matra* (a loan word) in the Irish, to express corporeal relics.

In our opinion, therefore, Cogitosus in this passage describes the tombs in which the saints were buried—where, as he says, their bodies reposed in his time; whence we infer that he must have written *before* any enshrining took place, and therefore in all probability long before the enshrining of St. Conlaeth's relics in 799, as described in the *Ulster Annals*. It is much more likely that Cogitosus died, as Dr. Graves thinks, about the year A.D. 670, or perhaps somewhat later. It is certain, however, that in his time the body of St. Brigid was reposing in a splendid monument within her own church at Kildare.

But the next, that is the eighth century, was the great period for enshrining the relics of the saints. We find no less than twelve instances expressly recorded in the *Annals* during that century. Doubtless, there would be great reluctance to disturb the bodies of the two saints that lay

within their splendid tombs on either side of the high altar of the great Church of Kildare—tombs at which wonderful miracles frequently took place—“*quas nos virtutes non solum audivimus, sed etiam oculis nostris vidimus*”—says Crogosus, speaking of his own time.

That reluctance, however, would be overcome at the approach of the Danes. They had been hovering round the Irish coasts for some years. Rechra was burned by the Gentiles in 794; Sci was pillaged and wasted in the same year; Inis-Patraic was burned in 797; the shrine of Dachonna was also broken by them (the Gentiles), and they committed other great devastations both in Erin and in Alba.¹ It was high time, therefore, to put the relics of St. Brigid and St. Conlaeth, as well as the gold, and silver, and precious stones, which adorned their tombs in a more portable form, to save them from the plunderers. So we are told that in 799 “the relics of Conlaeth were placed in a shrine of gold and silver.”² But, strange to say, there is no reference here to the enshrining of the relics of St. Brigid. Surely they did not leave her body in the tomb, when they took up and for greater security enshrined the remains of her companion saint in a shrine of gold and silver.

We think the only probable explanation of this omission is the fact that the relics of St. Brigid must at that time, or perhaps a very short time previously, have been taken up from the grave and carried for greater security to Downpatrick. At this time, as we know, Patrick, Brigid, and Columcille, were recognised as the national patrons of the Irish Church, and of the Irish people. The remains of Patrick and Columcille were already reposing together in Downpatrick—what more natural than that, if they were to be disturbed at all, the remains of the third great patron of Ireland should also be carried thither to repose in the same grave. This, however, would be done as quietly as possible, not only for fear of the Danes, but also for fear of the people, who certainly would not readily permit the transfer. So we have no reference to the date of this translation in our

¹ *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 797.

² “*Positio reliquiarum Coulaid hi scrin oir agus argait.*”

annals, as it was not a public fact; but afterwards we find it expressly stated by those who must have known that it was true.

The principal authority for this translation to Downpatrick is the author of the *Fourth Life of St. Brigid*, as published by Colgan. Colgan himself attributes the authorship of the *Life* to a certain Animchad, Latinized Animosus, who appears to have been first a monk and afterwards Bishop of Kildare, and whose death is assigned in the *Chronicon Scotorum* to the year A.D. 979. The author of the *Life* was manifestly, as may be gathered from his prologue, a monk of Kildare, and therefore must have been well acquainted with the tradition of the translation of the saint's relics then current amongst his community.

In one passage of this *Life* it is expressly stated that St. Patrick was buried in Down, and that St. Brigid also, and the relics of the Blessed Columcille were many years afterwards placed in the same tomb.¹ This passage, however, is suspiciously like an interpolation in the text of Animosus, and as such has been printed between brackets in the *Fourth Life of St. Brigid*. But in the same chapter there is given an alleged prediction of St. Brigid that she herself with Patrick and Columcille would arise from the *same* tomb on the day of judgment; which proves that at the time of the writer, the bodies of those three saints were supposed to be within the same tomb in Downpatrick. The evidence, indeed, is not quite satisfactory; but still it goes far to show the existence of this belief in Kildare so early as the middle of the tenth century.

It will be observed that we place the translation of the remains, both of Brigid and Columcille, to Downpatrick at an earlier date than that commonly assigned. However, we have given our reasons, which will doubtless be estimated at their proper value. There is one fact which goes far to show that the remains of St. Brigid were not transferred to Downpatrick until a somewhat later period. It is this, that

¹ "Ubi sepultus est (in arce Leath-glaise) ipse Sanctus Patritius, Beata Brigida et reliquiae beatissimae Abbatis Columbae post multos annos collectae in sepulchro."

we find the same ecclesiastic, Ceallach, son of Ailill,¹ was abbot both of Iona and Kildare at the very time that the ravages of the Danes were most severely felt at Kildare. What more natural than that this eminent man should transfer the holy remains to Downpatrick, a place of comparative security, where, as he well knew, the remains of the great apostle of the Picts had already been transferred? There is much plausibility in this view; and the only thing that makes us hesitate to accept it is, that there is no mention of the enshrining of St. Brigid's relics in 799, when the relics of St. Conleath were certainly enshrined. This, in our opinion, goes far to show that the remains of St. Brigid had been already carried elsewhere, although for prudential reasons their destination was not made public at the time.

This brings us to the alleged invention and translation of the relics of our three great national patrons towards the close of the twelfth century.

It is remarkable that our native annalists make no reference to this discovery of the relics of the three saints in Downpatrick. The *Four Masters*, for instance, although careful to give an account of the visit of Cardinal Papiron, in 1151, and the Synod over which he presided in 1152, and also of Cardinal Vivian's visit in 1177, make no reference at all to the visit of Cardinal Vivian in 1186. Gerald Barry, however, a contemporary writer, and at that very time in Ireland with Prince John, expressly declares that the bodies of the three saints, Patrick, Brigid, and Columcille, were found in his time in the city of Down—in the very year that Prince John first came to Ireland—hidden, as it were, in a triple hole or cave—Patrick lying in the middle, with the other two on either side. Thereupon, under the direction of John de Courcy, then ruling in Ulster, these three noble treasures were by a divine revelation made known and translated.²

¹ He died A.D. 865.

² "Apud Ultoniam in eadem civitate Dunensi scilicet ipsorum tria corpora sunt recondita. Ubi et his nostris temporibus, anno scilicet quo Dominus Joannes primo in Hiberniam venit, quasi in spelunca triplici, Patricio in medio jacente, aliis duobus hinc inde, Joannes vero de Curci tunc ibi praesidente, et hoc procurante, tres nobiles thesauri, divina revelatione inventa sunt et translata." (*Top. Hib.*, ch. xviii., Rolls Edition.)

Cardinal Vivian came to Ireland as Papal Legate in the beginning of the year 1177, and met John De Courcy in Down. He afterwards held a Synod in Dublin, on the 13th of March, the first Sunday of Lent, to which the *Four Masters* refer ; but the Masters make no subsequent reference to his reappearance in Ireland in 1186 ; nor does any other Irish annalist so far as we are aware. This invention and translation of the relics of the three saints is narrated in minute detail by several modern writers. It is, however, greatly to be regretted that the contemporary evidence is very unsatisfactory as to these circumstantial details. Usher quotes John Brompton, Ralph of Chester, and others ; but these were English and later writers, who knew very little about Ireland. Gerald Barry's testimony as to the substantial fact is most valuable ; but he gives no details ; and the verses usually given as quoted by him are not found in the best MSS. of the *Topographia* ; that is :—

“ In Burgo Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno
Brigida, Patritius, atque Columba pius.”

Messingham, who has collected so many other important documents in his *Florilegium* gives us also the Lessons for the Feast of this Invention and Translation, which was first celebrated on the 9th of June, 1186. They furnish, perhaps, the weightiest evidence in favour of the truth of the details connected with this remarkable event. Here is the substance of these historical Lessons :—

“ It is said [*fertur*] that at the time of the conquest of Ireland by the English, there was a certain Malachias, a man of great merit, and of holy life and conversation, who was Bishop of Down, where the bodies of the aforesaid saints were buried. This bishop being instant in prayer, almost daily besought the Lord that He would deign to make known to him, in His own time, where that precious treasure, the relics of the aforesaid saints, was hidden. One night whilst he was thus most earnestly praying in the Church of Down, he saw as it were a ray of sunlight beaming through the church up to the place of burial of the bodies of the aforesaid saint. The bishop, greatly rejoicing in this vision, prayed still more earnestly that the ray of light might not depart until he should find the hidden relics. Thereupon rising up he took quickly the necessary tools, and going to that bright spot he dug there until he found the bones of the three

aforesaid bodies. Then on the spot where the light was shining he enclosed the bones separately in wooden shells [*illa in tabulis separatim inserebat*] and thus enclosed [*tabulata*] replaced them under ground in the same spot."

Then the Bishop narrates his vision to John de Courcy, the Conqueror of Ulster, "a man much given to the service of God," by whose advice and assistance supplication was made to the Pope for the translation of the relics. The Pope graciously assented, and sent over John a Cardinal Priest, under the title of St. Stephen on the Caelian Mount, as Apostolic Legate in Ireland, who, on the 9th day of June, with all due reverence and devotion, transferred the holy relics from the spot in which they were laid by Malachias, the Bishop, to an honourable place, specially prepared for them in the church. There were present at this translation, besides the Legate, fifteen bishops, with very many abbots, provosts, deans, archdeacons, priors, and other orthodox men, who, in solemn assembly, decreed that the festival of this Translation was thenceforward to be observed on the 9th of June, the feast of St. Columba, which latter was to be transferred to the day after the octave of the Feast of the Translation.

It has been frequently insinuated that this invention and translation was a political device, arranged by John de Courcy and the bishop, to reconcile the Ultonians to the conquest, by giving it a kind of heavenly sanction in their eyes. But John de Courcy was not a schemer; and the Bishop Malachias was a native Irishman, who was no friend of the conquest or the conquerors. Indeed if the bishop were an Anglo-Norman the entire business would look very suspicious; but, as it stands, the narrative is entirely trustworthy, for the revelation is made to this Celtic bishop, and as we Catholics know often happened before, in answer to humble and fervent prayer.

It has been said also that if the remains of Columba and St. Brigid were carried to Down in the eighth or ninth century, and were enclosed in the grave of St. Patrick, a spot so sacred could not be utterly forgotten even by the clergy of the Church. There is an obvious answer to this

that during the depredations of the Danes, the churches were burnt, sometimes frequently burned to ashes, and the clergy were often all slaughtered. What grave of our early saints is known outside the Aran Islands? Hardly a single one. The same motive, too, that led to bringing the remains to Down would lead to the place where they were buried being kept a profound secret, except from a very few. Thus, in the course of generations, the knowledge of the place might be utterly lost, although it was well known that the sacred remains were hidden somewhere within the Church of Down. Similar events have led, even in more recent times, to the same uncertainty as of old. Although the relics of St. Patrick, Brigid, and Columba were then buried in Down, no one now can tell the exact spot where these holy relics repose.

There is, indeed, in the cemetery attached to the Protestant Cathedral, or the abbey, as it is still called by the people, an ancient grave, which is commonly reputed to be the grave of St. Patrick. It is now hollowed out by the excavations of pious Catholics, who, when about to emigrate, always carry away with them a small portion of "the clay from St. Patrick's grave." It is said that over this grave there was formerly erected a granite cross to mark the sacred spot, but it was carried off and broken in pieces by certain bigots amongst the Orangemen of Downpatrick, who afterwards, as might be expected, all came to a bad end. No one can regret if St. Patrick showed his power on men like these. This grave, however, could not have been the original grave of St. Patrick, nor that into which the remains of the Trias *Thaumaturga* were enclosed in 1186; for in both cases, the grave was within the cathedral, and no church ever stood over the present grave.

But a certain writer in the *Ulster Examiner*, under date of Feb. 9th, 1870, declared that, thirty years before, a man of the name of Millar told him that he remembered the time when the cathedral was restored (in 1790); that three stone coffins were discovered near the high altar; that these holy remains, supposed to be those of the three saints, were transferred to a new grave in the churchyard, and to mark

the spot an ancient market cross was carried there and placed over the grave—that very cross, we must assume, that was afterwards broken to pieces by the Orangemen. It is a point that deserves further investigation, which we must leave to the zeal of the local antiquarians.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

THE LIFE OF DR. PUSEY¹

THE *Life of Dr. Pusey* is published under exceptional and melancholy circumstances. He died in 1886, and the task of writing his biography was unanimously assigned to the friend of his later years, Dr. Liddon, Canon of St. Paul's, the man who, above all others, had been associated with him in the labours and interests of the period of his life immediately preceding his death. The work, which he did not live long enough to complete, was a labour of love to Dr. Liddon; and from the moment he undertook the task he seems to have looked on it as of paramount importance, and on all other occupations as a mere hindrance to the main business of his life. Pusey, in Liddon's eyes, was evidently one of the foremost figures of his generation. Nothing he did or thought, no letter he wrote, and no word he spoke, was too trivial or too slight to be noted. The result is, that the *Life* has swollen to undue proportions, and that, although Dr. Liddon lived far into ten years after the subject of his biography died, he yet left it unfinished at his own death; and it has fallen to his literary executors to place the book in the hands of the public.

It has taken the last three years to prepare the work for the press; and even now we have but an instalment of the whole in two volumes, which only carry us to the forty-fifth of Pusey's long life of eighty-two years. Two more will be required to finish the work, and we shall then be in

¹ *The Life of Edward B. Pusey, D.D.* By H. P. Liddon, D.D. Second Edition, vols. i. and ii. London: Longmans. 1893.

possession of a biography which must be classed amongst some of the longest in English literature. The length of the book is, we cannot but think, out of proportion to the interest of the person; and the editors would be wise if they listened to a caution, and remembered that they are in danger of exhausting the patience of their readers by a too detailed account of Pusey's career and work. We say this the more emphatically from the fact, that it is hardly possible that what is to follow should be equally interesting with the two volumes before us; and this for a reason which we feel sure will be appreciated by our readers, viz., that a fascinating and deeply interesting personality plays a considerable part in these, and that in those that are to follow this personality must necessarily be absent.

"Now, you are a Puseyite," said Sheffield to Reding, in the inimitable picture of Oxford life, some fifty years ago, in *Loss and Gain*, by Cardinal Newman. "You give me the name of a very good man, whom I hardly know by sight," answers Reding. As we read the volumes before us, we cannot fail to wonder how it came about that Pusey should have given his name to a movement in which the main interest certainly did not centre in himself. We believe it was the result of a trivial accident, which we shall mention later on; for in no sense was Pusey either the originator, the guide, or the inspiring genius, of what in time became known as "Puseyism." We must add, that he never aspired to fill a prominent position at Oxford; and, as a matter of fact, neither his disposition, nor his powers, nor his characteristics, whether mental or moral, were those of a born leader of men. He was by nature a retiring student, genuinely modest and humble, of a keenly affectionate and unselfish disposition, and with much natural piety and religious feeling, and a model in every relation of domestic life, a steadfast and true friend—indeed, so good a friend, in one prominent instance, as to allow his love for Newman so to colour his vision as to force him to approve and sanction a step in his friend, when this last was received into the Catholic Church, which, when taken by others, he viewed as absolutely sinful.

On the other hand, though deeply learned in books, he was, we should say, the very reverse of quick or ready in his reading of men and events. He neither easily grasped the meaning of facts, nor correctly gauged their relative importance to one another. The result of this want of perceptiveness was that, on more than one occasion, he committed himself to views and utterances on important questions of the day which maturer thought and intercourse with others showed him were, to say the least, premature, and often the reverse of what he eventually would wish to have spoken. His subsequent action was thus hampered by immature words—words which, had he quickly or intuitively understood the matter in hand, would never have been uttered. This, we may note in passing, was specially the case on the occasion of the appointment of an Anglican bishop to Jerusalem—an appointment which the bulk of Pusey's party looked on as the final and mortal blow struck at the Catholicity of the English Establishment by those in authority over her, but which Pusey, before he had taken counsel with others, publicly approved, much to his own embarrassment later on. Such a want was in itself alone sufficient to prevent Pusey's being a great or a leading influence in stirring times.

Speaking plainly, Pusey was in no sense a particularly interesting or important man. He possessed not one spark of genius. His personality was dull and neutral tinted, and although of a saintly and lovable disposition, and of extraordinary literary industry, it was mostly owing to circumstances that he became so prominent a man in the Church of England. We read of his early years, spent meritoriously in the innocent enjoyments of a high-toned and worthy family circle, he himself a dutiful son, a studious boy, and an affectionate brother and friend; but, beyond a great power of application and a love of serious study, which naturally resulted in his being a satisfactory schoolboy and undergraduate youth, there is nothing very remarkable to recount of him. His education finished, he goes to Germany, and there he studies German rationalism and Hebrew with his accustomed and all but phenomenal assiduity. He returns to England, and, fortunately for him, living in an age when

high family connections were still of great and practical utility to a young man, he is at an early age appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, and is shortly after made a Canon of Christ Church Cathedral. At Oxford, however, he is brought into connection with an influence which changes the whole course of the biography, and the work before us assumes an interest not intrinsically its own. A personality appears on the stage with a unique power of imparting a radiance and fascination to all with whom he comes in contact. Newman and Pusey become intimate friends; and for the rest of the book the latter is invested with a borrowed attraction which before was wanting, and which helps to lend a charm to the latter portion of these volumes which is not to be found in the earlier. As we follow again the oft-told, though not wearisome story of Newman's conversion to the Church, we feel thankful even to Pusey for causing new light to be thrown on a subject of such paramount importance and never-failing interest.

We must, however, give our readers in greater detail, some outline of the life and character of a man whose name was, perhaps, of even greater influence for many years in England than was the man himself. We preface our account by saying, that we have no intention of again following the history of the Oxford movement; but rather, purpose to tell our readers something of Pusey himself, independently of his share in Tractarianism. The fact is, that the story of the "Movement" has been too much and too recently before our readers, to make it desirable again to repeat the oft-told tale. Mozeley's *Recollections*, Dr. Ward's *Life*, Dean Church's *Reminiscences*, and Cardinal Newman's *Letters*, have sufficiently done their work; and all who care to study the phase of thought which certainly has had a lasting influence on the English Protestant Church, can find ample material to do so. Were we to attempt to recount all the efforts, all the opposition, all that succeeded, and all that failed, in Pusey's attempts to enforce his views on the Establishment, we should find ourselves involved in a mass of minute detail, which, in our limited space, it would be a difficult task to render intelligible to our readers, and which,

even did they master all the intricacies of the case, are hardly at this date worth the trouble of studying. Pusey himself, however, is, though merely "one of the common people of the skies," a specimen of a pious English gentleman of a type not now commonly met; and as such, we may hope our readers will consider him worthy of their notice.

Born of parents who were both nearly connected with the aristocracy, Edward Bouverie Pusey's youth was spent much like that of other boys of his position. The son of high-minded and genuinely religious parents, Pusey's early home was calculated to prepare him for the earnest and serious life which was before him. Of his father we hear little. He was already past middle life when he married, and the unusually great difference between his own age and that of his children, joined to the habit of his generation, in which an excessive and rather chilling reserve and reverence was the correct attitude for a son to assume towards a father, caused a constraint to exist in the manner of one to the other. In spite of this, his children appear to have regarded Mr. Pusey with very real affection, and in the case of both his elder sons, his wishes were deferred to in a matter closely touching their happiness, and neither ventured to marry in opposition to their father's wish.

Pusey's training as a child was left to his mother, who is described as an all but perfect example of an English Christian gentlewoman, and whose love must have sweetened Pusey's whole life. Her type is, if not extinct, very uncommon in these days, and during her declining years, she was even then spoken of as a specimen of the ladies in the days of Fox and Pitt. Tall and slim, with long hands and tapering fingers, betokening a long line of gentle ancestors, she was remarkable for a sweetness which was touched, though not neutralized, by severity. This severity she exercised more on herself than on others. Soft couches and easy chairs she scouted as signs of a degenerate age; and so great was her unselfishness that, even when well advanced in years, she willingly, when necessary, resigned her own bed-room, and slept herself in the passage in order that her

guest might be more comfortable. To his mother's teaching and influence Pusey ascribed the direction which his religious views eventually took: "All that I know about religious truth, I learnt, at least in principle, from my dear mother," he would say; and her teaching was mainly gathered from the study of our Lord's words and acts, and from the Catechism of the English Church.

Edward Pusey's chief companion as a child was his elder brother Philip; and as the boys grew up, they enjoyed the sports and amusements of their class, and Edward soon became a proficient shot, and both drove and rode well. At the age of seven he was sent to school, preparatory to going to Eton; and here Pusey was placed under a master whose ideas, as were those of his father, were hardly in harmony with the gentler manners of to-day; and we read of Pusey's being flogged for cutting a lead pencil at both ends, and being severely punished for dropping a pen-knife. The teaching, however, was very efficient; and Pusey was heard to say that both he and his brother could have passed the "Little go" examination before they went to Eton, where, as a matter of course, they took high places. From Eton, after a short time spent with a private tutor, Pusey passed on to Christ Church, Oxford.

Although only eighteen, an event occurred before he entered the university which was of great moment to his future life. He fell in love with his future wife, Miss M. C. Barker, and although he had to wait nine years before circumstances allowed him to marry her, yet from the day of his first making her acquaintance "he carried a new interest which made life unlike anything it had ever been before to him." No sooner did his parents learn of his attachment, than they seriously opposed it, and forbade their son having any intercourse with the lady. We must remember Pusey's youth, and his parents probably looked on his feeling as the passing whim of a mere boy. The effects of being thwarted were for a while alarming. Pusey sank into a deep melancholy from which his health suffered, and he sought and found his only consolation in severe study. Indeed, he probably worked injudiciously hard. We read

of his "suicidal practice of reading some sixteen or seventeen hours a day," and he himself tells us that at Christ Church he was simply "a reading automaton." His labours were fortunately amply rewarded, and when the degree lists appeared in 1822, Pusey's name was in the first class.

Shortly after leaving College, Pusey seems for the first time to have come across scepticism. His introduction to serious unbelief was made in the person of an Eton friend, a young man of considerable attainments and reading; and with him Pusey entered into a lengthy controversy in the hopes of restoring his friend's faith. With characteristic sanguineness, Pusey believed that he was likely to be of greater service than was at all probable; but one result of his being brought into contact with modern rationalism, was a determination which he took to devote his whole life to the defence of the Old Testament, as he felt that that was the point in the attack on orthodoxy "which would be most easily breached." Another result of his correspondence with his friend, was the discovery that scepticism was a larger subject than he had hitherto imagined, and that in order to combat it with any chance of success, he must know a great deal more of the matter than his Oxford studies had taught him.

With the object of really mastering modern unbelief, Pusey went to Germany, that land where Protestantism has had its fullest and most unchecked development, and where the seed sown at the Reformation may to-day be seen flowering into undisguised rationalism and far from rare atheism. A word from his bishop added to Pusey's wish to master this subject. At this time, the German tongue was all but unknown in England; even at Oxford, it was believed that only two persons spoke the language, though the subject of German theology and biblical criticism excited interest. "One day," says Pusey, "Dr. Lloyd, the Bishop of Oxford, said to me 'I wish you would learn something about these German critics!' In the spirit of obedience, I set myself at once to learn German, and I went to Göttingen at once to study both the language and the theology. My life turned on that hint of Lloyd's."

On two different occasions Pusey spent some time in

Germany, but into the details of his visits it is unnecessary to enter. Suffice it to say that during his stay he worked with assiduity, industry, and persistence, both at mastering the theological schools of thought in the German universities, and subsequently at the study of Hebrew, which was worthy of the German professors who were his masters. Not content with studying Hebrew alone, he laboured at other oriental languages. We read of his devoting from fourteen to sixteen hours a-day to Arabic, and any spare time was given to Syriac and Chaldee, and when he finally left Germany, he was one of the first Semitic scholars of his time. This and an enlarged acquaintance with men of various religious schools of thought, and a greater knowledge of the vastness of theological inquiry may be said to be the net gain of the years he spent abroad. From the time he settled down to his English life, his main work was greatly influenced by his studies in Germany, and he was principally occupied in commenting on the English Authorized Version of the Old Testament.

The opposition to his engagement to Miss Barker ceased soon after his return home, and after a short interval they were married. The result of his marriage was eleven years of unalloyed domestic happiness; and when the Tracts were commenced and the Oxford Movement first took shape, Pusey was already established as a man of importance in the University, with a status as Professor of Hebrew and Canon of Christ Church.

As we have already remarked, it is unnecessary again to repeat the oft-told tale of the origin and early days of the High Church revival. The meetings between Newman, Keble and Hurrell Froude, and their decision to issue the Tracts—the efforts made by them and their friends to stem the tide of Liberalism already triumphant in politics, and ready to assail the Church of England at the first opportunity—have already been detailed in the works we have mentioned, and need not again be recorded here. Pusey at first, though in no sense hostile to the movement, did not actually join it. Not many months, however, elapsed before he contributed a Tract (number eighteen) to the series,

and signed it with his initials. This is the slight circumstance to which we referred above, and which we believe caused the Oxford Movement to be popularly known as Puseyism. The previously issued Tracts had been anonymous, and the public had no means of knowing authentically who were the propagators of the new views. The well-known initials E. B. P., therefore, supplied a want, and the Oxford world learnt that the Professor of Hebrew was the author at any rate of one Tract; and for the future Pusey's name assumed an unmerited and an unreal importance, which, so long as Newman was at Oxford, was strangely out of place. As a fact, Pusey only contributed seven Tracts out of the series of ninety that appeared, and could in no sense claim to be the leader of the party. Not that we have any right or wish to insinuate that he was desirous of assuming the position which in reality belonged to Newman. His humility was too genuine and at the same time his admiration for and loyalty to his great friend were too absolute, to allow of his wishing to play a more prominent part than fell to his share; nevertheless, to the English world he and Newman were generally considered as co-leaders in the Oxford Movement.

Perhaps it is in his family life that Pusey is seen at his best, and we cannot but feel interested in one who suffered so keenly in the loss of those nearest and dearest to him. His long and trying engagement to his wife was the prelude to a too short spell of married happiness. Mrs. Pusey, in all ways, was a worthy helpmate to her husband. She sympathized with all his labours, and her intelligence and zeal caused her in many ways to be a real help to Pusey in his researches. A curious fact is mentioned in connection with Mrs. Pusey's baptism. When Pusey first realized that in a Church which he was anxious to consider an integral part of the one Catholic and Apostolic Church, the sacramental system must be of paramount importance, he was naturally driven to look on baptism as the first and most necessary of all the sacraments, and he contributed a Tract to the series on the subject. The considerations which occupied both Pusey and his wife whilst he was writing this,

caused some uneasiness to both, for it transpired, when their attention was turned in that direction, that Mrs. Pusey had never been regularly baptized at all. She had been subjected to some ceremony at the hands of a dissenter, which, we suppose must have satisfied the standard of Anglican theology in the pre-Tractarian days, but which was not sufficient to content Pusey's newly-aroused appreciation of the sacrament and the necessity of its valid administration. After some delay and consideration, Mrs. Pusey and her husband decided that a repetition of some ceremony, or of what we should call a conditional baptism, was desirable; and Mrs. Pusey had the privilege of being baptized by her husband's greatest friend, Newman. We mention this in the hope that Anglicans may take note of it, for a common complaint against the Church is, that, unless fully assured of the validity of a convert's baptism, she insists on securing his salvation by a conditional re-baptism, by no means because she denies the validity of lay-baptism, but because the laxity in the administration of the sacrament amongst Protestants is notorious. Our practice is often severely criticized; but here, in the person of the wife of a leader of the High Church party, we find our principle not only admitted but acted on.

After his wife, Pusey's three children claimed the larger share of his affections. Although he owns that "he does not find it in him," to join in their romps and games, they are never wholly absent from his thoughts, and when their mother is from home they spend their days in his study, he hears them say their prayers, and in his gentle tenderness supplies the place of both parents. The picture of Pusey's family life is full of charm, and might well be imitated by all. Those were the days when a Canon of Christ Church was in the receipt of a liberal income, and usually lived in a style of luxury which was supposed to add to the dignity of the Establishment. A handsome house fell to each canon's share; they kept showy men-servants and well-appointed carriages, and not a few of their evenings were devoted to sumptuous dinners at each other's houses. Not long after his marriage, Pusey determined to change his manner of life

altogether, and so simplify it considerably. In the spring of 1837 he sold his carriage and horses, a step necessitated by his liberal donation of five thousand pounds to the fund for building London churches, an object which was then much before English churchmen; and in other ways he endeavoured to curtail all unnecessary expenses, in order to have a larger amount of money to give in charity. In all his liberal designs he was fully seconded, and sometimes even anticipated, by Mrs. Pusey, and she, in her turn, sold all her jewellery, and willingly devoted the result to the same building fund in London. Pusey was constantly preaching the necessity of self-denial and unworldliness, and was anxious that his own practice should not fall behind his preaching. On this head he had assuredly little with which to reproach himself. When separated for a short time from her about this date, he writes to his wife: "When we meet again, we must try and live more like pilgrims journeying heavenwards. I am much perplexed by my own sermon; for I know not how I can act up to it, with our heads'-of-houses dinners. And it has come across me, had one not better give them up altogether?"

The life thus forecast, was not destined to be long enjoyed by Pusey and his wife. Mrs. Pusey's health showed early signs of failing, and an affecting picture is given in these volumes of the last months of her life. At first various wanderings are suggested in search of health, and we read of visits to Weymouth and the Isle of Wight; but all is useless, and after a consultation with a London specialist, the hopelessness of her illness is ascertained, and the end approaches rapidly. The account of her last days and death are touchingly told, and a special charm is added to the picture of Pusey's tenderness and sorrow, by Newman's sympathy and friendship. Short notes indicating the deep affection existing between the two friends are constantly passing from one to the other, during the darkest days of Pusey's life; and when all is over, and the bereft husband is alone, his mother, with a true instinct as to what is most likely to comfort her son in the first hours of his overwhelming grief, sends for Newman. His visit, though at

first opposed to Pusey's wish, was of infinite comfort. "God has been very merciful to me in this dispensation," Pusey writes to Keble, "and carried me on, step by step, in a way I dared not hope. He sent Newman to me (whom I saw at my mother's wish, against my inclination) in the first hour of sorrow, and it was like the visit of an angel."

His wife's death cast a dark cloud over the remainder of Pusey's life, and the void caused by her loss was an abiding sorrow. A slight circumstance indicates how he never ceased to feel acute pain when any accident brought back the loss to his memory. She was buried at Christ Church, and "years after people observed that in walking across the great quadrangle to the Cathedral, more than elsewhere he kept his eyes fixed on the pavement. Many mysterious reasons were given for this; but he himself said more than once, that he never could forget the pall of his wife's coffin fluttering in the wind as he followed her body to its last resting-place; and he did not look up lest a vision of that hour of agony should pass before him and be too much for him."

Some years later, Pusey experienced a sorrow only one degree less severe than the loss of his wife. In 1844 his eldest daughter died, and on this occasion we again read of Newman's consoling and comforting powers. Since Mrs. Pusey's death, her husband's deepest affection and interest had centred in his daughter Lucy. Her health was a source of constant anxiety. This, joined to great similarity in their tastes, and the fact that from her early years she had been in sympathy with his religious hopes and efforts, caused her to be specially beloved by her father. On the occasion of her first communion, Pusey writes to a friend: "Every wish of my heart was fulfilled in dear Lucy's deep silent devotion and awe and thankfulness on Saturday and especially Sunday. Every anxiety was removed, and her dear mother's unwearied pains have been richly blest."

It was shortly after her first communion that Lucy decided on dedicating herself to a single life of devotion to the poor and to the sick. It had long been Pusey's wish to revive an order of Sisters of Charity in England, and in his child's intention he saw the beginning of the fulfilment of

his hopes. "She was the one being," he writes to Newman, "around whom my thoughts of the future here had wound;" and again, "I cannot tell you how her simplicity and devotion and love wound round my heart, and how I loved her, or how I longed that she should be, and join with others in being, what she longed to be." No wonder she was dear to Pusey, as our author tells us. Three things specially near his heart, centred in his eldest daughter: she specially seemed to represent her mother; all her views and aspirations were the fruit of Newman's, his dearest friend's, teaching; and thirdly, in her he foresaw the fulfilment of one of his most earnest hopes of religious restoration in England.

This last wish, however, was not destined to be fulfilled. After a short illness, Pusey was called on to resign his child into God's hands. The account of her last days are so touchingly given in his letters to Newman, that, although they are long, we cannot refrain from giving them in full, as well as Newman's replies; and we do so the more readily, as we believe that it is principally by gaining an insight into the spiritual feelings and the inner religious life of the leaders of the Oxford Movement, that we can best understand its powerful effect on the Church of England. The struggles and contentions which make up the outside history of Tractarianism are trivial and wearisome—the high toned religious feeling and moral altitude of the Tractarians are of perennial interest.

"E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

"MY DEAREST FRIEND,—All is peace here, with the certain prospect how it will end, though not how soon. It was hurrying on with a terrific rapidity when I wrote, though I knew it not. On Easter eve came a solemn pause; and in this I suppose we are still. She said to me last night, 'Now I am so near death, it seems that my love of God is not what it should be;' so we are now praying for it, and this pause seems to be given us to obtain some deeper measure of it before she parts. She is a child of your writings; in looking over her books, I find the date of a volume of your sermons, on her birthday, nearly eight years ago, and I asked you for them, as her dear mother had been some time forming her mind in them . . . I wished to tell you how we are, and what we long for. I suppose St. François de Sales is the best *book*; Dalgairns will like to know that the translation he

has corrected so nicely is of great use and comfort . . . I asked her whether she had any message for you. She said, 'Give him my respectful love, and thank him for all his kindness to me.'

"God reward you, my dear friend; this is now the second of mine at whose parting I have felt what a blessing your sermons and your love have been to them.

"Ever your very affectionate friend,

"E. B. PUSEY."

To this Newman replies:—

"MY DEAR PUSEY,—You may fancy what an heartache your note of to-day has given me. Yet all is well, as you know better than I can say. What would you more than is granted you as regards dear Lucy? She was given you to be made an heir of heaven. Have you not been allowed to perform that part towards her? You have done your work—what remains but to present it finished to Him who put it upon you? You are presenting it to Him, you are allowed to do so, in the way most acceptable to Him, as a holy blameless sacrifice; not a sacrifice which the world has sullied, but as a baptismal offering, perfected by long though kind and gentle sufferings. How fitly do her so touching words which you repeat to me accord with such thoughts as these! 'Love,' which she asks for, is of course the grace that will complete the whole. Do you not bear in mind the opinion of theologians, that it is the grace which supplies all things, supersedes all things, and is all in all? I believe they hold; though a dying person were in a desert, without anyone at hand, love would be to him everything. He has in it forgiveness of sins, communion of saints, and the presence of Christ. Dear Lucy has been made His at baptism, she has been made His in suffering, and now she asks to be made His by love.

"Well may you find her sweet countenance pleasant to look upon, when, here at a distance, I have such pleasure in thinking of her. May we have that great blessedness, when our end comes (may I specially who need so to pray more than others) which is her's, that gift of love which casts out all imperfection, all doubt, all sorrow.

"Should you have a fit time for doing so, pray tell her that she is constantly in my thoughts, and will not (so be it) cease to be; as she who has gone first, is in my mind day by day, morning and evening, continually.

"All blessing on you both, and on your other dear charge at Clifton, is the prayer of your's, my dear Pusey,

"Most affectionately but most unworthily,

"JOHN HENRY NEWMAN."

“E. B. P. TO REV. J. H. NEWMAN.

“MY VERY DEAR FRIEND,—‘Blessed be the name of the Lord.’ Your prayers and those of my other friends have been heard; the child educated in and (in a manner) of your sermons has been accepted, and is in Paradise. The struggle was so long and so severe, that I could not but think it the realizing, in a degree, of a wish she had named to me (about two years ago, I think) that she might die a martyr . . . I longed that it should be over, and sighed at each return of life, or each sign of remaining strength, though I was withheld from praying that it should be except as He willed. I left it wholly to His wisdom and mercy . . . I ventured to give her in charge to pray for us all in the presence of her Redeemer, and, if it might be, for those institutions to which she had herself hoped to belong. I especially recalled to her how much she owed to you . . . The crowning blessing was at the end. She had seemed again and again all but gone; and when I expected the last sigh, the cough returned, and seemed to recall her to life, and the suffering was to begin again . . . All at once her eyes opened wide; and I never saw such a gaze as at what was invisible to us, which continued for some time. And after this had continued for some little while, she looked me full in the face, and there came such an unearthly smile, so full of love also; all expression of pain disappeared, and was swallowed up in joy. I never saw anything like that smile. There was no sound, else it seemed almost a laugh for joy; and I could hardly help laughing for joy in answer. I cannot describe it; it was utterly unlike anything I ever saw; it seemed as if she would say, ‘All you have longed for in me is fulfilled;’ and when her blessed spirit was gone, her eyes, which were looking gently heavenwards, retained such a lustre (such as they never had before), that they seemed more than living. It turned at once all sorrow into joy; it seemed like one already in Paradise inviting me thither. A few days ago this seemed to me the heaviest blow that could fall upon me. She was the one being around whom my thoughts for the future here had wound; and now I would not exchange that smile for worlds. ‘Heaviness has endured for the night, but joy has come in the morning.’ I cannot sorrow for one whom I have seen with the light as of heaven . . . I feel certain that it was our Blessed Lord whom she saw. I had often in the night used part of the prayer, ‘Soul of Christ,’ &c., more than once as a whole, and especially that part, ‘O good Jesus, hear me, and suffer me not to be separated from Thee.’ . . . I repeated to her the blessing, ‘May the face of the Lord Jesus Christ appear to thee mild and joyous’ . . . The lustre of her eyes and the heavenly love of the smile seemed a reflection of His countenance. If so while in the body, what must it be now! God be thanked for His unspeakable mercy to me a sinner.

“E. B. PUSEY.”

The childish prejudices of Protestant England in the forties may be gauged by the fact that Pusey did not venture to carry out his wish of having a simple cross put on Lucy's coffin at Clifton, where she died, but had to order it to be added at Oxford, where she was buried. Even a simple cross in those days excited suspicion; and his friends at Clifton, specially the schoolmistress with whom his daughters were placed, had already suffered from their connection with Pusey.

We have dwelt mainly on Pusey's family relations and on his personal piety, because it is more as a high-minded and pious English gentleman that he is noteworthy than as the founder of a school of thought or the leader of a religious party. We started by stating for neither was he fitted, and to neither did he aspire. His religious views, until he was influenced by Newman, were of no very pronounced type; and, although he was willing to adopt and teach all he learned from the latter, he seems never really to have grasped the meaning or the true direction of the school he was supposed to lead, nor was he able to foresee the natural results of the premises he was willing to allow. To Anglicans who, like Pusey, have stopped short of the full acceptance of Catholic truth, this unhappy blindness appears to be a heaven-sent faith, and his attitude altogether a noble one. When deserted by their leaders, fiercely attacked by their foes, and their name a byword of reproach to an indifferent English public, the few remaining Tractarians took fresh courage when they found that Pusey stood his ground, and that, although he saw no wrong in Newman joining the Church, he had no intention of following his example. In the eyes of the remnant of the party, Pusey became a hero; and to him they naturally looked as the leader of a forlorn hope, and were grateful to him as the man to whose steadfastness it was owing that a defeat was not turned into an irretrievable disaster.

We, of course, see things very differently. The fact that Newman and the more powerful-minded amongst his friends became Catholics, was the practical acknowledgment that their theory as to the catholicity of the English Church had

failed; and, if it failed those most nearly touched, and who were the originators of the theory, *a fortiori* those who merely echoed Newman's views, ought now to follow his example.

We fail to see the adequacy of the plea which Dean Church has told us in the long run "restored life and energy to a cause which was supposed to be lost":—

"It was the resolute and serious appeal from brilliant logic, keen sarcasm, and pathetic and impressive eloquence, to reality and experience, as well as to history, as to the position and substantial characteristics of the traditional and existing English Church, shown, not on paper, but in work, and in spite of contradictory appearances and inconsistent elements . . . The Church of England was, after all, as well worth living in and fighting for as any other."

That such a plea should be made with the intention of proving that the cause of the Tractarians was, after all, not lost, is surprising; and how it helps to prove the catholicity of the Establishment, we are at a loss to see. Though far from wishing to deny or to minimize the great amount of good which is to be found amongst those whose faith falls far short of the Church's teaching, it is in vain we are asked to believe that, because members of the Establishment are found doing good work for God, the English Church itself forms part of the one Catholic Church, the mystical Body of our Lord, the Bride of the Lamb, which was first called into being on the day of Pentecost.

EVELYN MORDAUNT.

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE—I.¹

1753-1817

THE days have long passed since Joseph De Maistre was held up to the ridicule of the world as the bear of Savoy and the panegyrist of the hangman. The men who are most opposed to his principles have become his most ardent admirers, and even his friends have begun to be proud of him. The publication of his correspondence some forty years ago revealed that he had been much misunderstood. As might be expected, the eminent French critic, Sainte-Beuve, though himself a strenuous defender of the Revolution, was one of the first to recognise the tender, affectionate character and profound scholarship of the man who had been as hated as he had been despised. In our own country, Mr. John Morley, after devoting many volumes to the array of forces on the side of the Revolution, singles him out among the champions of the Reaction, and in a highly appreciative sketch warns the men of the new ideas, that he is of all others the ablest foe with whom they have to cope. We know well that De Maistre's opinions do not find much favour in the French Academy; yet that learned body a short time ago appointed his life and writings as the subject for the prize of eloquence—a sure proof that his influence is gaining ground. This selection has given rise to the usual series of lectures and essays. M. Paillette delivered a course at the Institut Catholique, while the anti-clerical student was provided with one more to his taste at the Collège de France. To this also we owe M. De Lescure's volume, which may be heartily recommended. The following sketch is necessarily a mere outline; but if I succeed in arousing some

¹ *Œuvres Complètes du Comte Joseph de Maistre*. Lyon: Vitte et Perrussel. 14 vols. 1883-1887.

Le Comte Joseph de Maistre et sa Famille, 1753-1852. Par M. de Lescure. Paris: Chappelliez et Cie. 1893.

Portraits Littéraires. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Tome second.

Causeries du Lundi. Par C. A. Sainte-Beuve. Tome quatrième.

interest in the life and writings of the great Catholic apologist, my labours will not have been in vain.

Joseph Marie De Maistre was born at Chambéry, on April 1st, 1753. His father, Count Francis Xavier De Maistre, President of the Senate of Savoy, was held in great estimation by his colleagues and the public, and stood high in the favour of his sovereign, the King of Sardinia. His mother, sprung from the noble family of De Motz, was, according to his account, "an angel whom God had put into a body." It was his greatest delight to anticipate all her wishes, and to be as submissive in her hands as the youngest of his sisters. From her he derived that tender, sympathetic, and even gay element in his character which was shown only to those with whom he was intimate, while to others he seemed to be cold, stern, and dignified. What he said of the English character might well be applied to himself: a Vesuvius covered with snow on the outside and a fire raging in its bosom. As a boy he gave early signs of marked intelligence and love of study. His memory was a marvel. Although he took great pride in it, he never suffered it to dispense him from the golden rule of reading pen in hand. His early studies were directed by the Jesuits, of whom he always spoke with reverence and affection. He afterwards proceeded to Turin, where he took his degree in law at the age of twenty. All the time that he was at the university he never read a single book without first writing home for his parents' permission. Just as he was about to enter on his public career, there fell upon him the first and the greatest sorrow of the many sorrows of his life. His dearly-loved mother was carried off by sickness in the autumn of the year 1774. More than thirty years afterwards, De Maistre, writing from St. Petersburg to his brother, says: "Here I am, six hundred leagues from home, and yet the memories of childhood fill me with tenderness. I can see my mother walking about my little room; I look up into her saintly face, and as I write these words I am crying like a child." In December he became an official of the Senate,¹

¹ "Substitut-avocat-fiscal-général-supernuméraire," was his full title.

and passed through the different grades, until, in 1788, he was raised to the dignity of senator. He was in no hurry to marry. It was not until he was thirty-two that he espoused Mdlle. Françoise de Morand, a lady of his own rank of life, whom he had known and admired for seven years. Their union proved a most happy one. Three children, Rudolph, Adèle, and Constance, were the fruit of their marriage. The father's prolonged absence from home gave rise to a voluminous correspondence between him and them; and from it we can judge that De Maistre, kind and loving as he was as a husband, was even kinder and more loving as a father.

Though he had a lofty idea of his profession, and was scrupulously exact in the performance of his duties, it is easy to see that his happiest hours were spent in his study among his books. He never seems to have felt the need of exercise; and so little rest did he require, that he did not allow himself more than five hours' sleep. His ordinary working day lasted fifteen hours. Every book that he read was carefully analyzed; extracts which might prove useful were copied out and indexed for ready reference. In his choice of studies he paid almost exclusive attention to literature. Mathematics and science had little attraction for him. French, Italian, and Latin were naturally the languages with which he was most familiar. Spanish he knew well, and enough English to read our literature with ease. Two more languages—Greek and German—he was also acquainted with. With such sources open to him, and with industry such as his, it is not surprising that he laid up a stock of knowledge possessed by few writers of any age. The youthful aspirant to literary honours who admires and hopes to rival the ease and grace of the *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, or the learning and the scathing epigrams of the *Du Pape*, should bear in mind that their author was the most hardworking of students, and published nothing of note till he was well over forty.

The tiny duchy of Savoy, and even the little kingdom of Sardinia, afforded no scope for the powers of such a man as De Maistre. The time that he could spare from his official

duties was spent in reading and meditating. While his mind was thus peacefully maturing, he kept much to himself, and was not conscious of what was passing within him. As yet he gave few signs of that late, and yet sudden, literary and philosophic brilliancy which was to astonish the world. He was known as a distinguished magistrate, retired and dignified in ordinary society, but said to be a brilliant talker and charming companion among his intimates. He has been described as half a soldier, half a courtier; but, in truth, he had nothing of the courtier at all, and of the soldier only that sort of combativeness which moved him to the use of the tongue and the pen rather than the sword. Had the times continued to be peaceful, his fame might never have travelled beyond the narrow boundaries of his country. But the days were at hand when every man's powers would be tried; when all that was base and wicked, noble and vile, in human nature, would be made manifest; when the cockle would be separated from the wheat, and the sheep parted off from the goats. De Maistre was a careful observer of the course of events in the neighbouring great kingdom, of which Savoy now forms a part. The stream of literature which was sweeping away the old landmarks, and sapping the foundations of the old institutions, was perfectly familiar to him. His early compositions bear evident traces of the influence of Rousseau; while in Voltaire, the other prophet of the new movement, he recognised a genius who had much in common with the bent of his own mind. A thorough knowledge of the works of their opponents was by no means common among the defenders of the old order of things; and rarer still was it to find among them anything of the force and brilliancy which characterized the attack. It was pitiful to see venerable prelates, with all the advantages of solid learning, a good cause, and a blameless life, utterly routed by a profligate copier of music. No such fate could overtake De Maistre. None of the assailants had a mind so well stored as his. None could accuse him of not being acquainted with their arguments—nay, he stated their case with a clearness and charm which far surpassed their own; and when he went on

to expose its hollowness, and to hold it up to the ridicule of the world, they were forced to confess that Voltaire himself was not his equal. In the early days of the Revolution he even showed some sympathy with the new ideas. He joined a "Reformed Lodge" at Chambéry, and openly opposed the high-handed conduct of the Sardinian Government. This brought down on him a reprimand, which afterwards proved a useful certificate when Savoy was invaded. Too much, however, has been made of these liberal leanings of the great champion of Reaction. His hatred of tyranny and his love of enlightenment are surely enough to account for his sympathy with reform in France. As soon as he found that not reform, but destruction, was the aim of the revolutionaries, he became, without any inconsistency their deadliest foe. On the other hand, his royalist friends were not altogether pleased with their champion. When they vowed vengeance, and talked of bringing back the old abuses, he pointed out to them that their folly had been the cause of their misfortunes, and exhorted them to rule with justice and moderation.

The course of events in Savoy was much the same as in France. The revolutionary party, egged on by French emissaries and encouraged by the weakness and vacillation of Victor Amadeus III., threw everything into confusion. In September, 1792, the army of the new Republic crossed the frontier and took possession of Savoy. De Maistre resolved to come to no terms with the invaders, and set out immediately with his wife and two children for Aosta. During the winter of 1793, a law was passed ordering all émigrés to return to their homes before January 25th, under pain of confiscation of their possessions. Unknown to her husband, who was away at Turin, Madame de Maistre determined to comply with the order. Though in a delicate state of health, she crossed the Great St. Bernard on the 5th of January, accompanied by her two little ones wrapped in blankets.

"The Count [one of these children tells us] on his return to Aosta, hurried after his brave wife expecting to find her dead or dying in some miserable cabin on the Alps. Yet she reached

Chambéry in safety, and was soon joined by her husband. He was compelled to go before the municipality, but he would take no oath, nor even make any promise; he refused to sign his name on the roll of citizens; and when asked for a contribution towards the war fund, he answered frankly: 'I am not going to give you money to kill my brothers who are fighting for the king.' Immediately he received a domiciliary visit. The brutality of the soldiers alarmed Madame De Maistre. She was seized with the pangs of childbirth, and brought into the world the daughter whom the father was destined not to see again for twenty years. De Maistre was waiting only for this. He made the best arrangements for the safety of his family, and departed, burning with indignation, for Lausanne."¹

This first exile lasted nearly four years. For a time he was alone, but he was afterwards joined at intervals by his wife, his son, and his elder daughter. Out of the wreck of their possessions they had saved only three thousand francs. Madame De Maistre cooked their scanty meals; her daughter, child as she was, helped to sweep the rooms; while the Count went out every day for the little basket of charcoal for their kitchen fire. Lausanne was at this time the refuge of many exiles of higher rank and in greater want than themselves. A portion of their scanty savings was shared with these unfortunates; yet so careful was "Madame Prudence," as Madame De Maistre was styled, that she was never compelled to go into debt. De Maistre's voluminous correspondence with his friends contains much valuable information as to the course of events during the terrible years 1793-96; but we must hurry on to speak of his literary productions during this time. And here it may be well to remark that no man's life and writings require to be studied so closely together, and throw so much light on each other, as De Maistre's. The harsh and almost brutal passages so often quoted from his works would be better understood if we remembered that they were written when he had dined off a crust and was shivering in an attic. We cannot expect a man to be meek and gentle with the ruffians who have butchered his kinsmen, robbed him of his goods, and driven him into exile. What wonder,

¹ Count Rudolph De Maistre, *Notice*, page 4.

if sometimes his feet were moved and his steps slipped, when he saw everywhere the ungodly in such prosperity and the righteous begging their bread? The miseries of these years served to still further harden his character, and to cast a deeper gloom over his views. He did not waste his time in vain lamentations. He sat himself with stern stoicism to prepare for worse things, resolved that whatever evils might befall him, they should find him and leave him unshaken. His time was now all his own. Day and night he would use it to wage war on the revolution.

The first fruit of his labours at Lausanne was the pamphlet, entitled *Four Letters of a Savoyard Royalist*. In this we already find the main characteristics of his method and style: sound argument and fierce invective, profound statesmanship and scathing ridicule, set forth in clear and vigorous language, and lighted up with brilliancy and wit. The story of the little Convention at Chambéry, determined to have their reign of terror as well as their bigger brethren in Paris, stirs up laughter at their folly and indignation at their crimes. He points out that the confusion cannot last; that the king will surely be restored to his own; and to prevent any misgivings he adds that "lawful authority punishes only when it is obliged, pardons whenever it is able, and never indulges in revenge." The difficult question of the rivalry between Savoy and Piedmont is next dealt with in such a way as to convince both of their dependence on each other. Lastly, in the fourth letter, an admirable description is given of the state of the Kingdom of Sardinia, and of Savoy in particular, before the outbreak of the revolution. Happy the people without a history, is here his text. While Savoy and Piedmont, secure in their insignificance, were peaceful and prosperous under the paternal rule of their sovereigns, the neighbouring great countries were oppressed by tyranny and ravaged by war.¹ De Maistre has often been reproached with seeing no fault in the old order

¹ Savoy has since been ceded to France, and Piedmont has been merged into the Kingdom of Italy. Both are now groaning under a most rigorous conscription and intolerable taxation.

of things. The following passage should acquit him of such a charge :—

“ We must have the courage to admit that at the memorable epoch when France began to be disturbed, the governments of Europe had grown old, and their decrepitude was known only too well to those who wished to profit by it for the execution of their fatal designs ; a thousand abuses were undermining the various governments—that of France, above all, was falling into corruption. There was no organisation, no energy, no public spirit ; a revolution was inevitable, for a government is bound to fall when it has against it at once the contempt of the good and the hatred of the wicked.”¹

Other small works of a similar character proceeded rapidly from his pen, notably the touching “ Discourse to the Marquise De Costa on the Life and Death of her Son.”

Meantime the Revolution was running its course in France. The Reign of Terror came and went ; Royalists, extreme and moderate, Girondists, Hébertists, and Dantonists, followed each other to the scaffold. At last Robespierre’s own turn came, and then the work of reconstruction began. Men now looked around, as after some disastrous flood or fire, to see what they had lost, what they had left, and what they might look forward to. While the first attempt at a stable government was on its trial, three great writers came before the public with their reflections. Chateaubriand, the youngest of the three, gave evidence in his *Essai sur les Révolutions* of the richness of imagination, breadth of learning, and neglect of order which were afterwards so splendidly displayed in his yet more famous works. Madame De Stael, who was already known by her *Lettres sur Jean Jacques*, now gave to the world a book entitled *De l’Influence des Passions sur le Bonheur*, in which she took occasion to speak of the scenes and characters of the great tragedy which had been enacted. The third writer, whose work attracted far greater attention than either of the foregoing, at first concealed his identity ; but it could not long remain secret that the *Considérations sur la France* was the work of the Savoyard exile, Joseph De Maistre. Disdaining any merely earthly view of the

¹ *Œuvres*, t. vii., p. 84.

Revolution, he undertakes no less sublime a task than to assert eternal Providence, and justify the ways of God to man. To him and his friends as they looked back upon the portentous disasters which had befallen them during the previous seven years, the one great question was, How could such events be reconciled with the existence of an infinitely good God? Most Royalists looked upon the whole matter as a mystery which must be accepted though it could not be understood. Some did not conceal their discontent with what they deemed the unkindness and injustice of their Maker. De Maistre triumphantly answers that there was no mystery, no injustice at all. Never was there the finger of God so manifest as in the course of the Revolution. Such tremendous events could not have been brought about solely by the miserable agents who appeared to direct them. Nothing was more striking about the Revolution than that it bore men along rather than was borne along by them. It picked them up, used them, and when they had done its work it flung them aside and picked up others. Who was the real agent who had employed these vile instruments? It was no other than God Himself, punishing the wicked for their crimes, and purifying the good by the chastening process reserved for those whom He loveth. This mode of solving the problem of the existence of evil is merely sketched out in the *Considérations*. Long afterwards De Maistre dealt more fully with it in his *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, of which we shall speak in due course. For the present the opening and concluding passages of the first part of the *Considérations* may be quoted:—

“ We are all attached to the throne of the Supreme Being by a supple chain which restrains us yet without reducing us to servitude. In the universal order of things there is nothing more admirable than the activity of free beings under the hand of God. They are freely slaves; they act voluntarily and yet necessarily; they do really what they please, yet without being able to disturb God’s general designs. Each one of these beings occupies the centre of a sphere of activity whose diameter varies at the pleasure of the Eternal Geometer. Who can enlarge or restrain, check or direct, the will without altering its nature. In man’s works everything is poor, like man

himself; the views are narrow, the means fixed, the forces wanting in flexibility, the movements painful, the results monotonous. In God's works His infinite riches manifest themselves plainly even in the minutest details; His power acts with the greatest ease; in His hand all is pliant; nothing resists Him; to Him even obstacles are means; and the irregularities produced by the operation of free agents become part and parcel of the universal order.

"The spectators of great human calamities are inclined to sad reflections. But let us be on our guard against losing courage. There is no chastisement that does not purify; there is no disorder which Eternal Love does not turn against the principle of evil. It is sweet in the midst of the general ruin to divine the designs of God.¹ Never during our journey here below shall we have a complete view of them; often we shall deceive ourselves. But are we not, in every science, except the exact sciences, reduced to mere conjectures? And, if our conjectures are plausible; if they have analogy in their favour; if they rest upon general notions; if, above all, they are comforting and adapted to make us better men, what is yet wanting to them? If they are not true, they are good; or, rather, since they are good, are they not also true?"²

After this lofty flight, worthy of Bossuet himself, De Maistre comes down to the solid earth and deals with some practical questions of the moment. The dark night of confusion being now over, he is convinced that the day of restoration is at hand. Frenchmen, he says, recognise only too well that a constitution cannot be made: it must grow. They remember that they had a constitution, the growth of ten centuries, withered indeed by long abuses and hacked by revolutionaries, but still capable of springing up afresh.³ Hence the restoration will be a very simple matter. The King will only have to show himself in one of the great

¹"Suave mari magno, turbantibus aequora ventis," &c. (*Lucretius*, ii. 1, *sqq.*)

²Pp. 1, 34. As the costly edition named at the beginning of this article is not likely to be in the hands of my readers, I quote from the cheap and excellent edition published by the Bureau de la Bonne Presse (Paris). Four volumes of De Maistre's works, containing *Soirées de Saint Pétersbourg*, *Du Pape*, *Considérations sur la France*, and some minor writings, can be obtained for four francs.

³"A tree hath hope; if it be cut, it groweth green again, and the boughs thereof sprout. If its root be old in the earth, and its stock be dead in the dust, at the scent of water it shall spring and bring forth leaves, as when it was first planted." (*Job* xiv. 7-9.)

towns—Bordeaux, for example ; the people will flock round him to welcome him ; his progress to the capital will be one long triumph. “ He will come, he will see, he will conquer.” Then De Maistre deals with the objection that a restoration would be a revolution over again. No, he replies, the restoration will be a return from chaos to order, from sickness to health. The real delinquents are few in number. They alone will suffer. Look at the restoration in England. How Charles II. was welcomed ! How clement the royalist party were to the revolutionists ! So, too, in France, the restoration will not be a *contrary revolution*, but the *contrary to a revolution*. It is easy to be wise after the event, and to laugh at De Maistre’s prophecies. We all know that Louis XVIII. had to pass twenty years more in exile, and that he returned to France at the tail of a horde of invaders. Nevertheless De Maistre was right as to the fact of a restoration, and as to the way in which it might have taken place. The long delay and the ignominious circumstances of the return were due to the feeble character of Louis. Had he possessed ability and courage : had he presented himself, as De Maistre suggested, before Bonaparte had become famous, there is little doubt that the Napoleonic empire would never have been. If, however, anyone desires a striking proof of the fallibility of political forecasts, let him turn to the end of chapter VII. There De Maistre is criticizing the constitution of the newly-founded United States. He points out, very wisely, that the great difficulty is the mutual jealousy of the individual States. The remedy proposed was to build a special city to be the seat of the government. “ But,” says the seer, “ we may wager a thousand to one that the city will not be built, or that it will not be called Washington, or that Congress will not reside there.”

While the *Considérations* was being read and admired in every court in Europe, young Napoleon Bonaparte was rushing down from the Alps like an avalanche, and sweeping away the hosts of Austrians sent against him. The Peace of Tolentino (Feb. 19, 1797) permitted De Maistre to return to Turin. But his sojourn there was a brief one. At the end of 1798, he travelled down the Po to Venice in company

with a crowd of ladies, ecclesiastics, and soldiers. On his way he narrowly escaped capture by the French troops lining the right bank of the river. His exile at Venice was even more miserable than that at Lausanne. Happily it lasted less than a year. The Austrians and Russians, taking advantage of Bonaparte's absence in Egypt, drove back the French to the Alps, and then Charles Emmanuel IV. regained possession of his dominions. One of his first acts was to appoint De Maistre regent of the Chancery in the island of Sardinia, with a salary of twenty thousand livres. During the three years that he occupied the post he was saved from want; but the worries and disappointments to which he was subjected, made this portion of his life unhappy. These need not detain us here. We should note, however, though his literary labours were necessarily interrupted by his official duties, he found time for much hard reading. There was at this time at Cagliari a Lithuanian Dominican named Hintz, who was a professor of Oriental languages. Every day the good father and De Maistre held learned discussions on Greek, Hebrew, and Coptic. Philology always had a great attraction for De Maistre. His conferences with Father Hintz enabled him to extend his researches into a domain seldom traversed by scholars in that age. We shall have occasion to return to this matter when we come to speak of *Les Soirées de Saint-Pétersbourg*.

Meantime the unfortunate King of Sardinia had fallen into fresh troubles. His Austrian allies were bent on seizing Piedmont; but Bonaparte's splendid victory at Wagram (1800) put an end, for some years at least, to their influence in Italy. Two years later Charles Emmanuel abdicated his rights in favour of his brother, who took the title of Victor Emmanuel I. The new king resided in Rome as the guest of Pius VII. His only hope of gaining possession of his dominions rested on the influence of the far-off Court of St. Petersburg, for it was to the interest of Russia to prevent either Austria or France from holding the great Alpine passes. De Maistre had always openly avowed his hostility to the hypocritical protection exercised by the Austrians, and he accordingly was selected as envoy

extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Czar (Sept., 1802). This appointment, though highly honourable, involved a fresh exile. While in Sardinia he was separated from his beloved family, but still within reach of them. Now he was to live more than a thousand miles away from them, in the frozen regions of the north, and might probably never see them again. But he did not hesitate. He set out for Rome to receive personal instructions from his sovereign. While there he had the honour of being presented to Pius VII. Writing to his daughter Adèle, he says :—

“The day before yesterday I saw the Pope, whose goodness and simplicity astonished me greatly. He came forward to meet me, and hardly allowed me to bend my knee. He made me sit by his side, and we talked together for a full half hour. Then he accompanied us to the door, and put out his hand to open it for us. I assure you, I was astonished at such condescension. I felt that I saw St. Peter himself, instead of his successor.”

St. Petersburg was reached in May, 1803, and there he resided without a break until May, 1817. Though he was supposed to be armed with full powers, he found that he was expected to write for instructions to Sardinia, and to the Sardinian envoy in London. The delays involved in this roundabout procedure caused him much embarrassment, and thwarted most of his best schemes. He was, in truth, too high-spirited and too outspoken for the tortuous ways of diplomacy. Besides he realized that the representative of the fallen sovereign of a petty state must cut a sorry figure among the ambassadors of the great powers at the court of the most extensive empire in the world. Nevertheless he was able to effect much by the exercise of his personal influence. Other envoys owed their importance to the greatness of the governments which they represented, whereas it was his own greatness that secured a position for his government. Every supporter of the old order of things would naturally be eager to meet the author of the *Considérations*, and would soon fall under the spell of his ability and charm. Alexander at once became his most ardent admirer. The courtiers, we may be sure, were not slow in

following such a lead. On the other hand, De Maistre's poverty, his duty to his sovereign, and his own reserve, prevented him from accepting many invitations; and he had also to contend with the opposition of the French and the Austrian ambassadors. This is not the place to enter into any examination of the complex and ever-changing diplomacy of the era of the First Empire. It will be enough to state that at the downfall of Napoleon, De Maistre was able to secure his master against the outrageous demands of Austria; and this he did mainly through his personal influence with the Czar.

Our interest is in De Maistre's own life. Thanks to his voluminous correspondence, we are able to form some idea as to how he spent his fourteen eventful years in the capital of Russia. As by far the larger portion of his scanty salary was devoted to the support of his family at home, he was once more reduced to all the pitiful miseries of want. His lodging was a little apartment previously occupied by a dentist. For dinner he had nothing but some thin soup and a small portion of meat—sometimes only dry bread. His official uniform was of the shabbiest, and he tells us that he had to go through two keen northern winters without a cloak. Visitors could hardly be expected to find their way to his lodgings, and run the risk of breaking their necks on the dark and narrow staircase. De Maistre, too, felt bound to excuse himself from accepting invitations which involved the hire of a coach and fees to servants—not to speak of the embarrassment which his threadbare appearance would cause in a brilliant assembly of guests. And all this time the hostile ambassadors were noted for the magnificence of their palaces and the splendour and frequency of their entertainments. But from all the worries of poverty, the pangs of absence from all whom he held most dear, the discouragements and disappointments caused by his own government, the slights and defeats inflicted by the enemy, he turned with ever-increasing consolation to his beloved books. Though during his exile he published nothing of importance, this was the time when he was pondering over and composing the works to which he owes his fame. One has only to

glance over them to see that they are the fruit of wide reading and much meditation. For a time he was occupied in the congenial task, undertaken at the Czar's request, of reporting upon public education in Russia. His five letters upon the subject¹ may now be thought out of date, but will always be of interest as containing the views of one of the scholars trained in the old classical method.

Another source of consolation, keener far, but necessarily intermittent, was his correspondence with the members of his family. The letters, which deservedly occupy so much space in the large edition of his works, came upon the world as a sort of revelation. The man who had been thought to be a stern stoic, or rather cynic, gloating over the miseries of the world, and incapable of any tender feelings, was found to be a devoted husband, an affectionate father, a sincere friend. Many who had been repelled by the rigid ultramontaniam of the *Du Pape*, or the austere views of Providence in the *Soirées*, were charmed by the tenderness, the gaiety, the simplicity, and withal the sound sense of his epistolary chats with his young daughters, and the affectionate and manly advice to his son. This article would grow into a book if the writer did not exercise much restraint over his desire to quote passages from these letters. One subject, at least, must be given as a specimen. From his far-off exile De Maistre carefully watched over the education of his daughters. He sketched out for them a course of reading, and noted from their replies, kindly and sometimes playfully, how far they had carried out his instructions. They seem to have been anxious to devote themselves to the same studies as their brother. De Maistre insists over and over again that they must try to excel in their own way. Woman is not inferior to man, but different from him: if either attempts to rival the other, he or she is bound to fail.

“Voltaire has said [he writes] that women can do anything that men can do. This is only a compliment to some fair friend, or else it is one of his numberless stupid sayings. The truth is just the reverse. Women have not produced a single masterpiece in any branch. They have not given us the *Iliad*, or the *Æneid*, or the

¹ Vol. iv., pp. 182-241, of the cheap edition already cited.

Jerusalem Delivered, or *Phèdre*, or *Athalie*, or *Rodogune*, or the *Misanthrope*, or *Tartufe*, or the *Joueur*, or the Pantheon, or St. Peter's, or the Venus of Medici, or the Apollo Belvedere, or the Perseus, or the *Principia*, or the *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, or *Télémaque*. They have not invented algebra, or telescopes, or achromatic glasses, or steam engines, or stocking-frames, &c. But they do something greater than all of these; it is at their knee that is formed the most excellent thing in the world—an honest man and an honest woman. . . . If a young lady submits to be well brought up, if she is docile, modest, and pious, she will bring up children like herself, and that is the world's greatest master-piece. If she does not marry, her intrinsic merit, which remains the same, will always influence those around her in one way on another. . . . A coquette can get a husband more easily than a blue-stocking; for to marry a blue-stocking a man must have no pride, which is very rare; whereas to marry a coquette he need only be a fool, which is very common."

Here is an extract from the famous "distaff letter" addressed to his daughter Adèle, at the end of 1804. The English reader must remember that it loses much of its charm because the *tutoiment* cannot be rendered into our language:—

"You have probably read in the Bible, my dear child, that the valiant woman 'hath put out her hands to strong things, and her fingers have taken hold of the spindle.' But what will you say of Fénelon who, with all his mildness, lays it down that the valiant woman spins, stays at home, does what she is told, and holds her tongue? and here is another authority, not on the same footing as the foregoing, but still weighty in his way; I mean Molière, in his *Femmes Savantes*. Do you think that this great writer of comedies, this infallible judge of the ridiculous, would have dealt with this subject, if he had not perceived that the very title of "learned lady" is in itself something ridiculous? The greatest defect in a woman is to be man-like. To keep clear of the very notion of any such pretention you must absolutely obey Solomon, Fénelon, and Molière; this trio is infallible. Be on your guard against thinking of the material advantages of the occupations of your sex; their real value is in showing that you are a woman, and that you look upon yourself as such; and this is a great deal. Besides, in these occupations there is a very subtle and innocent form of coquetry. When people see you sewing away industriously, they will say: 'Who would think that that young lady reads Klopstock and Tasso?' And when they see you reading Klopstock and Tasso they will say: 'Who would think that that young lady is an excellent needle-woman?' Therefore, my daughter, ask your mother to buy you a little distaff and a pretty

spindle : moisten your finger nicely, and then *vrre!* You know very well, my dear Adèle, that I am no friend of ignorance, but in all matters there must be moderation. Woman's province is taste and information. She should not attempt to rise to science, or let people think she has any pretention to it; and, as regards information, she must observe moderation; a lady, and especially a young lady, can let her knowledge be seen without showing it."

Later on he writes to Constance :—

"A woman can be superior only by being a woman: the moment that she tries to be like a man she becomes nothing but a monkey."

The young lady was indignant at this, so her father proceeds to explain :—

"I have never said that women were monkeys. I assure you, by all that is most sacred, that I have found them infinitely more beautiful, more lovable, and more useful than monkeys. I have only said, and I say so still, that women who want to play the man are only monkeys; and to wish to be a blue stocking is to wish to play the man. I have the greatest respect for the young lady, of whom you speak, who is composing an epic poem: but God preserve me from being her husband! I should be afraid that she would bear me a tragedy, or even a farce."

These ideas of De Maistre on the education of women stood the test of experiment. His daughters cheerfully accepted them, and became just what he wished them to be: well-informed and yet modest young ladies, and in due course wives and mothers endowed with all the charms and accomplishments and virtues of their sex and condition. His son Rudolph joined him in 1806, and soon afterwards received a cornetcy in the emperor's guards. In those days a commission meant a summons to the battle-field. The young man was engaged in the bloody encounter of Friedland (June 19th, 1807); and later on was wounded at Borodino (September 7th, 1812), but recovered in time to take part in the campaign of 1813, and to enter Paris with the allies. De Maistre's letters breathe nothing but honour and courage, while all the time (as we learn from his other correspondence) he suffered agonies of anxiety, especially on one occasion, when he felt certain that his son was killed. "No one but a father knows what war is," he used to say.

But it is time for us to speak of De Maistre's friends in St. Petersburg. Though he held aloof as much as possible from ordinary society, he was on terms of great intimacy with a chosen few. There was always a hearty welcome for him at the house of Admiral Tchitchagoff. The Admiral himself, a man of great ability, a thorough-going Slav, differed on numberless points with his Savoyard friend, but their discussions never interfered with their attachment to each other. It was, however, Madame Tchitchagoff, an English lady, who was the object of his regard. Like so many natures outwardly cold and stern, De Maistre stood greatly in need of sympathy; whilst his loneliness, his poverty, and his melancholy, combined with his noble character and brilliant intellectual qualities, appealed both to her kind heart and her woman's desire for difficult conquest. It pleased her to find that in her home the stern diplomat unbent, the clouds departed from his brow, and his melancholy gave place to unrestrained gaiety. Other friends there were who helped him to bear the miseries of his long exile, but there is no room to speak of them here. One more, however, must not be passed over altogether in silence. The charming and saintly Madame Swetchine, so well known in later years as the friend of Lacordaire and his party, was at this time living in St. Petersburg. Her house was the centre of a small and highly-cultured society who looked up to De Maistre as their teacher, though they were members of the Greek Schismatic Church. It was his influence that had the largest share in her conversion. There may, indeed, be some truth in M. De Falloux's assertion, that she was not converted by De Maistre. Such a step is usually the result of many influences, some of them unperceived by the convert. Madame Swetchine may have been repelled by her friend's intolerance and rigid orthodoxy; nevertheless, it was he who shook her attachment to her old religion, and answered the many objections which she felt against the true faith. The long letter which he sent to her on August 15, 1815, is undoubted proof of this—a letter fit to take a place side by side with the admirable controversial letters of Bossuet, Fénelon, and St. Francis De Sales.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

THE INDULGENCES OF THE "EN EGO" AND OF THE STATIONS OF THE CROSS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Kindly solve the following doubts in an early number of the I. E. RECORD, and oblige

A SUBSCRIBER.

1. Must a person, to gain the indulgence attached to the prayer *En ego*, go to Confession weekly, and recite the usual prayers for the Pope's intention?

2. To gain the indulgences attached to the Stations of the Cross, must the usual prayers for the Pope's intention be said?

3. When two or more plenary indulgences can be gained on the same day, must the prayers for the Pope's intention be recited, *toties quoties*?

4. Is there any plenary indulgence except that in *articulo mortis* gained without reciting these prayers?

1. There are two parts in our correspondent's first question. In the first he asks if persons who receive Holy Communion frequently during the week must go to Confession at least once a week, in order that they may gain a plenary indulgence by reciting the prayer *En ego* each time they communicate. In the second part he asks if, in addition to Confession and Communion, the usual prayers for the Pope's intention be an essential condition for gaining the same indulgence.

To both parts an affirmative reply must be given, as the following important decree of the Congregation of Indulgences, issued on July 31st, 1858, clearly indicates:—

“URBIS ET ORBIS.

“1858, 31 Julii. Quum saepe ex pluribus orbis partibus ad hanc Sacram Indulgentiarum Sacrarumque Reliquiarum Congregationem deferantur dubia circa condiciones adimplendas pro acquisitione plenariae indulgentiae tum a Summis Pontificibus, Clemente VIII. et Benedicto XIV. elargitae, tum a Pio VII. et Leone XII. confirmatae iis Christifidelibus, qui ante quamcunque Crucifixi imaginem orationem *En ego*, &c., quocunque idiomate recitaverint, eadem Sacra Congregatio, ne Christifideles in

errorem inducantur, censuit consulendum esse Sanctissimum, ut de Apostolica sua benignitate declarare dignaretur singulos condiciones quae sunt a fidelibus adimplendae ut praefatam plenariam indulgentiam adipiscuntur. Hinc facta per me infrascriptum Secretariae ejusdem Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum Substitutum SSmo. D. N. Pio PP. IX. de omnibus fidei relatione in audientia 31 Julii, 1858. Sanctitas Sua, inhaerendo decretis Praedecessorum suorum, eorundemque concessionem confirmando, etiam quoad applicationem pro animabus in purgatorio detentis, benigne declaravit praememoratam indulgentiam plenariam lucrari ab iis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus qui *vere poenitentes, confessi, sacraque Communione refecti*, dictam orationem, *En ego*, &c., quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, ante quamcumque Sanctissimi Crucifixi imaginem *devote recitaverint*, ac insuper *per aliquod temporis spatium juxta recentem Sanctitatis suae pie oraverint*.

“ Quapropter ut ab universis Christifidelibus hoc generale decretum facile dignoscatur typis imprimi ac publicari mandavit. Praesenti valituro absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

“ F. Card. ASQUINIUS, *Praef.*

“ A. Archipr. PRINZIVALLI, *Substit.*”

There is no difficulty in gathering from this decree that prayers for the Pope's intention are an essential condition for gaining the indulgence of the *En ego*. This much is stated in so many words. Nor is it less clear that weekly Confession is required. For it is an understood principle with regard to all indulgences for which Confession and Communion are required, that weekly Confession is required and is, at the same time, sufficient. And there is no evidence that the indulgence of the prayer *En ego* is an exception. Confession and Communion, as is evident from the above decree, are required; and the least that will satisfy this condition is weekly Confession. It should be borne in mind that persons in the habit of going to Confession more rarely than once a week gain the plenary indulgence of the *En ego* only once; that is, the first time after Confession that, having received Communion, they recite this prayer. Some people are under the impression that how seldom soever they go to Confession, they may gain the indulgence as often during the week following Confession as they receive Communion and recite the prayer *En ego*, together with prayers for the Pope's intention. This is not so.

2. Prayers for the Pope's intention are not required for gaining the indulgences of the Stations of the Cross when the devotion is performed in a church or other place in which the stations are canonically erected. For, in this case, the only conditions prescribed are, that one should move from station to station, and should meditate on the Passion. Hence vocal prayers, either during the exercise itself, or before or after it, are not required in order that the person performing the exercises may gain *all* the indulgences attached to it. The following extract from the *Raccolta* bears out this statement:—

“All, however, who wish to gain these indulgences, by means of this devotion, must bear in mind—(1) that the stations must be erected by those that have the faculty to do so; (2) that it is indispensably required of them to meditate, according to their ability, on the Passion of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; and (3) to go from one station to another, so far as the number of persons engaged in the devotion, and the confined space where the fourteen stations are erected, will admit. From this it follows that the recitation at each of the stations of the words *We adore Thee, O Christ, the Our Father, Hail Mary, and Have mercy on us, O Lord*, is nothing more than a pious and praiseworthy custom, introduced by devout persons into the devotion of the Way of the Cross.”¹

The *Raccolta* does *not* state *explicitly*, it is true, that prayers for the Pope's intention are not required, but it does so *implicitly*; for it undertakes to enumerate the conditions for gaining the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, and it makes no mention of these prayers. The same inference is to be made from the *Instruction* for performing this devotion, issued by the Congregation of Indulgences, April 3, 1731, by order of Clement XII.; and again on May 10, 1742, by order of Benedict XIV., and from writers on this subject.²

3. When a person wishes to gain several plenary indulgences on the same day, for each of which prayers for the

¹*The New Raccolta*. Translated. Philadelphia, 1889. Sec. vii. pp. 128, 129.

²See, e.g., Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 558; Beringer, *Indulgences, &c.*, ii^e. partie, ii^e. Section vi.; Melata, *Manuale*, p. 173. The last-named author puts the conditions neatly—(1) *Motus localis*; (2) *Ut stationes visitentur unico tractu*; (3) *Meditatio Passionis D.N.I.C.*

Pope's intention are a necessary condition, he must repeat these prayers for each indulgence. And, moreover, if, as is often the case, a visit must be paid to a church, and these prayers said therein, the visit must also be repeated for each indulgence. This also is the teaching of the *Raccolta* :—

“If anyone desires to gain several plenary indulgences on the same day, and a visit with certain designated prayers is prescribed for each one of the indulgences, the prayers must be said and the visits repeated as many times as there are separate indulgences which one desires to gain.”¹

Here, too, we may quote Father Melata, who states the rule to be observed, with his accustomed force and brevity :—

“Ad lucrandas (eodem die) plures indulgentias pro quibus praescriptae sunt perces, necesse est perces repetere quot sunt indulgentiae lucrandae.”²

With regard to the repetition of the visit, we may state that it suffices to go outside the church, and return immediately.³

4. We have just shown that all the indulgences of the Way of the Cross can be gained without reciting these prayers; but besides these indulgences we do not know of any plenary indulgence which can be gained by all the faithful, and of which the recitation of these prayers is not an essential condition. But we do know of an indulgence, confined, however, to the wearers of the blue scapular of the Immaculate Conception, which resembles somewhat the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, and which can be gained by the associates as often as they recite six *Our Fathers* and *Hail Marys*, with *Glory be to the Father*, &c., after each. This indulgence undoubtedly includes at least one plenary indulgence; for it includes the indulgences of the seven Basilicas of Rome, of the Portiuncula, of Jerusalem, and of St. James of Compostella. As this indulgence is so extraordinary, and yet so little known, we subjoin the following resolutions of the Congregation of Indulgences, for the purpose both of confirming

¹ Introduction, n. 6.

² *Ibi.*, p. 66, n. 8.

³ *Id. ibi.*, p. 70.

what we have stated, and of spreading the knowledge of this wonderful concession :—

“An sodales scapularis caerulei Immaculatae Conceptionis, recitando sex *Pater, Ave, et Gloria* in honorem Sanctissimae Trinitatis et Deiparae virginis immaculatae, orando pro haeresum extirpatione, exaltatione S. Matris Ecclesiae, atque Christianorum principum pace et concordia omnes lucrifaciant indulgentias septem Basilicarum Romae, Portiunculae, Jerusalem et S. Jacobis de Compostella ?

“*Affirmative.*

“An indulgentias de quibus in superioribus dubiis lucrentur toties quoties, et an in quocunque loco preces ipsas fuderint ?

“*Affirmative.*

“Juxta votum consultoris, nempe servato decreto Sacrae Congregationis die 7 Martii 1678 approbato ab Innocente XI. cujus initium, *Delatae saepius.*

“An ad easdem lucrandas indulgentias recitare sufficiat sex tantum *Pater Ave, et Gloria* ita ut necesse minime sit alias preces addere prouti in Indulgentiarum concessionibus atque rescriptis orandi per aliquod temporis spatium juxta intentionem Pontificis, seu pro haeresum extirpatione atque Christianorum principum pace et concordia, etc., injungi consuetum est ?

“*Affirmative.*

“An ad memoratas indulgentias, de quibus scilicet in dubiis, consequendas necessaria sit Sacramentorum Poenitentiae et Eucharistiae susceptio ?

“*Negative.*

“An denique hae ipsae indulgentiae omnes animabus in purgatorio detentis applicari possint ?

“*Affirmative.*”¹

The same indulgences, on the same conditions, can be gained by the Members of the Third Order of St. Francis. It would seem, however, that these latter should say five of the *Our Fathers, Hail Marys, and Glorias* for the Church. and the sixth for the intention of the Holy Father. The following decree, issued on the same occasion as those just given, is our authority for this :—

“An sodales Tertiarii Ordinis S. Francisci Assinatis cujuscunque provinciae sint, lucrifaciant stationes, indulgentias, remissiones tum urbis, tum etiam Portiunculae, sive Jerusalem, et S. Jacobi in Compostella recitando sex *Pater, Ave, et Gloria*, scilicet quinque pro felici statu S. Matris Ecclesiae, sextum autem pro intentione Summi Pontificis concedentis ?

“*Affirmative.*”

¹ *Decr. Auth.*, n. 374, April 14, 1856.

1. THE COMMUNION OF INVALIDS

2. THE "ANGELUS"

REV. DEAR SIR,—It is now nearly forty years since I began life as a priest on the mission. When I left college, I was furnished with the ordinary amount of Dogma, Morals, and Liturgy. Since that time milder opinions seem to be adopted in theology on many points. For instance; I now learn that to the sick, aged, or invalids, Holy Communion may be given in the morning, although these persons have broken their fast. Furthermore, I am told that such is the custom in Rome, especially if the parties are elderly. As I have a number of sick and devout people, who are not in any danger of death, but who cannot fast from midnight to eight o'clock in the morning, I should be glad to learn from you what the Church allows in such circumstances.

2. There is another point on which I should be grateful for information. In order to gain the Indulgence of the *Angelus*, is it *necessary* to say:—

V. Pray for us, O holy Mother of God.

R. That we may be made worthy of the promises of Christ.

My edition of *Maurel on Indulgences*, as well as the *Raccolta*, distinctly say not. Are these authorities correct?

SCRUTATOR.

1. We beg to assure our correspondent that the state of theological opinion on the point about which he inquires is not a whit milder than it was half a century ago. Indeed if we take the opinion of Lehmkuhl as representing the opinion of the present, and that of Scavini as representing the opinion of his time, we find that the opinion of the present day is much more rigid than that of our predecessors. For whereas Scavini¹ discusses the question seriously, mentions that many grave theologians would permit invalids unable to fast till morning to receive Communion after having broken their fast, and thus leaves the matter in doubt; Lehmkuhl,² on the other hand, without mentioning a second opinion, says that such persons cannot receive Communion after having broken their fast, without a dispensation from

¹ Ed. Paris, 1853.

² Ed. 6th, 1890.

the Pope. Such dispensations, he says, are at present often given; and this may be the foundation for the statement that it is customary in Rome to give Communion to invalids who are not fasting.

2. The *Raccolta* being an official publication of the Congregation of Indulgences, is, of course, the very highest authority. Hence, when it says that the versicle, response, and prayer usually recited as part of the *Angelus*, need not be recited in order to gain the indulgences attached to the recital of this prayer, we may take it that such is the case. But it is interesting to read carefully all the instructions regarding the *Angelus* that are given in the *Raccolta*. In the first place, we are told that:—

“A plenary indulgence once a month is granted to all the faithful who, every day at the sound of the bell in the morning, at noon, or in the evening at sunset, shall say devoutly on their knees, the *Angelus Domini*, with the *Hail Mary*, three times on any day, &c. And an indulgence of one hundred days on all other days in the year, every time that, with at least contrite heart, they shall say these prayers.”

From these words, it follows—(1) that the *Angelus* is essentially composed of the three versicles beginning respectively, *Angelus Domini*, *Ecce ancilla*, *Et Verbum caro*, together with three *Hail Marys*.

It follows—(2) that to gain the indulgences it is necessary to recite these prayers on bended knees, and at the sound of the bell. But persons who are reasonably prevented from kneeling, or who cannot say the prayer at the sound of the bell, either because they cannot hear a bell, or because when they hear the bell they are otherwise engaged, can still gain the same indulgences by saying, in addition to the above-mentioned versicles and *Hail Marys*, the versicle *Pray for us*, together with the prayer *Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O Lord*. Let us give the words of the *Raccolta* itself:—

“His Holiness Pope Leo XIII., by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, April 3, 1884, benignly permitted that the above-named indulgences may be gained by the faithful, who, reasonably prevented from kneeling, or from waiting for the sound of the bell, shall attentively and devoutly recite, either

in the morning, towards midday, or in the evening, the versicle, *Angelus Domini*, with the three *Hail Marys*, and the other versicle, *Pray for us*, &c., with the prayer, *Pour forth, we beseech Thee, O Lord*; or during Easter time the antiphon, *Triumph, O Queen*, with its appropriate versicle and prayer; or if they do not know how to read, so recite from memory these verses, antiphons, and prayers, shall say at the times prescribed five *Hail Marys*."

It is clear, therefore, that for a very large number of persons, the fourth versicle and prayer form are an essential part of the indulgenced *Angelus*.

D. O'LOAN.

Correspondence

MACCARTHY'S "LAY MISSIONER"

REV. DEAR SIR,—If it were only for the sake of naming again two or three good Catholic Irishmen, I should like to correct a slight error in your last issue. "J. J. C.," in his very generous appreciation of the little book, *At Home Near the Altar*, calls Denis Florence MacCarthy's poem, "The Lay Missioner," a portrait of the late Lord O'Hagan. This is not the first time that Thomas O'Hagan, of Belfast (the first Lord O'Hagan) has been confounded with John O'Hagan, of Newry—the more naturally that the first Catholic Lord Chancellor of Ireland was also "Judge O'Hagan" at one stage of his career, as his son-in-law was at the end of his. It was not Lord O'Hagan, but Mr. Justice O'Hagan, author of *Ourselves Alone*, and translator of "The Song of Roland," whom his bosom-friend, D. F. MacCarthy, more than forty years ago described as—

"A youth by baser passions undefiled,
Lit by the light of genius and the glow
Which real feeling leaves where once it smiled;
Firm as a man, yet tender as a child;
Armed at all points by fantasy and thought,
To face the true or sour amid the wild;
By love and labour, as a good man ought,
Ready to pay the price by which dear truth is bought."

All who had the happiness of knowing the first judicial head

of the Irish Land Commission will testify that the poet does not invent but describe, when he goes on to say :—

“ ’Tis not with cold advice or stern rebuke,
With formal precept or with face demure,
But with the unconscious eloquence of look
Where shines the heart so loving and so pure ;
’Tis these, with constant goodness, that allure
All hearts to love and imitate his work.”

A singularly beautiful character is summed up in one line of the concluding stanza—“ Mild, thoughtful, modest, faithful, gay ”—which, indeed, describes also the amiable and gifted poet himself.

M. R.

Documents

ENCYCLICAL OF POPE LEO XIII. ON THE STUDY OF SACRED SCRIPTURE—(*concluded*)

Illud autem maxime optabile est et necessarium, ut eiusdem divinae Scripturae usus in universam theologiae influat disciplinam eiusque prope sit anima ; ita nimirum omni aetate Patres atque praeclarissimi quique theologi professi sunt et re praestiterunt. Nam quae obiectum sunt fidei vel ab eo consequuntur, ex divinis potissime Litteris studuerunt asserere et stabilire : atque ex ipsis, sicut pariter ex divina traditione, nova haereticorum commenta refutare, catholicorum dogmatum rationem, intelligentiam, vincula exquirere. Neque id cuiquam fuerit mirum qui reputet, tam insignem locum inter revelationis fontes divinis Libris deberi, ut, nisi eorum studio usque assiduo, nequeat theologia rite et pro dignitate tractari. Tametsi enim rectum est iuvenes in Academiis et scholis ita praecipue exerceri ut intellectum et scientiam dogmatum assequantur, ab articulis fidei argumentatione instituta ad alia ex illis, secundum normas probatae solidaeque philosophiae, concludenda ; gravi tamen eruditoque theologo minime negligenda est ipsa demonstratio dogmatum ex Bibliorum auctoritatibus ducta : “ Non enim accipit (theologia) sua principia ab aliis scientiis, sed immediate a Deo per revelationem. Et ideo non accipit ab aliis scientiis, tamquam a superioribus, sed utitur eis tamquam inferioribus et ancillis.”

Quae sacrae doctrinae tradendae ratio praeceptorem commendatoremque habet theologorum principem, Aquinatem :¹ qui praeterea, ex hac bene perspecta christianae theologiae indole, docuit quemadmodum possit theologus sua ipsa principia, si qui ea forte impugnent, tueri : “ Argumentando quidem, si adversarius aliquid concedat eorum, quae per divinam revelationem habentur ; sicut per auctoritates sacrae Scripturae disputamus contra haereticos, et per unum articulum contra negantes alium. Si vero adversarius nihil credat eorum quae divinitus revelantur, non remanet amplius via ad probandum articulos fidei per rationes, sed ad solvendum rationes, si quas inducit contra fidem.”²

Providendum igitur, ut ad studia biblica convenienter instrueti munitique aggrediantur iuvenes ; ne iustam frustrentur spem, neu, quod deterius est, erroris discrimen incaute subeant Rationalistarum capti fallacis apparatusque specie cruditionis. Erunt autem optime comparati, si, quâ Nosmetipsi monstravimus et praescripsimus via, philosophiae et theologiae institutionem, eodem S. Thoma duce, religiose coluerint penitusque perceperint. Ita recte incedent, quum in re biblica, tum in ea theologiae parte quam *positivam* nominant, in utraque laetissime progressuri.

Doctrinam catholicam legitima et sollerti sacrorum Bibliorum interpretatione probasse, exposuisse, illustrasse, multum id quidem est : altera tamen, eaque tam gravis momenti quam operis laboriosi, pars remanet, ut ipsorum auctoritas integra quam validissime asseratur. Quod quidem nullo alio pacto plene licebit universeque assequi, nisi ex vivo et proprio magisterio Ecclesiae ; quae *per se ipsa, ob suam nempe admirabilem propagationem, eximiam sanctitatem et inexhaustam in omnibus bonis fecunditatem, ob catholicam unitatem, invictamque stabilitatem, magnum quoddam et perpetuum est motivum credibilitatis et divinae suae legationis testimonium irrefragabile.*³ Quoniam vero divinum et infallibile magisterium Ecclesiae, in auctoritate etiam sacrae Scripturae consistit, huius propterea fides saltem humana asserenda in primis vindicandaque est : quibus ex libris, tamquam ex antiquitatis probatissimis testibus, Christi Domini divinitas et legatio, Ecclesiae hierarchicae institutio, primatus Petro et successoribus eius collatus, in tuto apertoque collocentur. Ad

¹ *Summ. Theol.*, p. i., q. i., a. 5 ad 2.

² *Ibid.* a. 8.

³ *Conc. Vat.*, Sess. iii., c. iii., *de fide*.

hoc plurimum sane conducet, si plures sint e sacro ordine paratiores, qui hac etiam in parte pro fide dimicent et impetus hostiles propulsent, induti praecipue armatura Dei, quam suadet Apostolus,¹ neque vero ad nova hostium arma et praelia insueti Quod pulere in sacerdotum officiis sic recenset Chrysostomus: “Ingens adhibendum est studium ut *Christi verbum habitet in nobis abundanter*:² neque enim ad unum pugnae genus parati esse debemus, sed multiplex est bellum et varii sunt hostes; neque iisdem omnes utuntur armis, neque uno tantum modo nobiscum congredi moliuntur. Quare opus est, ut is qui cum omnibus congressurus est, omnium machinas artesque cognitas habeat, ut idem sit sagittarius et funditor, tribunus et manipuli ductor, dux et miles, pedes et eques, navalis ac muralis pugnae peritus: nisi enim omnes dimicandi artes noverit, novit diabolus per unam partem, si sola negligatur, praedonibus suis immisis, oves diripere.”³ Fallacias hostium artesque in hac re ad impugnandum multiplices supra adumbravimus: iam, quibus praesidiis ad defensionem nitendum, commoneamus.

Est primum in studio linguarum veterum orientalium simulque in arte quam vocant criticam. Utriusque rei scientia quum hodie in magno sit pretio et laude, eâ clerus, plus minusve pro locis et hominibus exquisita, ornatus, melius poterit decus et munus sustinere suum; nam ipse *omnia omnibus*⁴ fieri debet, paratus semper *ad satisfactionem omni poscenti rationem de ea quae in ipso est spe*.⁵ Ergo sacrae Scripturae magistris necesse est atque theologos addecet, eas linguas cognitas habere quibus libri canonici sunt primitus ab hagiographis exarati, easdemque optimum factu erit si colant alumni Ecclesiae, qui praesertim ad academicos theologiae gradus aspirant. Atque etiam curandum ut omnibus in Academiis, quod iam in multis receptum laudabiliter, est de ceteris item antiquis linguis, maxime semiticis, deque congruente cum illis eruditione, sint magisteria, eorum in primis usui qui ad sacras Litteras profitendas designantur.

Hos autem ipsos, eiusdem rei gratiâ, doctiores esse oportet atque exercitatiores in vera artis criticae disciplina: perperam enim et cum religionis damno inductum est artificium, nomine honestatum criticae sublimioris, quo, ex solis internis, ut

¹ Eph. vi. 13, *seqq.*

² Cf. Col. iii. 16.

³ De sacerdot. iv. 4.

⁴ 1 Cor. ix. 22.

⁵ 1 Pet. iii. 15.

loquuntur, rationibus, cuiuspiam libri origo, integritas, auctoritas diiudicata emergant. Contra perspicuum est, in quaestionibus rei historicae, cuiusmodi origo et conservatio librorum, historiae testimonia valere prae ceteris, eaque esse quam studiosissime et conquirenda et excutienda: illas vero rationes internas plerumque non esse tanti, ut in causam nisi ad quamdam confirmationem, possint advocari. Secus si fiat, magna profecto consequentur incommoda. Nam hostibus religionis plus confidentiae futurum est ut sacrorum authenticitatem Librorum impetant et discerpant: illud ipsum quod extollunt genus criticae sublimioris, eo demum recidet, ut suum quisque studium praejudicatamque opinionem interpretando sectentur: inde neque Scripturis quaesitum lumen accedet, neque ulla doctrinae oritura utilitas est, sed certa illa patebit erroris nota, quae est varietas et dissimilitudo sentiendi, ut iam ipsi sunt documento huiusce novae principes disciplinae: inde etiam, quia plerique infecti sunt vanae philosophiae et rationalismi placitis, ideo prophetias, miracula, cetera quaecumque naturae ordinem superent, ex sacris Libris dimovere non verebuntur.

Congrediendum secundo loco cum iis, qui suâ physicorum scientia abusi, sacros Libros omnibus vestigiis indagant, unde auctoribus inscitiam rerum talium opponant, scripta ipsa vituperent. Quae quidem insimulationes quum res attingant sensibus obiectas, eo periculosiores accidunt, manantes in vulgus, maxime in deditam litteris iuventutem; quae, semel reverentiam divinae revelationis in uno aliquo capite exuerit, facile in omnibus omnem eius fidem est dimissura. Nimum sane constat, de natura doctrinam, quantum ad percipiendam summi Artificis gloriam in procreatis rebus impressam aptissima est, modo sit convenienter proposita, tantum posse ad elementa sanae philosophiae evellenda corrumpendosque mores, teneris animis perverse infusam. Quapropter Scripturae sacrae doctori cognitio naturalium rerum bono erit subsidio, quo huius quoque modi captiones in divinos Libros instructas facilius detegat et refellat.

Nulla quidem theologum inter et physicum vera dissensio intercesserit, dum suis uterque finibus se contineant, id caventes, secundum S. Augustini monitum, "ne aliquid temere et incognitum pro cognito asserant."¹ Sin tamen dissenserint quemadmodum se gerat theologus, summatim est regula ab eodem oblata: "Quidquid, inquit, ipsi de natura rerum veracibus

¹ *In Gen. op. imperf.* ix. 30.

documentis demonstrare potuerint, ostendamus nostris Litteris non esse contrarium; quidquid autem de quibuslibet suis voluminibus his nostris Litteris, idest catholicae fidei, contrarium protulerint, aut aliqua etiam facultate ostendamus, aut nulla dubitatione credamus esse falsissimum.¹ De cuius aequitate regulae in consideratione sit primum, scriptores sacros, seu verius "Spiritum Dei, qui per ipsos loquebatur, noluisse ista (videlicet intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem) docere homines, nulli saluti profutura;"² quare eos, potius quam explorationem naturae recta persequantur, res ipsas aliquando describere et tractare aut quodam translationis modo, aut sicut communis sermo per ea ferebat tempora, hodieque de multis fert rebus in quotidiana vita, ipsos inter homines scientissimos. Vulgari autem sermone quum ea primo proprieque efferantur quae cadant sub sensus, non dissimiliter scriptor sacer (monuitque et Doctor Angelicus) "ea secutus est, quae sensibilibus apparent,"³ seu quae Deus ipse, homines alloquens, ad eorum captum significavit humano more.

Quod vero defensio Scripturae sanctae agenda strenue est, non ex eo omnes aequae sententiae tuendae sunt, quas singuli Patres aut qui deinceps interpretes in eadem declaranda ediderint: qui, prout erant opiniones aetatis, in locis edisserendis ubi physica aguntur, fortasse non ita semper iudicaverunt ex veritate, ut quaedam posuerint, quae nunc minus probentur. Quocirca studiose dignoscendum in illorum interpretationibus, quaenam reapse tradant tamquam spectantia ad fidem aut cum ea maxime copulata, quaenam unanimi tradant consensu; namque "in his quae de necessitate fidei non sunt, licuit Sanctis diversimode opinari, sicut et nobis," ut est S. Thomae sententiae.⁴ Qui et alio loco prudentissime habet: "Mihi videtur tutius esse, huiusmodi, quae philosophi communiter senserunt, et nostrae fidei non repugnant, nec sic esse asserenda ut dogmata fidei, etsi aliquando sub nomine philosophorum introducantur, nec sic esse neganda tamquam fidei contraria, ne sapientibus huius mundi occasio contemnendi doctrinam fidei praebatur."⁵ Sane, quamquam ea, quae speculatores naturae certis argumentis certam esse affirmarint, interpres ostendere debet nihil Scripturis

¹ *De Gen. ad litt.* i. 21, 41.

² S. Aug. *ib.* ii. 9, 20.

³ *Summa theol.*, p. i, q. lxx., a. 1 ad 3.

⁴ *In Sent.* ii., *dist.* ii., q. i., a. 3.

⁵ *Opusc.* 10.

recte explicatis obsistere, ipsum tamen ne fugiat, factum quandoque esse, ut certa quaedam ab illis tradita, postea in dubitationem adducta sint et repudiata. Quod si physicorum scriptores terminos disciplinae suae transgressi, in provinciam philosophorum perversitate opinionum invadant, eas interpret theologus philosophis mittat refutandas.

Haec ipsa deinde ad cognatas disciplinas, ad historiam praesertim, iuvabit transferri. Dolendum enim, multos esse qui antiquitatis monumenta, gentium mores et instituta, similibusque rerum testimonia magnis ii quidem laboribus perscrutentur et proferant, sed eo saepius consilio, ut erroris labes in sacris Libris deprehendant, ex quo illorum auctoritas usquequaque infirmetur et nutet. Idque nonnulli et nimis infesto animo faciunt nec satis aequo iudicio; qui sic fidunt profanis libris et documentis memoriae priscae, perinde ut nulla eis ne suspicio quidem erroris possit subesse, libris verò Scripturae sacrae, ex opinata tantum erroris specie, neque eâ probe discussa, vel parem abnuunt fiden. Fieri quidem potest, ut quaedam librariis in codicibus describendis minus recte exciderint; quod considerate iudicandum est, nec facile admittendum, nisi quibus locis rite sit demonstratum: fieri etiam potest, ut germana alicuius loci sententia permaneat anceps; cui enodandae multum afferent optimae interpretandi regulae: at nefas omnino fuerit, aut inspirationem ad aliquas tantum sacrae Scripturae partes coangustare, aut concedere sacrum ipsum errasse auctorem. Nec enim toleranda est eorum ratio, qui ex istis difficultatibus sese expediunt, id nimirum dare non dubitantes, inspirationem divinam ad res fidei morumque, nihil praeterea, pertinere, eo quod falso arbitrentur, de veritate sententiarum quum agitur, non adeo exquirendum quaenam dixerit Deus, ut non magis perpendatur quam ob causam ea dixerit. Etenim libri omnes atque integri, quos Ecclesia tamquam sacros et canonicos recipit, cum omnibus suis partibus, Spiritu Sancto dictante, conscripti sunt; tantum vero abest ut divinae inspirationi error ullus subesse possit, ut ea per se ipsa, non modo errorem excludat omnem, sed tam necessario excludat et respuat, quam necessarium est, Deum, summam Veritatem, nullius omnino erroris auctorem esse.

Haec est antiqua et constans fides Ecclesiae, sollemni etiam sententia in Conciliis definita Florentino et Tridentino; confirmata denique atque expressius declarata Concilio Vaticano, a quo absolute edictum: *Veteris et novi Testamenti libri integri cum*

omnibus suis partibus, prout in eiusdem Concilii (Tidentini) decreto recensentur, et in veteri vulgata latina editione habentur, pro sacris et canonicis suscipiendi sunt. Eos vero Ecclesia pro sacris et canonicis habet, non ideo quod sola humana industria concinnati, sua deinde auctoritate sint approbati; nec ideo duntaxat, quod revelationem sine errore contineant; sed propterea quod Spiritu Sancto inspirante conscripti, Deum habent auctorem.¹ Quare nihil admodum refert, Spiritum Sanctum assumpsisse homines tamquam instrumenta ad scribendum, quasi, non quidem primario auctori, sed scriptoribus inspiratis quidpiam falsi elabi potuerit. Nam supernaturali ipse virtute ita eos ad scribendum excitavit et movit, ita scribentibus adstitit, ut ea omnia eaque sola quae ipse iuberet, et recte mente conciperent, et fideliter conscribere vellent, et apte infallibili veritate exprimerent: secus, non ipse esset auctor sacrae Scripturae universae. Hoc ratum semper habuere Ss. Patres: "Itaque, ait Augustinus, quum illi scripserunt quae ille ostendit et dixit, nequaquam dicendum est, quod ipse non scripserit: quandoquidem membra eius id operata sunt, quod dictante capite cognoverunt²:" pronunciatque S. Gregorius M.: "Quis haec scripserit, valde supervacaneae quaeritur quum tamen auctor libri Spiritus Sanctus fideliter credatur. Ipse igitur haec scripsit, qui scribenda dictavit: ipse scripsit qui et in illius opere inspirator extitit.³ Consequitur, ut qui in locis authenticis Librorum sacrorum quidpiam falsi contineri posse existiment, ii profecto aut catholicam divinae inspirationis notionem pervertant, aut Deum ipsum erroris faciant auctorem. Atque adeo Patribus omnibus et Doctoribus persuasissimum fuit, divinas Litteras, quales ab hagiographis editae sunt, ab omni omnino errore esse immunes, ut propterea non pauca illa, quae contrarii aliquid vel dissimile viderentur afferre (eademque fere sunt quae nomine novae scientiae nunc obiiciunt), non subtiliter minus quam religiose componere inter se et conciliare studuerint; professi unanimes, Libros eos et integros et per partes a divino aequae esse afflatu, Deumque ipsum per sacros auctores elocutum nihil admodum a veritate alienum ponere potuisse. Ea valeant universe quae idem Augustinus ad Hieronymum scripsit; "Ego enim fateor caritati tuae, solis eis Scripturarum libris qui iam canonici appellantur, didici

¹ Sess. iii., c. ii., de revel.

² De consensu Evangel., 1. i., c. 35.

³ Praef. in Job, n. 2.

hunc timorem honoremque deferre, ut nullum eorum auctorum scribendo aliquid errasse firmissime credam. Ac si aliquid in eis offendero litteris quod videatur contrarium veritati, nihil aliud quam vel mendosum esse codicem, vel interpretem non assecutum esse quod dictum est, vel me minime intellexisse non ambigam.”

At vero omni graviorum artium instrumento pro sanctitate Bibliorum plene perfecteque contendere, multo id maius est, quam ut a sola interpretum et theologorum sollertia aequum sit expectari. Eodem optandum est conspirent et connitantur illi etiam ex catholicis viris, qui ab externis doctrinis aliquam sint nominis auctoritatem adepti. Horum sane ingeniorum ornatus, si nunquam antea, ne nunc quidem, Dei beneficio, Ecclesiae deest; atque utinam eo amplius fidei subsidium augeat. Nihil enim magis oportere ducimus, quam ut plures validioresque nanciscatur veritas propugnatores, quam sentiat adversarios; neque res ulla est quae magis persuadere vulgo possit obsequium veritatis, quam si eam liberrime profiteantur qui in laudata aliqua praestent facultate. Quin facile etiam cessura est obtrectatorum invidia, aut certe non ita petulanter iam traducere illi audebunt inimicam scientiae, fidem, quum viderint a viris scientiae laude nobilibus summum fidei honorem reverentiamque adhiberi.

Quoniam igitur tantum ii possunt religioni importare commodi, quibus cum catholicae professionis gratia felicem indolem ingenii benignum Numen impertiit, ideo in hac acerrima agitatione studiorum quae Scripturas quoquo modo attingunt, aptum sibi quisque eligant studii genus, in quo aliquando excellentes, obiecta in illas improbae scientiae tela, non sine gloria, repellant.

Quo loco gratum est illud pro merito comprobare nonnullorum catholicorum consilium, qui ut viris doctioribus suppetere possit unde huiusmodi studia omni adiumentorum copia pertractent et provehant, coactis societatibus, largiter pecunias solent conferre. Optima sane et peropportuna temporibus pecuniae collocandae ratio. Quo enim catholicis minus praesidii in sua studia sperare licet publice, eo promptiorem effusioemque patere decet privatorem liberalitatem; ut quibus a Deo aucti sunt divitiis, eas ad tutandum revelatae ipsius doctrinae thesaurum velint convertere.

Tales autem labores ut ad rem biblicam vere proficiant, insistant eruditi in iis tamquam principiis, quae supra a Nobis praefinita sunt; fideliterque teneant, Deum, conditorem recto-

remque rerum omnium, eundem esse Scripturarum auctorem. nihil propterea ex rerum natura, nihil ex historiae monumentis colligi posse quod cum Scripturis revera pugnet. Si quid ergo tale videatur, id sedulo submovendum, tum adhibito prudenti theologorum et interpretum iudicio, quidnam verius verisimiliusve habeat Scripturae locus, de quo disceptetur, tum diligentius expensa argumentorum vi, quae contra adducantur. Neque ideo cessandum, si qua in contrarium species etiam tum diligentius expensa argumentorum vi, qua in contrarium species etiam tum resideat; nam, quoniam verum vero adversari haudquaquam potest, certum sit aut in sacrorum interpretationem verborum, aut in alteram disputationis partem errorem incurrisse: neutrum vero si necdum satis appareat, cunctandum interea de sententia. Permulta enim ex omni doctrinarum genere sunt diu multumque contra Scripturam iactata, quae nunc, utpote inania, penitus obsolescere: item non pauca de quibusdam Scripturae locis (non proprie ad fidei morumque pertinentibus regulam) sunt quondam interpretando proposita, in quibus rectius postea vidit acrior quaedam investigatio. Nempè opinionum commenta delet dies; sed "veritas manet et invalescit in aeternum."¹ Quare, sicut nemo sibi arrogaverit ut omnem recte intelligat Scripturam, in qua se ipse plura nescire quam scire fassus est Augustinus,² ita, si quid inciderit difficilius quam explicari possit, quisque eam sumet cautionem temperationemque eiusdem Doctoris: "Melius est vel premi incognitis sed utilibus signis, quam inutiliter ea interpretando, a iugo servitutis eductam cervicem laqueis erroris inserere."³

Consilia et iussa Nostra si probe verecundeque erunt secuti qui subsidiaria haec studia profitentur, si et scribendo et docendo studiorum fructus dirigant ad hostes veritatis redarguendos, ad fidei damna in iuventute praecavenda, tum demum laetari poterunt dignâ se opera sacris Litteris inservire, eamque rei catholicae opem afferre, qualem de filiorum pietate et doctrinis iure sibi Ecclesia pollicetur.

Haec sunt, Venerabiles Fratres, quae de studiis Scripturae sacrae pro opportunitate monenda et praecipienda, aspirante Deo, censuimus, Iam sit vestrum curare, ut qua par est religione custodiantur et observentur: sic ut debita Deo gratia, de

¹ 3 Esdr. 4, 38.

² Ad Ianuar. ep. lv., 21.

³ De doct. chr. iii., 9, 18.

communicatis humano generi eloquiis sapientiae suae, testatus eniteat, optataeque utilitates redundant, maxime ad sacrae iuventutis institutionem, quae tanta est cura Nostra et spes Ecclesiae. Auctoritate nimirum et hortatione date alacres operam, ut in Seminariis, atque in Academiis quae parent ditioni vestrae, haec studia iusto in honore consistant vigeantque. Integre feliciterque vigeant, moderatrice Ecclesia, secundum saluberrima documenta et exempla SS. Patrum laudatamque maiorum consuetudinem: atque talia ex temporum cursu incrementa accipiant quae vere sint in praesidium et gloriam catholicae veritatis, natae divinitus ad perennem populorum salutem. Omnes denique alumnos et administros Ecclesiae paterna caritate admonemus, ut ad sacras Litteras adeant summo semper affectu reverentiae et pietatis: nequaquam enim ipsarum intelligentia salutariter ut opus est patere potest, nisi remotâ scientiae *terrenae* arrogantia, studioque sancte excitato eius *quae desursum est sapientiae*. Cuius in disciplinam semel admissa mens, atque inde illustrata et roborata, mire valebit ut etiam humanae scientiae quae sunt fraudes dignoscat et vitet, qui sunt solidi fructus percipiat et ad aeterna referat: inde potissime exardescens animus, ad emolumenta virtutis et divini amoris spiritu vehementiore contendet: *Beati qui scrutantur testimonia eius, in toto corde exquirunt eum*.¹

Iam divini auxilii spe freti et pastoralis studio vestro confisi, Apostolicam benedictionem, caelestium munerum auspicem Nostraeque singularis benevolentiae testem, vobis omnibus, universoque Clero et populo singulis concedito, peramenter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die xviii Novembris anno MDCCCXCIII, Pontificatus Nostri sextodecimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

RENEWAL OF LENTEN INDULT GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS
OF IRELAND

BMO. PADRE

Il Cardinal Logue Arciv^o. di Armagh e Primate di tutta l'Irlanda espone alla Santità Vostra, che l'indulto Quaresimale concesso a tutto l'Episcopato dell'Irlanda *ad quinquennium* il 22 Agosto 1888² non è stato finora rinnovato. Pere vitare quindi

¹ Ps. cxviii. 2.

² For Lenten Indult of 22nd Aug., 1888, see I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. ix., page 950, Oct., 1888.

grave inconvenienza supplica la Santità Vostra a volergli benigne-
mente accordare la proroga.

Ex Audientia SSñi diei 28 Jan. 1894.

SSñus D. N. Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me
infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario,
benigne adnuere dignatus est pro gratia iuxta preces ad aliud
quinquennium in forma et terminis transactae concessionis, facta
tamen declaratione quolibet anno Auctoritatis S. Sedis Apostolicae.
Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Aed. Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda
Fide die et anno ut supra.

AUG. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

IMPORTANT DECREE OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE COUNCIL
REGARDING CERTAIN ABUSES IN CONNECTION WITH THE
“ HONORARIA MISSARUM ”

DECRETUM S. C. CONCILII—QUO REPROBATUR COLLECTIO ELEEMOSY-
NARUM MISSARUM, EO CONSILIO UT COMMITTATUR CELEBRATIO
EARUMDEM SACERDOTIBUS, QUIBUS LOCO PECUNIAE, AUT LIBRI,
AUT MERCES REPENDUNTUR

Vigilanti studio convellendis eradicandisque abusibus mis-
sarum celebrationem spectantibus iugiter incubuit haec S. C.,
pluraque edidit decreta, quibus omne hac in re damnabile
lucrum removeri voluit, piisque testantium voluntates et obstric-
tam benefactoribus fidem adamussim servari religioseque custo-
diri mandavit.

Quapropter ad cohibendam pravam quorundam licentiam
qui ad ephemerides, libros aliasque merces facilius cum clero
commutanda missarum ope utebantur, nonnulla constituit, eaque,
Pio PP. IX. fel. rec. approbante, edi et Ordinariis nota fieri
curavit ut ab omnibus servarentur. Propositis namque inter alia
sequentibus dubiis :

“ I. An turpe mercimonium sapiat, ideoque improbanda et
poenis etiam ecclesiasticis, si opus fuerit, coercenda sit ab Epis-
copis eorum bibliopolarum vel mercatorum agendi ratio, qui
adhibitis publicis invitamentis et praemiis, vel alio quocumque
modo missarum eleemosynas colligunt, et sacerdotibus, quibus
cas celebrandas committunt, non pecuniam, sed libros, aliasve
merces rependunt :

“ II. An haec agendi ratio ideo cohonestari valeat, vel quia,

nulla facta imminutione, tot Missae a memoratis collectoribus celebrandae committuntur, quot collectis eleemosynis respondeant, vel quia per eam pauperibus sacerdotibus eleemosynis missarum carentibus subvenitur :

“ III. An huiusmodi eleemosynarum collationes et erogationes tunc etiam improbandae et coercendae, ut supra, sint ab Episcopis, quando lucrum, quod ex mercium cum eleemosynis permutatione hauritur, non in proprium colligentium commodum, sed in piarum institutionum et bonorum operum usum vel incrementum impenditur :

“ IV. An turpi mercimonio concurrant, ideoque improbandi atque etiam coercendi, ut supra, sint ii, qui acceptas a fidelibus vel locis piis eleemosynas missarum tradunt bibliopolis, mercatoribus, aliisque earum collectoribus, sive recipiant, sive non recipiant quidquam ab iisdem praemii nomine :

“ V. An turpi mercimonio concurrant, ideoque improbandi et coercendi, ut supra, sint ii, qui a dictis bibliopolis, et mercatoribus recipiunt pro missis celebrandis libros aliasve merces, harum pretio sive imminuto sive integro :

“ VII. An liceat Episcopis sine speciali S. Sedis venia ex eleemosynis missarum, quas fideles celebrioribus Sanctuariis tradere solent, aliquid detrahere, ut eorum decori et ornamento consulatur, quando praesertim ea propriis redditibus careant : in peculiari conventu anni 1874 S. C. resolvit :

“ Ad I. Affirmative.

“ Ad II. Negative.

“ Ad III. IV. et V. Affirmative.

“ Ad VII. Negative, nisi de consensu oblatorum.”

Sed cum postremis hisce annis constiterit, salutare huiusmodi dispositiones ignorantia aut malitia saepius neglectas fuisse et abusus hac in re valde lateque invaluisse, Eūni Patres S. C. Tridentini interpretes ac vindices, rebus omnibus in duplici generali conventu mature perpensis, officii sui esse duxerunt, quod pridem decretum erat in memoriam plenamque observantiam denuo apud omnes revocare, et opportuna insuper sanctione munire.

Praesenti itaque decreto statuunt, ut in posterum si quis ex sacerdotali ordine contra enunciata decreta deliquerit, suspensioni a divinis S. Sedi reservatae et ipso facto incurrendae obnoxius sit: clericus autem sacerdotio nondum initiatus eidem suspensioni quoad susceptos ordines similiter subiaceat, et

inhabilis praeterea fiat ad superiores ordines recipiendos : laici demum excommunicatione latae sententiae Episcopis reservata obstringantur.

Praeterea cum experientia docuerit, mala quae deplorantur ex eo potissimum originem viresque ducere, quod in quorundam privatorum manus maior missarum numerus congeritur quam iusta necessitas exigit, ideo iidem Eñni Patres, inhaerentes dispositionibus a Romanis Pontificibus, ac praesertim ab Urbano VIII. et Innocentio XIII. in const. *Cum saepe contingat*, alias datis, sub gravi obedientiae praecepto decernunt ac mandant, ut in posterum omnes et singuli ubique locorum beneficiati et administratores piarum causarum aut utcumque ad missarum onera implenda obligati, sive ecclesiastici sive laici, in fine cuiuslibet anni missarum onera, quae reliqua sunt, et quibus nondum satisfecerint, propriis Ordinariis tradant iuxta modum ab iis definiendum. Ordinarii autem acceptas missarum intentiones cum adnexo stipendio, primo distribuent inter sacerdotes sibi subiectos, qui eis indigere noverint : alias deinde aut S. Sedi, aut aliis Ordinariis committent, aut etiam, si velint, sacerdotibus aliarum dioeceseon, dummodo sibi noti sint, omnique exceptione maiores, et legitima documenta edant inter praefixum congruum tempus, quibus de exacta earundem satisfactione constet.

Denique, revocatis quibuscumque indultis et privilegiis usque nunc concessis, quae praesentis decreti dispositionibus utcumque adversentur, S. Congregatio curae et officio singulorum Ordinariorum committit, ut praesens decretum omnibus ecclesiasticis suae iurisdictioni subiectis, aliisque quorum ex praescriptis interest notum sollicitè faciant, ne quis in posterum ignorantiam allegare, aut ab huius decreti observantia se excusare quomolibet possit : et insuper ut sive in sacra Visitatione sive extra sedulo vigilent, ne abusus hac in re iterum inoleant.

Facta autem de his omnibus relatione SSmo. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII. per infrascriptum S. Congregationis Praefectum, Sanctitas Sua hoc Eñnorum Patrum decretum ratum habuit confirmavit atque edi mandavit, contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae die 25 Maii 1893.

ALOYSIUS CARD., Episcopus Sabinensis, *Praefectus*,
L. SALVATI, *Secretarius*.

CATALOGUE OF PRIMARY AND SECONDARY FEASTS

DECRETUM GENERALE

Iuxta Decretum diei 2 Iulii nuper elapsi, quum a me infra-scripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto, et Relatore in Ordinariis Comitibus, subsignata die ad Vaticanum coadunatis, proposita fuerit approbanda Catalogus Festorum, quae uti *primaria* vel *secundaria* retinenda sunt; Eñi et Rñi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, audito voce et scripto R. P. D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore, ita rescribere rati sunt: **AFFIRMATIVE**; *evecto ad ritum Duplicis Maioris, in Calendario universali, festo Dedicationis Basilicae Ssmi. Salvatoris, si Sanctissimo placuerit. Catalogus vero ita se habeat :*

FESTA PRIMARIA

IN CALENDARIO UNIVERSALI

§ I. *Duplicia Primae Classis*

- Nativitas Domini.
- Epiphania Domini.
- Pascha Resurrectionis.
- Ascensio Domini.
- Pentecostes.
- Festum Corporis Christi.
- Assumptio, et Immaculata Conceptio B. M. V.
- Nativitas S. Ioannis Baptistae.
- Festum S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V.
- Festum Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.
- Festum Omnium Sanctorum.
- Dedicatio propriae Ecclesiae.
- Patronus, vel Titulus Ecclesiae.
- Patronus Principalis Regionis, vel Dioecesis, aut loci.

§ II. *Duplicia Secundae Classis*

- Circumcisio Domini.
- Festum Ssmiae Trinitatis.
- Purificatio B. Mariae V.
- Annuntiatio B. Mariae V.
- Visitatio B. Mariae V.
- Nativitas B. Mariae V.
- Dedicatio S. Michaelis Archangeli.
- Natalitia Undecim Apostolorum.

Festa Evangelistarum.
 Festum S. Stephani Protomartyris.
 Festum Ss. Innocentium Martyrum.
 Festum S. Laurentii Martyris.
 Festum S. Annae, Matris B. M. V.
 Festum S. Ioachim, Patris B. M. V.

§ III. *Duplicia Maiora per Annum*

Transfiguratio Domini.
 Dedicatio Basilicae Ss̄ni Salvatoris.
 Dedicatio S. Mariae ad Nives.
 Festum Ss. Angelorum Custodum.
 Dedicatio Basilicarum Ss. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum.
 Festum S. Barnabae.
 Festum S. Benedicti Abb.
 Festum S. Dominici C.
 Festum S. Francisci C.
 Festum Patronorum minus Principalium.

§ IV. *Alia duplicia per Annum*

Dies Natalitia, vel quasi Natalitia uniuscuiusque Sancti.

PRO ALIQUIBUS LOCIS

S. Gabrielis Archangeli.
 S. Raphaelis Archangeli.
 Dies Natalitia, vel quasi Natalitia uniuscuiusque Sancti.
 Commemoratio Sanctorum, quorum Corpora, vel Reliquiae in
 Ecclesiis Dioecescos asservantur.

FESTA SECUNDARIA

IN CALENDARIO UNIVERSALI

§ I. *Duplicia Primae Classis*

Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu.

§ II. *Duplicia Secundae Classis*

Festum S̄nsi Nominis Iesu.
 Festum Inventionis S. Crucis.
 Festum Pretiosissimi Sanguinis D. N. I. C.
 Solemnitas Ss̄ni Rosarii B. M. V.
 Festum Patrocini S. Ioseph.

Documents.

§ III. *Duplicia Maiora*

Exaltatio S. Crucis.

Duo festa Septem Dolorum B. M. V.

Commemoratio B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo.

Festum Ssmi. Nominis B. M. V.

Festum de Mercede B. M. V.

Praesentatio B. M. V.

Apparitio S. Michaelis Archangeli.

Decollatio S. Ioannis Baptistae.

Cathedra S. Petri Ap., utraque.

Festum eiusdem ad Vincula.

Conversio, et Commemoratio S. Pauli Ap.

Festum S. Ioannis ante portam Latinam.

PRO ALIQUIBUS LOCIS

Officia Mysteriorum et Instrumentorum Passionis D. N. I. C.
Ssmi Redemptoris.

Sanctae Familiae Iesu, Mariae, Ioseph.

Ssmi Cordis Mariae.

Desponsationis, Maternitatis, Puritatis, Patrocinii B. M. V.

Translationis Almae Domus B. M. V.

Expectationis Partus B. M. V.

B. M. V. Auxilium Christianorum.

Prodigiorum B. M. V.

Apparitionis B. M. V. Immaculatae.

Commemoratio Omnium Ss. Summorum Pontificum.

Item alia quaecumque festa sive Domini, sive B. M. V. sub aliquo peculiari titulo, sive Sanctorum, praeter eorundem natalem diem, uti Inventionis Corporum, Translationis, Receptionis, et hisce Patrocinii, similia.

Die 22 Augusti 1893.

Facta postmodum Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. de his omnibus relatione per me ipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem Praefectum, Sanctitas Sua duplicem Catalogum, prouti superius exstat, approbavit ac vulgari praecepit; elevato ad ritum duplicem maiorem, una cum festo Dedicationis Basilicae Ssmi Salvatoris, festo etiam Dedicationis Basilicarum Ssmi Petri et Pauli Apostolorum. Die 27, iisdem mense et anno.

CAIETANUS Card. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S. R. C. Praef.*

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

NEW MASS AND OFFICE OF THE HOLY FAMILY—TO BE
GRANTED ON THE APPLICATION OF INDIVIDUAL BISHOPS

ANIMADVERSIONES.

1. Novum de Sancta I. M. et I. Familia officium cum Missa concinnatum et approbatum est.

2. Officium istud non est praeceptivum, sed iis conceditur Dioecesibus, religiosisque Familiis, pro quibus Episcopi Ordinarii, vel Praepositi, illud a S. R. Congregatione postulaverint: uti Eñus Vicarius iam petiit pro Urbe ac suburbicaria Dioecesi Albanensi, illi commissa.

3. Utpote Dominicae affixum et non universale, Officium de Sancta Familia iure translationis per se destituitur. Cum nihilominus nonnullae Dioeceses officia Dominicis vel Feriis affixa transferendi privilegium in genere possideant, hinc et IX lectio posita est, quae Homiliae Dominicae sufficietur, si transferatur. Idem translationis privilegium, si petitum, obtineri facile poterit.

4. Festum huiusmodi secundarium est, ut tam in Occursu quam in Concursu, cedere debeat festo alii primario personalis dignitatis inferioris, si ambo eiusdem ritus, iuxta Generale Decretum d. d. 27 Iul. 1893.

5. Anno proximo 1893, Dominica III post Epiphaniam incidit in Septuagesimam. Uti per evulgandum Decretum palam fiet, praefata Dominica pro hac tantum vice, quamvis festo S. P. praevaleat per se, nihilominus ad ritum simplicem redigetur, vel penitus omittatur, vel idem festum, primo celebrandum translationem patiat. Haec sint satus.

Notices of Books

- LOGICA IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Carolo Frick, S.J. Cum approbatione Rev. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi Brisgoviae Sumptibus Herder.
- PHILOSOPHIA MORALIS IN USUM SCHOLARUM. Auctore Victore Cathrein, S.J. Cum approbatione Rev. Archiep. Friburg. Friburgi Brisgoviae Sumptibus Herder.
- MANUDUCTIO AD SCHOLASTICAM MAXIME VERO THOMISTICAM PHILOSOPHIAM. Auctore A. Dupeyrat, P.S.S. Editio Quarta. Tomus Secundus, complectens Cosmologiam Specialem. Anthropologiam, Theologiam Naturalem et Ethicam. Parisiis Apud Victorem Lecoffre.
- DEFINITIONES PHILOSOPHIAE UNIVERSALIS. Quas conscripsit. H. Parkinson, S.T.D. Collegio Oscot (apud Birmingham) Philosophiae Prof.

FATHER FRICK'S *Logic*, and Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy*, are respectively the first and last volumes of a course of philosophy, which some Jesuits of the German province promise to complete in six small volumes. If the two that have already appeared be representative of the series, we may even now congratulate the learned Jesuits on the success of their undertaking. Both are rather small volumes—*Logic*, two hundred and ninety-six pages, *Moral Philosophy* three hundred and ninety-six pages—and yet scarcely anything of importance in either subject is omitted or overlooked; nay, even the more important matters are treated with a fulness and clearness rarely met with in the larger and more portentous treatises of philosophy.

In the *Logic*, the description and scope of Logic is fully set forth: the various divisions of ideas, terms, judgments, &c., are clearly defined. The predicables are well explained, but a slightly fuller treatment would be desirable, especially for the sake of those who may have to study Logic privately. The method of explaining the moods and figures, by using the recognised symbols for the terms of the syllogism, has the advantage of enabling the student to see the whole array at a glance, so that the memory of the eye may be utilised. There is here, however, one mistake, or perhaps oversight; the moods given for the fourth figure are not

the moods of the fourth, but of the indirect first. With the exception of this and of the treatment of Induction, which is rather meagre, there is nothing in the Formal Logic that requires amendment or enlargement.

The *Material Logic* deserves still higher praise. In it we find a full and intelligible exposition of the foundations of the various false systems of philosophy, as well as convincing arguments against them, and formal answers to their strongest objections. On reading this portion of the *Logic*, one is particularly struck by the space devoted to the exposition of the false systems. For example, fourteen pages are given to the exposition and refutation of Kant's system (seven to exposition, and seven to refutation). In the fourteen pages we have the system explained and refuted in a masterly style to be expected only from one who is thoroughly acquainted with the language and writings of the Philosopher of Königsberg. The most recent developments of thought—even in these countries—are fairly criticised. We notice, too, with pleasure, that Father Frick draws a clear distinction between evidence and the other so-called criteria. Objective evidence is called the universal criteria; the others are not called criteria or tests of truth, but *foutes certitudinis*. The objectivity of our ideas and our knowledge is also well defended. On the whole, the *Logic*—Formal and Material—is concise, clear, thorough, and much superior to the ordinary hand-books of scholastic philosophy.

The *Moral Philosophy* of Father Cathrein is also clear and concise, and its thoroughness will be evident from a glance at the table of contents. The passions, and also virtues and vices, are treated at considerable length; the standard of morality, as well as the sources of morality, are well treated, and the immutability, universality, and sanction of the natural law are well explained and defended. When dealing with conscience the various systems are explained, and probabilism alone defended. In making the selection, however, the author seems to have drawn somewhat from Theology.

The second portion of the volume—Ethics—is specially interesting. The various questions of the hour that are in any way connected with Ethics, are examined. The various kinds of communism and socialism are criticised—land nationalization, under the name of *agrarian socialism*, is specially refuted; the origin of ownership, and of civil authority, is dealt with;

the rights and duties of Church and State, and the rights of the Church in mixed or doubtful matters, not provided for by Concordat, are set forth; the rights and duties of the State regarding education and schools; liberty of conscience, and even the various forms of government are carefully examined. Even the claims of women to the franchise are discussed. The last chapter, on international law, treaties, &c., ends with the author's wish for a federation of nations, the Pope being the "*praeses natus*" of the federation.

Like Father Frick's *Logic*, Father Cathrein's *Moral Philosophy* is admirably suited for the purpose for which it is intended, namely, to serve as a class-book. The student who has mastered its teachings can undertake an examination of the various political and social questions and problems undeterred by the fear of embracing conclusions forbidden by Christian ethics.

The second volume of the *Manuductio* is intended, as the name implies, to lead the young student of philosophy through Cosmology, Anthropology, Natural Theology, and Ethics. The style and manner in which even the most intricate questions are touched really make the *Manuductio* deserve its title. The number of subjects comprised in one volume is so great that most questions must necessarily be treated briefly. The brevity does not, however, interfere with simplicity and clearness. Of course some questions are omitted, but far fewer than one would expect from the size of the volume and the range of subjects. The matters of dispute between the Christian schools of philosophy are treated almost exclusively from the Thomistic point of view. The *Scientia Media* is rejected almost without explanation, and the arguments against physical predetermination are not very well urged. This, however, does not prove that the author is disingenuous, for throughout the volume he is generally content with proving his theses positively; the size of the volume would not allow him to formally rebut objections. Anthropology is divided into three parts:—*Dynamilogia*, *Psychologia*, and *De Composito Humano*—and as an appendix after *Dynamilogia* we have *Criteriologia*. The usual order where Criteriology is portion of Logic appears to be much preferable. At the end of Natural Theology the author has three appendices on Atheism, Polytheism, and Pantheism; and at the end of Ethics one on Liberalism, which are very useful.

On the whole, the truths of Christian Philosophy are briefly

and simply stated, and satisfactorily proved. The principles for the solution of objections are also in most cases given. To the student who has not time or desire to study the larger treatises, the *Manuductio* will supply a sound, yet simple, exposition of the philosophy of St. Thomas.

The last book mentioned above, *Definitiones Philosophiæ Universalis*, is a sort of philosophical dictionary compiled by Dr. Parkinson, Professor of Philosophy in Oseott. Every term that occurs in the whole course of philosophy is defined, and at the end the distinctions commonly found in philosophy are explained. From his experience as professor the author has learned that it is of the greatest advantage to students of philosophy to have simple and accurate definitions; and to supply them with such definitions in a convenient form is the object of this publication. We are sure that this list of definitions and distinctions will be of use to students, especially when revising before examination; and the index at the end makes the volume more useful still.

In the matter of definition, strict originality could not be expected; but Dr. Parkinson's definitions are not less original than those found in any hand-book of philosophy. About twenty are borrowed from Father Palmieri, S.J., and some others from Fathers De Melis and Lahousse, S.J. To explain some proofs of Lahousse, Dr. Parkinson adds some definitions of biological terms. It could be scarcely expected either, that of the one thousand and twenty-nine definitions given by Dr. Parkinson every one should please every reader. Some few appear to be incomplete; but we are sure that the Professor's explanation would show that they are quite adequate. Some are mere descriptions; but that is absolutely necessary, seeing that the simplest things are defined. In two or three the definition gives an attribute or mark of the thing to be defined rather than the strict definition. All this could not easily be avoided; but it would, we think, be of considerable advantage to students if, by the use of different kinds of type, or otherwise, the kind of definition given were indicated. We should suggest, moreover, that in many cases the addition of a short explanation would be extremely useful.

Judging from the present little volume, we are confident that the *Adjumenta Philosophorum*, which Dr. Parkinson promises, will be a very useful and valuable work.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST. By Rev. A. J. Maas, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College, M.D. Germany: B. Herder, Frieburg, Baden.

THE book before us is a second edition of the now celebrated *Life of Christ*, by Father Maas. Its object is to give a consecutive life of our Lord in the words of the inspired writers, together with an explanation of the difficulties of the text.

The work is divided into four parts. The first treats of the birth and infancy of our Lord; the second of His public life; the third of His Passion and Death; and the fourth of His Resurrection and Ascension. To these parts is prefixed an Introductory Dissertation, in which Father Maas explains the relations between the four Gospels, and proves the authenticity of each. Throughout the work we have an immense store of knowledge, gleaned from history and theology, as well as from the mere exegetical explanation of the text. The maps and engravings contained in the book form an important feature of the work. These are:—"Palestine at the time of Christ;" "Journeys of Jesus in His Public Life;" "Herodian Temple according to Josephus;" and many others of almost equal interest, which serve as an easy mode of impressing many things on the mind that should otherwise be difficult of explanation. The commentary is remarkable for its logical order, and consequent clearness. It is particularly useful for those who wish to study the Sacred Scriptures, but who cannot devote much time to the perusal of the many sources from which biblical knowledge must be gathered. This is true of those ecclesiastics in particular, whose lives are spent in the work of the ministry. In this book they will find, collected from many quarters, the speculative knowledge with which the story of the Gospel is connected; and they cannot read it without great benefit to themselves and their flocks.

While allowing this work its due meed of praise for its many good qualities, we regret that its chronology does not reach the high standard that is expected from so learned an author. In fact, Father Maas seems to have had no definite system of chronology before his mind. In the Introductory Dissertation he seems inclined to think 749 A.U.C. the most probable year of our Lord's birth, and 782 the year of his death; and, following this opinion, he allows, in the course of the work, thirty-two and a-quarter years for His life. While believing it certain

that 782 is the year of our Lord's death, we think 747 or 748 more probable than 749 as the date of His birth. Now, Father Maas allows 747 as the first probable year of our Lord's birth; still he holds it probable that 746 A.U.C. is the date of the census mentioned in Luke ii., thus introducing a contradiction of three years with his own opinion, and of one year with his first probable year of Christ's birth. Again, in the body of his work, he holds that the fifteenth year of Tiberius was 780 A.U.C., in the middle of which St. John began to preach. Here we have two or three contradictions—(a) He holds that our Lord was baptized in the following January; *i.e.*, January, 781. Now, Christ died in 782; and, therefore, in this place, Father Maas allows only a year and three months for the public life of Christ. (b) In the Introduction he is inclined to make January, 779, the date of our Lord's baptism, and, therefore, the summer of 778 the fifteenth year of Tiberius; while here the years are 781 and 780 respectively. (c) Father Maas makes Tiberius begin to reign in January, 765, while he makes the summer of 780 belong to his fifteenth year; whereas, according to this calculation, it belongs to his sixteenth year. We consider it in accordance with the words of Velleius and Suetonius that Tiberius began to reign towards the end of 764. This makes his fifteenth year to be 778, places Christ's baptism in January, 779, and allows over three years for His public life.

Though we draw the attention of our readers to these mistakes, we do not wish to seem on that account to detract from the substantial value of the work of Father Maas; for in a book having an object such as it has, chronology is a very secondary thing. We can therefore recommend the work to our readers as one replete with biblical information.

J. M. H.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICA GENERALIS. Auctore G. David, Societatis Mariæ Presbytero. Lugdum ex Typis Emmanuelis Vitte, 30 Via Condé. 1893.

General Dogmatic Theology treats of "The True Religion," the "Divinity and Constitution of the Church," and "Locis Theologici." These lay the foundation for the discussion of the many particular questions that go to build up the large edifice of dogmatic theology. For this reason they belong to General dogmatic theology. Father David in his treatise on this subject prefixes a little tract on the nature and divisions of theology.

The importance of a work of this nature can be seen from the many interesting questions that arise in the course of its treatment. Ever since the Reformation, when private judgment was set up as the sole rule of faith, there has been a tendency among misguided men to bring the Church under their sway. Some have so used their private judgment as to reject all religion, or, which comes to the same thing, to set up for themselves a religion the object of which is the culture of humanity, or some other creature instead of the Creator. Others, while admitting that some religion must be held by the individual, think that he can embrace whatever religion he chooses. A third class admit that the true religion must be held, but they maintain that the Church is subject to the State even in spiritual matters. Others again proclaim the total separation of Church and State; so that the State has sole and supreme power in the temporal, while the Church has sole and supreme power in the spiritual order. These are the main, though by no means the only, errors about the true religion and the constitution of the Church that now-a-days fill the periodicals of the English-speaking world. Against these and other doctrinal errors of a similar kind the work of Father David is directed, and in the treatment of this subject very many interesting and useful discussions arise. The claims of the Church in the education of its children; its rights in temporal matters generally, and in particular to the Papal sovereignty and Papal power over nations; the authenticity of the Sacred Scriptures; the nature of inspiration, and a host of such questions, are discussed with clear and logical reasoning.

Father David has with much success performed the task which he has undertaken. His order and method leave little to be desired. First there is a short and intelligible explanation of Catholic doctrine; next come the important objections of adversaries; then follows the proof of Catholic doctrine, and finally the objection of opponents are answered. This is the method of St. Thomas, and it is one that is calculated to give the reader a lively interest in the subject before him. Another admirable quality of the work is its simplicity of style. This renders it especially useful for students who are reading for the first time their theological course. The reader is also struck by the appropriate extracts from Papal encyclicals, the writings of the fathers, and the councils of the Church, that pervade the whole treatise, and that on the constitution of the Church in particular.

These and many other good qualities in a work entitle us to predict for it a successful future. Preachers will find in it a rich store of useful information for their sermons. Students in the early days of their theological studies will be attracted by its simplicity. Even learned theologians can consult it with profit. To all who have a love for the study of dogmatic theology, we recommend it as a useful addition to their libraries.

J. M. H.

ÉTUDE HISTORIQUE ET RELIGIEUSE SUR LE COMTÉ DE
SUSSEX EN ANGLETERRE. West Grimstead et Les
Caryll. Par Max de Tranqualeón.

NOW-A-DAYS, whilst the Catholic Church in England is daily drawing to its fold so many and such distinguished converts, the present work is especially welcome. The author purposes to tell the story of the introduction of Christianity into Sussex, and to trace its subsequent history down to our own times. He deals with the labours of St. Wilfrid amongst the wild tribes by the sea-board, and his complete overthrow of this last stronghold of paganism. The good work was continued by St. Cuthman and others, and the salutary influences of religion were everywhere felt amongst the South Saxons, while the country still owned the allegiance of a Saxon king. Then came the Norman Invasion. The conquerors coming from a land thoroughly Catholic, studded with churches and convents, lost none of their love for religion in their new home. Religious orders sprang up everywhere. The writer treats of the monasteries of Steyning, Sele, and Boxgrove, follows the chequered career of the Templars, and sets forth the varied services of the monks in educating by word and deed the peasantry amongst whom they lived.

The rest of the work is occupied with the history of the O'Carroll family—Irish as the name imports—who came into prominence in the fifteenth century, and around whom, in their home at West Grimstead, the account of Catholicism in that region is entwined. During the many persecutions of Henry and his successors, they adhered firmly to the old faith. The family reckons many illustrious members—all staunch Catholics. The hunted priest found a hospitable asylum in their home; the faithful heard Mass in West Grimstead, and their spiritual wants were ministered to in spite of the vigilance of the oppressors.

The work indicates a great amount of research. It is written in clear and easy French. The author does not content himself

with a mere bald narrative of the facts of ecclesiastical history, but supplements his work with varied narratives of current events. He is, however, too diffuse in his treatment of the O'Carroll family, and the second volume of his work can hardly command, on that account, the great interest awakened by the first.

D. O'C.

CATHOLIC SCIENCE AND CATHOLIC SCIENTISTS. By Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C., Professor of Physics in the University of Notre Dame. Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co.

THE object of this little book is to set forth in a brief compass the relations of the Catholic Church to science. The dogmas of the Church have always been a guide to the intellectual world in its search for truth. Its genuine love of knowledge has produced the best-known masters of science. Under its protection the great universities of the world came into being. There is scarcely any branch of science that has not been richly adorned by the learning of some of its members. On the other hand, the enemies of the Church have, as a rule, been also the enemies of science. Many of them in former days openly scorned the name of science. Even those of them who now uphold what they are pleased to call "modern science," add but little new information to the general stock of human knowledge. Their hypotheses are only the rejected errors of past centuries, dressed, it is true, in the confusing language of modern theorists, but in substance still the same. These are the facts of which Father Zahm gives ample proof in the volume before us. In four lectures he treats this subject with reasonable fulness. The work is written in an attractive style. For the ordinary reader it is of special value, as it sets forth, in clear and elegant diction, a subject whose greatest difficulty is often obscurity of language. We can commend the little book of Father Zahm as a useful popular addition to the controversial literature of our time.

J. M. H.

THE IRISH CISTERCIANS: PAST AND PRESENT. An Historical Sketch. Dublin: Dollard. 1893.

THIS is an admirable account of the Cistercian foundations in Ireland, past and present. It gives full details about the recent establishments of Mount Mellary and Mount St. Joseph's, Roscrea. What would we not give to have such a full and circumstantial account of the great monasteries of old with which our island was studded! The author of this work has given an admirable example to those who are intimately acquainted with

the origin and progress of important private institutions, and who are in a position to consign their knowledge to records which cannot be lost. General history is made up to a great extent of important local events, and we have no doubt that many future historians of Ireland will feel deeply indebted to the author of this short sketch or history of the Cistercian monasteries of this country. The work begins with a short account of the rise and decay of the great Benedictine Order, of the foundation by Robert of Molesme, St. Alberic, and St. Stephen Harding, of the new Order of Cîteaux, and of the accession to its ranks of St. Bernard and his companions. The relations between St. Malachy and St. Bernard are briefly described, and an interesting account is given of the foundation, growth, and destruction of Mellifont, which the author believes to have been the first house of the Order in Ireland. He tells us how the monks of the Order always selected valleys for the site of their monasteries, and built on the right banks of the rivers. "Benedict loved the hills, Bernard the valleys, Francis the towns, and Ignatius the large cities." Some account is also given of the other famous abbeys of the Order, and of their most illustrious sons. Thus Holy Cross, Boyle, Knockinoy, Assaroe or Ballyshannon, Kilbeggan, Newry, Tintern, Graignamanagh, Monasterevan, get their share of attention. Then comes the struggle of the Reformation, the suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of the manuscripts, the penal laws, the horrors of persecution, the resistance.

But by far the most interesting part of the work is that which tells of the expulsion of the Trappists from France during the great revolution, their vicissitudes in Switzerland, Russia, England, and Ireland; the negotiations for a house in this country; the final settlement at Mount Melleray; and the branches or filiations of that great establishment in Leicestershire in England, in Dubuque in the United States, and at Mount St. Joseph's, near Roscrea, in the County Tipperary. All this is full of interest, and is well related. The work concludes with a description of the life of the Cistercian monks, the routine of night and day, their various occupations in the choir, in the school, in the workshop, in the house, in the fields. The little volume is handsomely illustrated with sketches of the different houses of the Order. From whatever point of view we regard it, it is a useful publication, and our gratitude is due to the learned author, who, with characteristic Cistercian modesty, conceals his name.

J. F. H.

BAPTISM.

DANGERS OF THE AGE, AND THE REMEDY. Fourth Edition.

LAST SACRAMENTS AND PURGATORY. Eighth Edition.

By a Missionary Priest. Dublin: Duffy & Co.,
15, Wellington-quay.

THESE three little books do their part towards the instruction of the faithful in matters of the highest import. From the cradle to the grave, the life of man is beset with many spiritual dangers. First there is danger lest the newly-born infant die before it is cleansed in the healing waters of baptism. The days of youth and early manhood are surrounded by dangers arising from bad literature, disobedience to superiors, and intemperance. The great danger of the dying man is that the Last Sacraments be not administered to him, and that his friends pray not God to relieve him from the pains of Purgatory when he dies. These little volumes teach the faithful the means of avoiding these great dangers. The "Last Sacraments and Purgatory" contains a number of beautiful indulgenced prayers and ejaculations which in the word of his Grace the Archbishop of Ephesus, in his congratulatory letter written from Rome to the author, "cannot fail to nourish a spirit of true Catholic piety in the hearts of those who shall make a frequent use of these precious little books."

We hope that the pious author of these little books will persevere in the good work which he has so well begun. We are confident that he will do so, now that the Holy Father has graciously sent him, through Archbishop Kirby, His Apostolic Benediction for himself and his very useful labours. Encouragement like this will help a zealous priest to continue a work so beneficial to the souls of the people.

J. M. H.

GUIDE TO THE ORATORY, SOUTH KENSINGTON. With Explanations and Plates. By the Rev. Henry Sebastian Bowden, Priest of the Oratory. London: Burns & Oates.

FATHER BOWDEN has done a useful and timely work in recording in such handsome and accurate form the origin and foundation of his beautiful church of the Oratory, and consigning to so safe a storehouse the plans of its walls, its sanctuary and its chapels, and the innumerable details of its ornamentation. His work may, indeed, be used as a visitor's guide; but it is something far more. Before the church passes into the domain

of archæology it was well that no mistake should be allowed to exist as to the idea that underlies every item of its decoration. And this will be more useful, we imagine, to members of the household than to strangers. They will have imposed on them the by no means simple task of maintaining and keeping in repair the work which the faith of our time has so laboriously and lovingly created, and it will be essential to them to have an accurate knowledge of every cornice and fresco and symbol in the whole building. That is exactly what Father Bowden's work gives them. He tells us how the church was modelled on the Church of St. Philip Neri, in Rome, a fact which strikes anyone at first sight who has seen the original near St. Peter's; how the foundation was laid in 1880, and how it was consecrated in 1884. Then follows a full description of the interior and of every object in it. It leaves nothing unexplained. The work is a model which should be followed by all those who have a monument of similar importance to describe.

J. F. H.

PLAIN PRACTICAL SERMONS. By Rev. John A. Sheppard, A.M.
New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet & Co. 1893.

FATHER SHEPPARD'S work contains forty-four Sermons of average length. Its title gives in a general way a very fair idea not only of the subject-matter of the Sermons, but also of the character of their treatment. It would be difficult to single out of the whole collection even one sermon whose matter is not of practical importance, and it would be still more difficult to point out even a single sermon whose treatment is not all that a missionary priest could desire. For the Sermons, though the language is throughout plain and simple, are remarkable for a style always dignified, and, in very many places, really eloquent, for a clear and precise exposition of points of doctrine, and for the forcible manner in which the arguments are put. With good reason, therefore, do we express a hope that Father Sheppard's Sermons may become popular, especially among young missionary priests, for whom they might serve as models of plain, practical sermons.

J. F.

THE HISTORY OF THE PASSION. By Rev. A Devine.
Burns & Oates.

THE intelligent laity, and biblical students who lack either time or inclination to consult the more learned commentaries,

will find Father Devine's work an excellent hand-book to the study of the Passion. Clear in style and arrangement, it gives the reader a connected, well-defined view of the incidents narrated by the different Evangelists. In his harmony Father Devine follows the authority of a member of his own order, Rev. Fr. Seraphim; but in the selection of his other sources of information, he has been most Catholic, utilizing the work of the best commentators, ancient and modern. His explanations of the various difficulties in the sacred text are, generally, clear and accurate, though in some instances—notably his explanation of the different versions of St. Peter's denial—rather meagre. His descriptions of the various places, and the accounts of the various Jewish rites and institutions mentioned in the Gospel story, are full and interesting. The chapters on the Last Seven Words, the Dolours of our Blessed Lady, and the *Via Crucis*, considerably enhance the devotional value of the book, which—though its chief value is exegetical—will supply pious Catholics with most suitable Lenten reading.

P. J. B.

PILATE'S WIFE: A TALE OF THE TIME OF CHRIST. By Richard T. Haywarden. Burns & Oates: London.

THIS little volume is an interesting contribution to the store of legend that has gathered round the story of the passion of Christ. It tells how Portia, the wife of Pontius Pilate, and Salome, a noble Jewish maiden, whom Mr. Haywarden identifies with Veronica, learned to believe in Jesus during His passion, and how, in after years, they sealed their faith in Him with their blood. The story is written in a graceful, though sometimes rather pretentious style, and will afford a few hours' pleasant reading.

P. J. B.

A DAY IN THE TEMPLE. By A. J. Maas, S.J., Professor of Oriental Languages in Woodstock College. Freiburg (Baden), Germany: B. Hender. 1892.

THIS little book, by the author of the *Life of Christ*, describes the daily service of the temple at the time of Christ, interweaving the description in a short story, of which the chief characters are Zachary, John the Baptist's father, and Samuel, who is said to have ministered in Zachary's place when he became miraculously dumb. It contains highly interesting and recondite information

on the laws and customs that governed both priests and worshippers in the temple, and should be very pleasant and useful reading for the diligent student of Scripture. He will find here, gathered together in a connected narrative, those bits and scraps of information regarding temple usages, which are scattered here and there in the commentaries. We should suggest, however, the insertion in the next edition of plates of the temple buildings, courts, porticoes, &c.

P. M.

THE GAELIC JOURNAL, No. 48.

WITH this issue, No. 48, *The Gaelic Journal* begins a new series. For years past it has done splendid work in rescuing from oblivion much of the rich vocabulary and racy idiom of the spoken language, and its value was fully known to the foreign scholars who were, to a great extent, its supporters. Since the *Journal* came into the hands of its present editor, it has been very much improved in every way. Being the only publication in Ireland devoted to the study of the native language and literature, it deserves the support of everyone who feels the slightest interest in that language which was for thousands of years the tongue of our ancestors, and of that literature which is the envy of European scholars. In the present issue will be found a very novel feature—the commencement of a series of lessons through which Father O'Growney proposes to teach not only the construction and idiom of the native tongue, but also the pronunciation. The attempt, so far, is a signal success. The phonetic system adopted in the lessons was drawn up with the assistance of the Archbishop of Dublin, and is extremely simple and attractive. We have no doubt that the lessons, in their now improved and permanent form, will be even more fruitful of good results than when they first appeared in a weekly journal.

The conductors of the *Gaelic Journal* deserve the support of every consistent Irishman, and we have great pleasure in cordially recommending the *Journal* to our readers. It may be procured through the booksellers, or directly from Father O'Growney, Maynooth College, price sixpence per copy, or six shillings annually.

S. P. H.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

APRIL, 1894

ART AND LITERATURE AT ST. GALL

THERE are amongst the ancient treasures of the library of St. Gall several specimens of the early art of this country which are authenticated by Celtic inscriptions and which, even without such a confirmation of their origin, could not be mistaken by anyone having the slightest acquaintance with the artistic productions of our early monasteries. The fact of such perfect specimens of miniature painting and illumination, executed by Irish hands, having been preserved in the famous library, has served to make clear to continental archaeologists and artists the claim of Ireland to other works which were long regarded as the wonders of early Anglo-Saxon art, but whose Irish origin is now universally admitted. The *Gospel Book of St. Willibrord*, in the National Library of Paris, and the *Book of St. Cuthbert*, in the British Museum, to mention only two, have excited the admiration and wonder of countless artists, and of writers interested in the history of the development of painting who found it impossible to fill in the space that separates the inimitable pictures in these works from the first beginnings of miniature painting in Italy, in the days of Oderigi d'Agobbio, Franco Bolognese and Cimabue. Some Anglo-Saxon inscriptions on the leaves and covers of these treasures led the world to believe that the ornamentation and painting of them were purely English. But a comparison of the works themselves

with those to be found in the St. Gall manuscripts on the one hand, and with the oldest specimens of our Irish decorated books on the other, has clearly shown not only that all these samples of art belong to the same school, but that they were, in all probability, executed exclusively by Irish hands. How this conclusion forced itself on critics so deeply versed in the historical study of artistic development as Waagen and Keller, we shall allow themselves to relate. Meanwhile it may not prove uninteresting to examine how the Irish acquired such extraordinary skill in this particular branch of artistic work, at such an early date, and such a perfect command of the technicality and principles of its execution. The most perfect specimen of it which we still possess is to be found in the *Book of Kells*, which is so well known that we need not dwell upon its beauty and perfection here.

Owing to the presence, in different parts of these countries, of carved stones bearing Runic inscriptions, and elaborately ornamented with the same designs as the manuscripts, some writers were led to the belief that the decorated works of the latter are of Scandinavian origin. This idea is now, however, regarded as a complete fallacy. The Danes and Norwegians did not visit these islands until long after our native arts had been brought to perfection, whereas, on the other hand, it was from England and Ireland, and at a comparatively late period, that Christianity was introduced into Scandinavia itself.

“Moreover [writes Westwood], it is to be observed, that although the numerous ornamental stones of Scandinavia exhibit interlaced ribbons, often terminating in the heads of lacertine animals, and interlaced patterns prevail, to a great extent, in the carved wood-work of the earliest Swedish churches, we never meet with the more characteristic Hiberno-Saxon ornaments; viz., the Z pattern, or the special spiral ornament. Of spiral patterns, indeed, many instances are given in the plates of the great Danish collection of antiquities at Copenhagen, both of the bronze and iron ages, published by Worsaae; but it will at once be observed that in all these the whorls are consecutive and of equal size, connected together like the letter ω ; whereas in all the most characteristic of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon works the spirals are *not* consecutive, but extend over wider surfaces, so as to

form diapers ; that the whorls are invariably of different sizes ; and that the spires are connected together by being arranged like the letter C"¹

Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in his important work on the early Irish manuscripts, which are still extant in the libraries of Switzerland,² gives it as his opinion that the Irish art of painting and illumination had its origin in Egypt :--

“ Such, is the perfection [he writes] of the art which these early productions disclose, and so different are they in conception and system from all ancient classic works, that we are naturally led to inquire what is the origin of this uncommon style of painting, and to what period or date it must be ascribed. When we remark the uniform character of this peculiar Irish imagery, whether in the representation of natural beings or fantastic animals, such as it occurs and repeats itself in the numerous early manuscripts of the country, and examine in detail, the minute characteristics which it invariably displays, it is impossible to deny that we have here a clear and definitely marked style, which must have been cultivated and developed for several centuries in the same spirit, aiming at the same ideal, and executed on a plan from which no artist dare depart. It is also particularly important to observe that the earliest samples that have come down to us are far more perfect than the later ones which show manifest signs of the decay of the art. The whole system of decoration appears in Ireland quite suddenly, without any apparent preparation or past, or traces of gradual development. As O'Donovan has shown, the period that elapsed between the introduction of Christianity and the appearance of such works as the *Book of Kells*, would be altogether too short to account for the invention of the art and its development to such a high degree of perfection. And, as the spirit and character of the work are altogether foreign to Northern Europe, we must look elsewhere if we wish to discover the land of its origin and early cultivation. There are many circumstances bearing on this problem which induce us to turn to the East, and particularly to Egypt, rather than elsewhere, in search of what we require. It is a fact that the text of those ecclesiastical books which were most richly decorated in Ireland, was taken from an Alexandrian version of the Scriptures. If, then, we examine the artistic works of Egypt, we find many specimens of mural painting, which, in

¹ *Fac-Similes of the Miniatures and Ornaments of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, by John O. Westwood, Introduction, page vi.

² “ Bilder und Schriftzüge in den Irischen Manuscripten.” This important essay was first contributed to the *Journal of the Zurich Antiquarian Society*.

design and in the drawing of the figures, bear a striking resemblance to those depicted in the Irish books. The characteristic figure of the Christ; the way in which the eyes, the hands, the feet are drawn; the form of the wings of the birds, and particularly of the eagles; the figures of the lions and oxen, all show an undoubted affinity and resemblance. The colouring of the pictures bears out the theory in a remarkable degree. The shadowless surfaces, filled in with dots and curves, the Mosaic divisions of the whole design, the variety of colours, glaring in themselves but toned by combination, the complete absence of semitone and blending, and of rounding of the figures, are the same in both specimens. It was but natural that the early Christians of Alexandria should avail themselves of the indigenous art of their country. Workers skilled in its methods, were employed to ornament their books. The productions of their hands found their way, either through missionaries or merchants, to the monasteries of Ireland, where they were ably imitated, thus giving that first impulse to painting and decorative art, which lasted in Ireland, without rise or fall, for two hundred years, and which exercised, as Westwood and Waagen have shown, such a remarkable influence on the artistic development of the whole of Western Europe."

This opinion, which is supported by such authorities as Sir Robert Cotton, Spelman, Camden, and Selden, would have much more weight if its authors did not plainly manifest a great desire to show that Christianity first came to Ireland through any other channel than through Rome. Let it be Alexandria, Byzantium, Antioch, or any Eastern city; but let it not be Rome. There is something in the very name which they dislike; and even in the discussion of a matter of purely artistic interest this inveterate and foolish prejudice must break out. It is utterly ridiculous. It would look as if the whole theory were built up for that special purpose. This of itself is enough to discredit it; but, moreover, it goes against the plainest facts of history and common sense. Anyone who compares the plates of an Irish illuminated book of the period in question with those reproductions of early Egyptian art published by M. Gailliand,¹ cannot indeed fail to be struck with the likeness in colouring between the two styles of decoration; but it will be equally impossible for him to ignore the immense difference that

¹ *Les Arts et Metiers de l'Ancien Egypte*, par L. Gailliand.

exists between the designs, the patterns, and even the figures, on the one side and the other. This difference strikes one so forcibly, at the first glance, that little more is required to expose the flimsy foundation on which the whole very learned theory is constructed. In early Byzantine and Persian art, as well as in that of the modern indigenous populations of Mexico, Georgia, and New Zealand, we find the power of agreeably combining colours much more advanced than that of perspective, delineation, and drawing. That is one of the peculiarities of primitive art everywhere, and is not confined to Ireland and Egypt. Nobody will suggest that it was from Egypt or the East that our monks got their peculiar style of writing, or the splendid and indelible ink with which they wrote.¹ There are, moreover, some special characteristics to be found in Irish ornamentation which are not to be seen in these Egyptian works, nor in any other specimens, whether of Etruscan, Roman, Byzantine, Persian, or modern decorative art. The opinion to which Mr. Kemble, a very eminent judge of antiquarian art, gave expression, in 1857, in an address to the Royal Irish Academy, still holds good, in spite of anything that has since been published to the contrary:—

“When, as is often the case in metal, the principle of the spiral line is carried out in *repoussé*—when you have those beautiful curves; more beautiful, perhaps, in the parts that are not seen than in those which meet the eye; whose beauty is revealed in shadow more than in form, you have a peculiar characteristic, a form of beauty which belongs to no nation but our own, and to no portion of our nation but the Celtic portion. This trumpet pattern is neither Greek, nor Roman, nor Oriental. There is nothing like it in Etruscan art. There is nothing like it in German or Slavonic art. There is little like it in Gallic or Helvetian art. It is indigenous, gentlemen—the art of those Celtic tribes, which forced their way into these islands of the Atlantic, and, somewhat isolated here, developed a peculiar, but not the less admirable system of their own.”

The learned Dr. Anderson, of Edinburgh University, one

¹ Bede, writing of the Irish coast, says: “Sunt et cochleae satis superque abundantes quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur cujus rubor pulcherrimus nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet pluviarum injuria pallescere, sed quo vetustior est, solet esse venustior.”

of the most distinguished archæologists of modern times, after having clearly shown that the patterns of decorated stone and metal works of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, in Scotland and Ireland, were copied or imitated from the illuminated manuscripts of an earlier date, naturally inquires also about the origin of the latter. His conclusion entirely agrees with that of Mr. Kemble. He observes, with sound judgment, that art, like language, is common to the whole human race; and certain of the elements of decorative art, like certain radical elements of language, are the common property of the human family. The manner in which these radicles have been selected by racial preference; the diverse systems on which their combinations and modifications have proceeded, and the various resulting effects, as seen in different languages and dialects, offer an exact parallel to the development of national and local systems of decorative art, possessing the same or nearly similar elemental essentials as their common foundation. It is, therefore, nothing to be wondered at that there are points of resemblance between the early art of Ireland and that of other countries, Egypt included. It is not to be wondered at that some of the characteristics of Irish work should be found in the artistic developments of other countries.

“We find interlaced work [writes Mr. Anderson] on Babylonish cylinders, on Mycenian ornaments and sculpture, on Ethiopic manuscripts and metal work, and on Pompeian bronzes. But it is of exceptional character and restricted scope. We find it on Anglo-Saxon metal work of the heathen time, and on urns of stone in Scandinavian barrows, associated with objects and usages of purely indigenous character. But it is not in the Celtic style, and it never becomes the prevailing and dominant form of decoration. We find it on the Mosaic pavements of the time of the Roman occupation of Britain, and on Christian Mosaics of later time, in the early churches of Italy and France. We find it also existing as an architectural decoration applied to the ornamentations of churches, both externally and internally. The jambs of the doorway of San Zeno in St. Prassede, in Rome, built by Pope Paschal I. about A.D. 820, are ornamented with a running pattern of interlaced ribbon-work of four strands, which might have appeared in the shafts of a sculptured cross in Scotland or Ireland. The Ionic capitals of the pillars flanking the doorway have also enrichments in interlaced work. The

doorway at the east end of the Atrium of San Clemente is bordered with interlaced ornamentation similar to that of San Zeno. In the church of Chur, in Switzerland, founded in 1178, there were found seventeen fragments of slabs, sculptured with designs of complicated interlaced work arranged in panels. The church of Kurtea d'Argysch, in Wallachia, a building of the thirteenth century, has the exterior spaces round the windows decorated with complicated interlaced work of great beauty and intricacy. It was thus a common form of decorative ornament applied to various purposes in different parts of Europe, Asia, and Africa, both before and after the time when in this country and in Ireland, it became one of the prevailing and dominant characteristics of Celtic art. But while it was thus used by other peoples as an occasional element of decoration, or a style of ornament suitable for special purposes, it was nowhere developed into a systematic style of art applied alike to manuscripts, metal-work, and stonework, unless in this country and in Ireland. In other words, it never gave a distinctive character to any art but Celtic art."¹

We stated in our last paper that of the books inscribed in the ninth century as "*Libri Scottice Scripti*," in the catalogue of St. Gall, only one now remains, viz., a *Gospel of St. John*. There are, however, several other Irish books and manuscripts extant there, which were not included in that list, some of which, nevertheless, are of equal, if not greater antiquity. They include a *Book of the Gospels*, a fragment of an ancient *Sacramentarium*, Priscian's *Grammar*, and several other books or fragments. At a suitable time we shall give a full and, as far as possible, detailed list of all the Irish books and manuscripts of this early period that are still extant in the libraries of St. Gall, Schaffhausen, Basle, Zurich, Berne, Carlshruhe, Trevès, Wurzburg, Nuremburg, Ratisbon, Vienna, Paris, Cambray, Brussels, Leyden, Milan, Naples, and Rome. Meanwhile we have only to speak here of the few specimens of illumination still to be seen amongst the remnants of the Irish books of St. Gall. They have a special importance, in addition to that already mentioned, on account of the influence which they exercised on the development of art in the Carlovingian School, as manifested by the great missals and psalters that have come down from that period.²

¹ *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, by Joseph Anderson, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Vol. ii., p. 112.

² See the introduction to the *Psalterium Aureum*, published in recent times at St. Gall, by Dr. J. Rudolf Rahn.

The most important manuscript at St. Gall, from the point of view of illumination, is the Gospel Book No. 51, which contains the four figures of the Evangelists; five large initial pages with the initials of the Gospels worked in each page; a richly ornamented cruciform page, and two miniatures. The bundle of fragments marked No. 1395, also contains three illuminated leaves, two of which probably belonged to a book of the Gospels and the third to a Poenitentiale. One of the former is thus graphically described by Westwood:—

“It contains [he says] a rudely-drawn figure of St. Matthew, seated, writing his Gospel upon a chair, seen sideways, the back of which reaches only to his elbow, having a small conical cup at its top, in which he is dipping a style; his left hand, with one of the fingers strangely distorted, holding a knife, and the square book resting on his knees. The head, with curling hair, is surrounded by a cruciferous yellow nimbus; the beard is long, straight, and divided into four points. The upper garment or mattle is purple, with yellow bands and border, and the lower garment or tunic sewn at the wrists, and from the knees downwards, dark green, edged with yellow. He wears a pair of black shoes, with broad red borders, higher behind than in front. Below the seat of the chair appear outline figures of three objects, two of which may be open rolls, and the third, a bundle of rolls, tied together across the middle. In front of the figure is represented the symbolical angel, with curious outspread wings, holding a book in its hand, in front of its face, from which the saint appears to be copying his text. The framework of this picture is composed of the narrow Z-like pattern, rudely drawn with small rosettes and diagonal patterns at the angle.”¹

Of the characteristic Irish decoration of the initial letters, there are some typical specimens in the copy of the Priscian's *Grammar*, which was written and ornamented by the Irish monks of the eighth century. Westwood has so admirably and carefully described these also, that we cannot refrain from giving his own words:—

“The initial letters [he says] of the various divisions are formed in the genuine Irish style of outline animals, men, or birds, with various interlaced knots in a style nearly resembling that of the *Book of Armagh*. The most remarkable of these initial

¹*Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon and Irish Manuscripts*, by John O. Westwood, p. 67.

letters is the letter P, of which the round open part is filled in with the distorted kneeling figure of a man, one of whose feet is grasped in the mouth of a monstrous head, forming the end of the whorl of the P. Two gigantic birds with long interlaced topknots, at the sides of the man, peck the top of his head; whilst the bottom of the straight stroke of the letter is extended downwards, the end being curved up into the neck of another monstrous head with a prettily peaked topknot."¹

How these illuminated leaves of St. Gall have helped to establish the Irish origin of several important books that had hitherto been regarded as the most glorious specimens of early Anglo-Saxon art, the distinguished German art-critic, Dr. Waagen, explains:—

“As far as I know [he says], I was the first to call attention to the very peculiar properties and characteristics of these so-called Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Later investigations have, however, convinced me that they belong to the Irish school. . . . The oldest specimen of this kind that we possess, the *Evangeliarium* of St. Willibrord, in the National Library of Paris, was formerly described by me as of Anglo-Saxon execution, on account of its similarity with the famous *Book of St. Cuthbert* in the British Museum. A later visit to Paris, however, and a closer inspection of the plates in that extraordinary book, have convinced me that it is purely Irish. A careful study of the figures and style of the ornamentation makes this appear already probable; but a comparison of them with the corresponding plates in the Irish manuscripts of St. Gall places the fact beyond the possibility of doubt.”

The author then points out the features of most striking resemblance between the works on both sides; the primitive and imperfect shape of the figures of men and animals; the glaring red, blue, and yellow colours which, nevertheless, artistically combine and present a picture that is rich and attractive, without being gaudy; the delicate spiral and scroll-work; the elaborate borders; the patterns varied in almost every square or panel; the identity of *technique*; the method of forming lines, dots, figures, rapid strokes, curves; the appearance of the members of the human body; of the heads of birds, serpents, and dragons; the nature of the ink,

¹ *Ibid.*, page 68.

² *Kunstwerke und Künstler in England und Paris*, page 134.

pigments, calligraphy and initial letters; all point to a common origin.

Historical considerations confirm this internal evidence of the works themselves, for it is a well-known fact that St. Willibrord studied in the schools of Ireland; and that St. Cuthbert was, if not born in this country, at all events by universal consent, educated in the Abbey of Melrose, founded by St. Aidan; and that he occupied the position of Prior in the Abbey of Lindisfarne, also founded by St. Aidan, and governed by St. Finan, another Irish Abbot, till the year 660.¹ Dr. Waagen is also of opinion that the knowledge of this peculiar Celtic art was spread by the Irish missionaries all over the Continent, and that it took deepest root in the schools which, like St. Gall, remained longest and most closely connected with the parent institutions of Ireland.

Only a few of the names of the artists and writers of St. Gall have come down to us. There is no mistaking their origin, even if we are to judge only by their names. They are Dubslan, Faelan, Dubduin, Brendan, Melchomber, David, Fortegian, Hepidan, Scotus and Moengal. It is a pity that the fragment of verse published by Von Arx, in his *History of the Canton of St. Gall*, cannot be completed, and the names of all these illustrious workmen handed down to the veneration of their countrymen. We must only be thankful for the few that have been preserved in such extracts as the following:—

“Hi sunt insignes sancti quos insula nostra
 Nobilis indigenas nutritiv Hibernia claros,
 Quorum grata fides, virtus, honor, inclita vita
 Has aulas summasque domos sacravit amenas.
 Semina qui vitae anglorum sparsere per agros
 Ex quis maturos convertitis in horrea fructus.
 Nos igitur fratres, una de stirpe creati
 His sumus: imbecilles miseros quos mente superba
 Despiciatis, proceres mundique tumentia membra.
 Cum Christi potius deberetis membra videri
 Prudens hic pausat quin utique Gallus atque sepultus
 Ardens ignis Scotorum conscendit ad altos.
 Dubslane meruit nomen dignumque vocari
 Annue rex coeli me hic pro nomine Faelan.
 Dubduin hos ortos fecit quequunque requiris
 Versibus labrisque canens qui dixit amice.”

¹ *Irish Saints in Great Britain.* By Cardinal Moran, pp. 268-274.

The art of painting was not, however, the only art practised at St. Gall. Music was also cultivated with the greatest devotion. But there is no evidence that the Irish pursued there any particular method in the teaching of either vocal or instrumental music. Indeed the only peculiarity of the school of St. Gall seems to have been the invention of a special method for marking the notes so as to direct the singer how to modulate his voice and enunciate his words and syllables. This was done by means of the letters of the alphabet attached to the notes above or below, behind or in front:¹ Notker has left us the key to the meaning of these letters.²

Besides the specimens of religious poetry which we have already quoted in proof of the culture of St. Gall, there are also many pieces of a half religious, half worldly interest, which show how deeply the poet-monks of the ninth and tenth centuries felt the influence of the classic muse. With what elegance and at the same time with what simplicity Ratpert celebrates the "Coming of the Queen" and infuses the spirit of Middle-Age loyalty and chivalry into his Propertian verse:—

" Plus hodie solito radiat sol clarus in alto."

" Cumque serena venis nubila cuncta teris."

" Floribus arva nitent quia te nos visere cernunt."

" Foetibus atque solum germinat omne bonum."

" Gloria magnifice rutilas celsissima Romae

" Atque Italos radiis comis amoena tuis."

In most of these festive odes we have all the joy that springs from Christian faith and hope without any of the sadness which Horace felt when, after having described the return of Spring —

" Diffugere nives ; redeunt jam gramina campis
Arboribusque comae—"

¹ " In ipso quoque primus ille litteras alphabeti notulis quibus visum est aut susum aut jusum, aut ante aut retro assignari excogitavit quas postea cuidam amico quereuti Notker Balbulus delucidavit." (Ekkeharti, *Casus Sancti Galli*. See also Dummler in *Zurich Archæological Journal*, vol. xii.)

² " *a*, ut altius elevetur admonet ; *b*, ut bene id est multum extollatur sive teneatur belgicet ; *c*, ut cito vel celeriter dicatur certificat ; *d*, ut deprimatur demonstrat ; *e*, ut equaliter sonctur eloquintur." And so on to the end of the alphabet.

his joy becomes suddenly clouded and overcast by the melancholy thought that all must soon pass away :—

“ *Immortalia ne speres, monet annus et alium audet* ”
 “ *Quae rapit hora diem.* ”

There is also a touch of genuine nature in those verses which the calm and gentle Notker addresses to the wayward boy, Salomon, whose friend he remained through all his wild escapades, and in whom he ever recognised the germs of good and a native candour and innocence which were clouded only by the dark shadows of ambition :—

“ *Egregio juveni Salomoni fidus amicus,*
Prospera cuncta modo, regna beata dehinc.
Musâ diu latuit speluncis clausa profundis
Et requiem petiit oia longa terens.
Hanc puer impatiens quem nos vocitamus Amorem
Excitat atque urget, increpat inde tonat ;
Quid tu tarda jaces et nigra stertis in umbra
Cum tibi thesauri eximii veniant. ”

In covert and graceful language he tells this boy the value of the virtue of chastity, and we doubt if anything more calculated to make an impression on youth was ever written on the subject :—

“ *Divitias omnes superat, cunctas quoque gazas*
Quas dederant comites quasque dedere parcs.
Aurea sordescunt, argentea dona nigrescunt
Quae capiunt oculis condita per loculos :
Est tactu blandum, callidum nullique secundum
Frigora depellens, noxia longe fugans :
Ceu clipeus firmus defendit et omnia munit,
Omnia membra simul ornat honore suo.
Pellibus ex variis speciem presentat eandem
Candidulam, nitidam, flore colore parens,
Nil fuscum monstrat, nil fulvum reddere novit,
Hic specialis honor regibus esse solet,
Est nive candidius, pluma quoque mollius omni,
Vestibus utilius, serica texta spuens ;
Tale quod anxius optavi votisque rogavi
Quod Deus ad vestrum miserat hinc animum
Quot lanis igitur candet pilisque redundat
Tot coeli cives te super astra ferant. ”

What gives such special value to all these works, whether

literary or artistic, is the fact that they are the product of an age which like all periods of transition was singularly disturbed and which demanded from those called to rise above the barbarous standards of civilization then in vogue an energy and devotion far beyond the common. That the monks of St. Gall were equal to the call,¹ history certifies and their works remain to attest.

J. F. HOGAN.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

FATHERS THADDEUS O'MORIARTY AND RICHARD BARRY, O.P.

IT may be remembered that the name of one of the fellow-students of T. A. O'Brien was Thaddeus O'Moriarty.¹ He was born in the beginning of the seventeenth century. His family lived in Castle Drum, Dingle, County Kerry. The history of his early religious life may be told in a few words. Thaddeus was one of those novices of the Irish house of Corpo Santo, Lisbon, who were trained by Dominic of the Rosary (O'Daly); and well did he repay that loving father's care.² While still young he was esteemed a model of every religious virtue, being especially remarkable for his love of regular observance, and his practice of mortification and of prayer. As is ever the case, the good novice became a good student; the tree planted by the running waters brought forth its fruit in due season. Thaddeus was not more distinguished for his moral qualities than for his mental attainments. His wonderful progress in knowledge during the time that he spent at Toledo (where he went through his course of theology) was attributed chiefly to his interior recollection and uninterrupted union with

¹ I. E. RECORD (Third Series), vol. xv., February number, p. 98.

² The latter survived him, and wrote a most edifying account of Thaddeus O'Moriarty's short career and martyrdom in his work, *De Geraldinis, Appendix de Martyribus*, p. 355, *segg.*, from which the following sketch is mainly taken.

God. It made his companions apply to him the words of St. Thomas Aquinas about himself—namely, that “whatever he knew was the fruit rather of prayer than of study.” Dominic of the Rosary calls him a finished theologian; and such he must have been, for he received the degree of Master of Theology in course of time.

We find it recorded (Acts of General Chapter, 1656), that after his return to Ireland, Father Thaddeus strenuously defended the Pope’s authority, and rendered great services to religion. Also that he made himself on that account particularly obnoxious to the Protestants. When persecution began again to rage more fiercely he was offered permission to depart from Ireland and to seek safety elsewhere; but nothing could induce the devoted priest to leave his post and abandon his beloved people in the hour of danger.

At length the long-expected day arrived. He, the last prior of the old Convent of Holy Cross, Tralee, was arrested and taken to Killarney by a party of soldiers, who were well aware of the value of their prize. He was then imprisoned, as it appears, for a considerable time. When brought into court, Father Thaddeus answered all the questions of the judge, Nellson, the Cromwellian governor of Killarney, with such candour and simplicity that his very accusers, though in all probability perjurers themselves, were obliged to acknowledge that he was incapable of telling an untruth. The usual pretext for the condemnation of a priest was, of course, alleged, namely, that he had disobeyed the laws; to which he calmly replied that he obeyed God and His Vicar on earth, who commanded him to exercise his ministry. A memorable incident of the trial may be mentioned here: it reminds us of a still more awful scene. The judge’s wife sent him word to have nothing to do with the blood of that just man. But the solemn appeal was unheeded. To plead for justice was in vain, because before that court assembled the priest’s death had been determined on. The mock trial was soon over, and Thaddeus O’Moriarty was sentenced to be hanged. In a righteous cause, brave men meet death without flinching; in the cause of God, the martyrs have welcomed it. The announcement that he was to die on

account of his religion filled Father Thaddeus with joy; he kissed the hand of the bearer of his death warrant, and directed that money should be given to the soldiers who had taken him prisoner. Then his sufferings and his likeness to His Divine Master increased. He was stripped of his garments, scourged, and mocked. The cruel persecutors were amazed at the patience he displayed in the midst of all the tortures their fiendish ingenuity could devise. His heroic fortitude and utter contempt of this mortal life at last even extorted their admiration. Throughout life he had been remarkable for his humility and meekness, which, as we are told by his biographer, O'Daly, had never failed even on the most trying occasions. No one had ever seen him angry. He to whom our future is ever present, who disposes all things for the sake of His elect, by these early adversities, such as they were, gradually prepared Father Thaddeus for the conflict which awaited him. "What I do thou knowest not now, but thou shalt know hereafter." Thus at length this good and faithful servant attained the summit of virtue, and was enabled to give his Lord proof of that love greater than which no man hath.

When he arrived at the scaffold, which was erected on the Fair Hill of Killarney, he addressed the Catholics present on the glorious truths of their religion, the uncertain duration of life, and the happiness of martyrdom, which was, he said, the short and sure way to heaven. He also exhorted them in fervent language to hold steadfastly to the old faith, and in prophetic words announced the final overthrow of heresy in Ireland. Then joyfully exclaiming, "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit," he passed from earth to join the white-robed choir in the bliss of heaven. His glorious victory over the powers of evil took place on the 15th of October, 1653.¹ After his death, to the astonishment

¹ It is said that the famous Pierce Ferriter was hanged with him. Ferriter was the head of an old Norman family settled near Dingle, where some of his descendants are to be found at the present day. His career was a romantic one. He was a soldier, a poet, and an outlaw; and throughout life a popular hero, though it must be confessed he was far from being a model Christian. The cave where he used to hide is still pointed out; his dirge of Maurice FitzGerald has been translated by

of the heretics, and to the indescribable joy of the Catholics, his features which had been worn and discoloured by the hardships of a long and painful imprisonment, shone with a heavenly brightness, and appeared as it were to emit rays of light. "It is," said the executioner, "the face of an angel." And even those who had thirsted for his blood could not help exclaiming: "If the papists ever had a martyr, they have one now." He certainly was regarded as such by friend and foe. Dominic of the Rosary, who, two years afterwards published his work, *De Geraldinis*, says that the soldiers still kept guard over the martyr's grave, lest the Catholics should come and take away his relics. Was anything further needed to complete his resemblance to his divine Master?

For centuries has the veneration for the memory of Father Thaddeus O'Moriarty been preserved in the faithful hearts of the Kerry people. The tradition, accurate in every detail, is still living. One of those best acquainted with it is Thomas Moriarty, of Ballycuneen, near Dingle, who is justly proud of being a scion of the martyr's family. He often narrates the death of his sainted kinsman. A Sergeant O'Connor (recently deceased) also knew the whole history from hearsay, and was acquainted with several others in Kerry, chiefly Irish-speaking persons, to whom it was a household tale. O'Connor, who was born near Killarney, (his mother was a Moriarty) spoke Irish from his childhood, and could recite from memory long poems and stories in Irish, some of which have never yet appeared in print. He told the present writer this circumstance, which has been orally preserved from generation to generation. "On the morning of his execution, Father Thaddeus received the Sacraments of Penance and the Holy Eucharist from a priest

Crofton Croker; and he had been a captain in the army of the Confederate Catholics, where he fought with distinction.

Ferriter came by his end in this way. After the defeat and disbanding of the Catholic army, he seemingly made his peace with the Parliamentary party, and managed to get from them a supply of powder and ball to be used against the Royalists! This ammunition he promptly conveyed to Ross Castle, Killarney, and employed against its Parliamentary besiegers. Of course after playing this trick he had no hope of quarter, and when Ross Castle was taken, he was excluded from the favourable terms granted to the other defenders, and immediately afterwards executed at Killarney.

who had miraculously entered the prison." The late Bishop of Ardfert and Aghadoe (County Kerry), Dr. Moriarty, another kinsman of the martyr, made the same statement to a Dominican from whose letter the bishop's words are copied here:—"In making my visitation of the diocese I heard from many of the old people that when Thaddeus Moriarty was condemned he earnestly besought that a confessor might be granted him, but his request was refused. The night before the execution a Father of the Order was inspired to walk boldly into the prison—when, lo! he did so, administered the sacraments, and passed out again—and was never seen by the guards."

When on November 2nd, 1862, the same Bishop Moriarty blessed the new Dominican Church of Holy Cross, Tralee, he concluded his sermon with the following eloquent words:—

"And now, dear brethren, am I not right in saying that this is a glorious resurrection? Two hundred and eleven years ago Thaddeus O'Moriarty was hanged for the faith upon the Fair Hill of Killarney; and from that spot whence the martyr's blood ascended to heaven, I have come this morning, one of his own name and lineage, to dedicate again and to open afresh the altar and the church in which he so loved to pray—for it was here on this spot that the ancient monastery stood. I find his successors by my side; I see his children, wearing the same habit, pursuing the same blessed vocation, clustering about the altar just as if only a day had passed, for centuries before the Lord are as hours: and I have drunk to-day the Blood of Christ from the very chalice from which the martyr drank it. Here it is. It bears his name and title, 'Prior of the Convent of Tralee,' and the date '1651'—two years before his martyrdom. I found it accidentally, as if fore-tokening that the voice of the martyr's blood was about being heard and this ancient house restored. The chalice which the bishop then presented to the community bears this inscription:—'Orate pro Carolo Sughrue qui me fieri fecit pro Conventu Traliensi, Priore Thadeo O'Moriarty, 1651.'"

There is a well-authenticated tradition that a staff belonging to the martyr was also preserved by the family, and given to the late Bishop Moriarty. The following extract is from a letter of Mrs. Morgan John O'Connell

of Longfield, Cashel, which is in the present writer's possession :—

“The late Sergeant O'Connor, Mrs. Anne Baldwin, formerly of Cullina, near Killarney [now of Rushmount, Kilworth], and Miss Ellen Moriarty, formerly of Killarney [now of Dick's Grove, Farranfore] all told me the following anecdote:—The martyr was arrested in his priory of Tralee, and compelled by the soldiers to walk to Killarney. A soldier cut him a tall, rough staff from a wood by the roadside. On his way to the gallows, which was erected on the site of the present Franciscan Church, he came out leaning on the staff, which a soldier wrenched from him and flung away. A spectator picked it up, and brought it as a memento to the martyr's brother. The ladies often saw the staff in the possession of Dr. Moriarty, M.D., the last male descendant of O'Moriarty, of Castle Drum, the martyr's brother. Dr. Moriarty, M.D., presented the staff to Right Rev. Dr. Moriarty, after his consecration. The staff has seemingly been lost, as no one appears to know what became of it.”

And letters from these ladies agree perfectly with their own statement, as given above. Each letter respectively differs, indeed, from it in one unimportant particular; but trivial, however, as it is, for the sake of the whole truth, it will be mentioned here; Mrs. Mahony writes thus:—“My recollection of the ‘martyr's staff’ is that it was given by old Dr. Moriarty, General Dennehy's grandfather, to his namesake the Bishop, in Paris, and I should say before his consecration.” But Miss Moriarty writes:—“I remember, as a child, having seen Dr. Patrick Moriarty, grandfather of Major-General Dennehy, now of Hampton Court, Equerry to the Queen. I heard that the old Doctor kept the staff in loving remembrance of the martyred Dominican, and that his daughter, Mrs. Dennehy, presented it to Dr. David Moriarty, a considerable number of years after his consecration in Killarney.” The slight discrepancy about the date of the gift, and the actual donor, between these letters, of course, does not invalidate the tradition they both testify to. Such minute differences are incident to almost all independent accounts, and are, in fact, an indirect proof of their independence. It will be observed that the three persons who depose about the martyr's staff are all agreed

as to the circumstances in which he used it, the veneration it inspired, and the care with which it was preserved for two centuries, until it was presented to Dr. Moriarty by the descendants of the martyr's brother.

We should now turn to Father Thaddeus O'Moriarty's fellow-student, Father Arthur MacGeoghegan (†1633); but his history is too long for insertion here. It must be reserved for the next article. Meanwhile, before going back to 1633, we shall conclude this article with a sketch of Father Richard Barry (†1647). Few amongst those who shed such lustre on Ireland, died more gloriously than he who now claims our attention, Father Richard Barry, Preacher-General and Prior of the venerable house of his Order in Cashel, now known as "Saint Dominic's Abbey." The title of Preacher-General shows that he was possessed of rare ability in the pulpit.¹ In addition to the heavenly aureola of him who has instructed many unto justice, the holy religious was destined to receive, after enduring most cruel tortures, the still brighter aureola of a martyr.

In 1647, when the sanguinary Murrough O'Brien, Lord Inchiquin, advanced towards Cashel, many of the inhabitants of that ancient city, including forty priests, retired for safety to the Cathedral. They had with them a small band of armed men, not more than 300 in all, while Inchiquin's forces amounted to 7,000; but as the Rock of Cashel, the site of the Cathedral, was, with reason, considered almost impregnable, they hoped to be able to guard the sacred vessels and whatever property they had brought with them, as well as to defend their own lives against the savage enemy. After a sharp conflict, Inchiquin offered to permit the Catholic soldiers to march down, with colours flying, drums beating, and all the other honours of war, provided they would leave the clergy and the citizens to his *discretion*. The proposal could deceive no one, for his tender mercies were universally known. To their eternal honour be it said,

¹ As early as 1629 his name occurs in the list of special preachers.—MS. Dominican Archives, Rome.

that in face of such overwhelming odds these brave men indignantly rejected the iniquitous condition.

The unequal struggle immediately recommenced, and lasted half an hour. After a heroic resistance the Rock was scaled, and the Cathedral taken by assault; but not before six hundred men had fallen on both sides (O'Daly). Accounts differ about the relative numbers of the slain. Rinucinni says that the loss on each side was equal, while another contemporary writer states that the Catholics lost three hundred, and Inchiquin six hundred men.¹ All that we may be reasonably certain of is, that not a single defender

¹ See Linchan's *History of Limerick*, p. 161: "In a portion of the building, which is to be seen at this day, a monument of his refined cruelty, Murrough 'of the burnings,' as he was called, after having shaken the walls with the thunder of his guns (the portion of the Cathedral which he struck with his cannon did not fall, though a breach was made, till 1848, when it came down with a terrible crash), had recourse to the expedient of piling up a quantity of turf against the outer wall, to which he applied fire, by the action of which the religious and other people who were crowded inside were absolutely baked to death (the black marks of the fire are to be seen to this day). Upwards of thirty priests and friars fell victims to the atrocious Inchiquin on this ever-memorable occasion." The Protestant historian Carte, with his usual indifference, minimizes the barbarities perpetrated on that fearful day, and merely lets us know that "Taafe, on Inchiquin's approach, retired from Cashel, the inhabitants whereof deserted the city, leaving the gates open, and fled to the Cathedral, a large and spacious pile seated upon a rock, near the walls of the town. It had been of late very well fortified, and Taafe had provided it with a strong garrison, so that the reducing of it was no easy enterprise. Inchiquin, before he attacked it, offered the inhabitants and the garrison leave to depart, upon condition that they advanced him three thousand pounds and a month's pay for his army. The proposal was rejected, and the place being taken by storm, a prodigious booty was found there, and great slaughter made of the garrison and citizens before Inchiquin entered, and gave orders that none should be put to death."—(*Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, ad ann. 1647.) If the concluding remark be true, it must be said that Inchiquin took his time. He was in no haste to enter the Cathedral, and to stop the bloodshed. As likely as not, though the fact cannot be ascertained, he was superintending the wholesale death by fire described above. It was on this occasion that he got his indelible appellation, "Murrough of the burnings." Cormac's Chapel (so called from the founder of the Cathedral, St. Cormac Mac Cuilleinan, Bishop and King of Munster, A.D. 908), in which the people and priests were gathered, is part of the Cathedral, but not connected with it by an entrance. Its only doorway is on the outside: hence those enclosed in it had no means of escape. N.B.—Linehan evidently thinks that the priests and others were suffocated here, but according to a more reliable tradition they were suffocated in the deep cellar-like chamber at the west end of the Cathedral.

was spared. Their fate may be conjectured from that which befel those who remained within the sacred walls.

The Puritans, feverishly raging for more blood and sacrilege, now broke into the Cathedral, and the conflict was in a measure renewed. Before long five hundred heretics and four hundred Catholics fell there, weltering in gore. The mangled corpses of men, women, and children not only covered the pavement, but lay piled up on the very altars. Every chapel was filled with the slain. An eye-witness of the fearful scene says: "One had to walk over heaps of dead." Among them were a Father Boyton, S.J., and a Father Theobald Stapleton, who, cross in hand, had met the soldiery as they rushed into the holy place. He was literally cut to pieces. At length all the priests were slaughtered, and their lifeless bodies hewn from limb to limb, except one, conspicuous by his white habit, hated with a tenfold hatred, and therefore reserved for the most exquisite tortures. This was Father Richard Barry. Before he went up the Rock of Cashel he had not merely permitted, but commanded the other members of his community to seek safety in flight.

The captain or commander of the Puritan soldiers, who was the first to enter through the breach in the Cathedral wall, was struck by the tall stature and noble bearing of the Dominican, who stood there calmly waiting. He promised to spare his life on one condition—that he would put off his habit, or "insignia," as the Puritan called it. "Never," was the firm reply; "these are my colours in warfare. My habit represents the passion and death of our Saviour, and is the badge of my Order. I have worn it from my youth, and will wear it till I die." The officer warned him of his impending fate, and did all he could to shake his resolution; but in vain. "To me," replied the saintly Prior of St. Dominic's, "sufferings are welcome, and death itself a gain." Without further delay he was seized by some of the soldiers, beaten, and covered with spittle. While these insulted him, others were busy making preparation for his execution. A slow fire was kindled under a stone seat, to which he was bound (Gen. Chapter, 1656). Tradition

marks the spot. Though the grand old Cathedral has been desecrated, and is still in the possession of the Protestants, the visitor at the present day is shown where the seat was—against the pillar which supports the gallery at the end of the Cathedral.¹ We know, from an eye-witness, that the rood, or great crucifix, which stood over the entrance to the choir, was pulled down, and the figure of our Lord was mutilated, as if it were that of a malefactor, the head, hands, and feet being hacked off; also that the statues of the saints were burned. It is but too probable that these fed the martyr's pyre.

His feet were first burned away. Meanwhile he prayed aloud, beseeching God's mercy for himself and grace for the Catholics, that they might remain constant in their adherence to the true faith. Inch by inch the devouring flames crept up his limbs; but no exclamation of pain escaped him. With his eyes raised towards heaven, sending forth rays of light, "*oculis lucis radios in cœlum jaculantibus,*" he joyfully awaited his end. It seemed as if he saw the angels hovering over him in expectation of the glad moment when they were to conduct him into eternal glory. Every vein was swollen by the boiling blood, yet his joy increased still more. Never before had the praises of God come forth so devoutly and fervently from his lips. If any of the heretical soldiers had at first hoped to overcome the white-robed friar, who bore their taunts and jibes so meekly, they must have been discomfited and enraged at the sight of such heroic fortitude. The martyr's limbs up to his hips were thus gradually consumed and charred, the torture lasting about two hours, till at last—probably when the soldiers grew impatient—he was released from his sufferings by one of them, who thrust his sword, from side to side, right through the agonizing body. The servant of God had kept his word; the habit he loved was crimsoned with his life-blood.²

¹ Laura Grey, in *The Rosary*, June, 1892, New York.

² When their bloody work was done—at sunset, we suppose—the grim Puritan troopers formed a mock procession. Banners and a decapitated image of the Blessed Virgin were carried in derision. Soldiers clothed in the sacred vestments masqueraded through the deserted streets of the city.

There seems to be an allusion to this holy martyr in particular in the following verse of Father Burke's poem on the Irish Dominicans:—

“When heresy swept o'er the land like a destroying flood,
 And tyrants washed their reeking hands in the martyr's
 sacred blood,
 Saint Dominic's children then, like men, embraced the stake
 and stood
 Before the burning pile as 'twere the Saviour's holy rood,
 And kissed their habits, while they bled, three hundred
 years ago.”

The historians of the Order that describe Father Richard Barry's martyrdom remark that this glorious victory was won on a certain feast of St. Dominic—the commemoration of the miraculous statue of the saint at Suriano, near Naples; and thus we are enabled to fix the date with certainty, September 15th, 1647. Two writers of the time, Archdeacon Lynch of Tuam, in his manuscript history of the Irish Bishops, and Father Sall, S.J., in a letter¹ to Father John Young, S.J., from which many of the above details are taken, also mention the martyrdom of the Prior of “St. Dominic's Abbey.”

When Inchiquin's army had quitted Cashel after a three days' pillage, a member of the third Order of St. Dominic sought and found Father Barry's dead body among the slain. She then brought the tidings to the Vicar-General of Cashel, who summoned the remnant of the clergy, and the laity to follow him to the spot, where the marks of Father Richard Barry's martyrdom, the burnt limbs, and the wounds in his sides, still bleeding fresh on the fourth day, were deposited to and officially recognised.² The holy relics were then borne

Pictures taken in the sack of the Cathedral served as housings for their horses; and Inchiquin, who appeared with a mitre, jeeringly proclaimed that he was now Archbishop of Cashel.

¹ “Three of the secular clergy, the prior of the Dominicans, and one of our society, had fallen in the performance of their sacred duties.”

² This was done in presence of the Very Rev. Henry O'Cuillenan, Notary Apostolic, who attested the signatures to the document; and who was still living in 1655, when Dominic of the Rosary wrote his account, *De Geraldinis*, Appendix, page 339, *seqq.* Lisbon, 1655. It is much to be regretted that this official document cannot be discovered at present,

in solemn procession to the Dominican convent, where, after the *Te Deum* had been sung in thanksgiving, they were lovingly and reverently laid to rest. A few words about the church and convent will conclude this account.

The church of "St. Dominic's Abbey," Cashel, is not cruciform. This is owing to the peculiar arrangement of having but one aisle and one transept, which is also found in some other churches in Ireland erected by the regular clergy in the middle ages. A good example of this style still preserved intact may be seen in the Franciscan Abbey church, Kilcrea, Co. Cork. It was indeed admirably suited to a church built as part of a religious establishment, the cloister of which corresponded to the one aisle and transept that are invariably to be found on the other, or outer side of the church itself. St. Dominic's was consecrated in 1243, by its founder, David MacKelly, O.P., Archbishop of Cashel. When two hundred years later, an accidental fire destroyed it and the adjoining priory, they were restored, and the church was consecrated by Archbishop Cantwell—1450-1482. Of all the Dominican churches in Ireland, forty-three in number, this of Cashel was considered the most beautiful. The traceried window of the transept, which is so much admired, must have been put in at the restoration of the edifice in place of the original three-light lancet window, for the heads of the latter, now filled with masonry, show in the wall, over the top of the fifteenth century decorated one. At the present day this roofless transept, which is on the south side of the church, is filled with tombs, all apparently of lay people; and several ash trees are growing among these resting-places of the departed. Let us pass from the transept, under the chancel arch of the lofty central tower, into the cloister, which here as in Dominican priories generally was reserved as the cemetery of the community. Here the martyr's grave is still pointed out. Under a magnificent

Perhaps a certified copy was sent to Dominic of the Rosary for his work, but whatever papers he had in the old Irish Dominican house of Coipo Santo, as well as the house itself, perished in the great Lisbon earthquake a hundred years later.

linden tree, which at two and a-half feet above the ground is fully ten feet in girth; and on its west side is the spot venerated through centuries of persecution by the Catholics of Cashel, where lie the hallowed remains of Father Richard Barry. In the penal times a small thatched chapel was built against the wall of the Abbey that runs parallel to the present street; and from the mark of the roof of this chapel, which is still to be seen on the ancient wall, it is evident the little structure stood close by the martyr's tree.

Although the interior of the Abbey church, even in its dismantled condition, was less exposed to the inclemency of the seasons, and must have been endeared to them by many sacred recollections, yet they preferred that the martyr's tomb should be the spot where the sacrifice of Calvary should be continued. Delicate tokens of reverence such as this reveal to us from its hidden depths one of the most beautiful traits of the Irish character; namely, the intense religious feeling, the warm affection, and the poetic temperament of our own people.¹

About a century ago the little church, a memorial of the darkest days of persecution, was taken down, and the present parish church was built on the old site of St. Francis' Abbey. The Dominican cloister is now, sad to say, a tilled garden. The present proprietor lately removed the earth to the depth of three feet around the root of the ancient

¹ The General Chapter of 1650 states that many miracles were wrought by the martyr. This accounts for the great veneration paid at his tomb. The same Chapter of 1650 mentions a few very interesting facts. Father Barry gave his blessing to all his brethren, and sent them away to a place of safety *before* Cashel was surrounded by the Puritan army. His purpose in remaining was to attend to the besieged, and if God so willed, to die with them. When Inchiquin's soldiers burst into the cathedral, with the cross in one hand, and the rosary in the other, he was exhorting the people to die for Christ's sake. He was the only ecclesiastic that wore his religious habit, and this was the reason why he was reserved for greater tortures. He had been seized in one of the chapels, where he knelt in prayer before the altar, making his last preparation. He was covered with blood, flowing from innumerable sword cuts and lance thrusts, before the final stab was given. The General Chapter of 1656, in which his martyrdom is again recorded, gives the details already mentioned in the text.

linden ; but did not find any traces of an interment. The late John Denis White, the author of *Cashel of the Kings*, who in all matters of local antiquities was justly regarded as the best authority, thought, however, that in consequence of the accumulation of soil everywhere visible, Father Richard Barry's dust must lie six feet below the present surface.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Fr. T. A. O'Brien". The signature is written in dark ink on a light background.

[This facsimile of the signature of T. A. O'Brien, O.P., the martyr-bishop, which we give above, was unavoidably omitted in the article on him which appeared in our February issue. In answer to some queries, it may be sufficient to state that Fr. Costello's, O.P., great work on the Irish Episcopacy and Beneficed Clergy will soon be published.]

THE RIDDLE OF HUMAN LIFE

"Well! Life is a quaint puzzle. Bits, the most incongruous join in each other, and the scheme thus gradually becomes symmetrical and clear; when lo! as the infant claps his hands and cries, 'See! see! the puzzle is made out!' all the pieces are swept back into the box—the black box with the gilded nails."—LORD LYTON.

IT is man's wont to conceive an absurdly exaggerated view of his own importance, and too often to forget what an exceedingly insignificant little creature he really is, considered in himself. In the display of this conceit and vanity he not unfrequently puts us in mind of the barn-door cock, which (according to George Elliot) believed the sun arose each morning for the express and sole purpose of hearing it crow!

To help us to arrive at a somewhat juster estimate of our true position in the vast creation, let us begin by making a supposition. We will suppose that by some divine power, we are carried away bodily from the earth, and deposited

upon the Pole Star. Looking down from such coign of vantage, we gain a magnificent view of the whole mechanism of the planetary systems. Granted the possession of suitable eyes, we should at once behold countless constellations, groups of stars, and vast systems of planets on all sides of us. Amongst these we would soon detect our own beautiful sun, bright, glistening, and fiercely incandescent. Revolving round it as a centre, we might then observe the four gigantic planets, Neptune, Uranus, Saturn, and Jupiter. Round and round they sweep at a terrific pace, in circles of literally thousands of millions of miles in circumference.

A more careful and minute inspection would finally reveal to us yet another planet. It is small, indeed, as compared with the four above mentioned, and insignificant in the extreme—so small, in fact, that twelve hundred, all rolled into one, would be needed to make a single star equal in size to Jupiter, and almost as many to bring it up to the dimensions of Saturn. What is this poor little revolving speck, looking like a grain of dust, that seems lost amid the vast number of greater and grander orbs? It is our earth; the world on which we dwell. From our supposed position on the Pole Star it seems the merest point; yet round and round it sweeps about the sun, floating without any visible support through the aerial wastes, bearing on its surface not only seas and mountains, rivers and lakes, forests and plains, but a living freight of over a thousand millions of human beings, together with the towns and cities in which they live; the great seaports, with their shipping and their merchandize; and the teeming, busy emporiums of trade and commerce, industry and business. The whole is tearing through space immeasurably faster than the swiftest bullet ever projected from a cannon's mouth.

Contemplated from this point of view, the earth is no longer the important planet we first supposed. Compared with the rest of creation, the entire world is less than a tiny particle of dust, or a single drop from some vast ocean. Yet in this tiny world man works out his destiny; it is the seat of his present life, labour, and love. Having gazed intently upon the earth, as seen from afar, let us now draw

nearer, and imagine ourselves to be in the position of a child just born into it. Consider the natural working of its mind. In this child we see an image or type of ourselves, and may study the promptings and gropings of every human soul. On its first entry into this world it is carried along, like an unconscious thing, amid the stream of events and circumstances that surround it. As years, however, pass away a change takes place. Not only does the body develop, but the powers of the mind also unfold. Reason gradually begins to dawn. Like the first faint gleams of morning stealing over the eastern hills, and heralding the day, come the early promptings and inquiries of reason ; and as the seasons succeed one another reason develops and strengthens ever more and more.

Looking with wondering eyes over the earth, the child gazes out far and wide upon all around it: the wide stretching plains, the deep sonorous seas, the snow-capt mountains, &c. And as it gazes, strange thoughts like shadows flutter through its mind, and provoke its interest and curiosity—and a number of burning questions begin to stir within its innermost soul, till at last they formulate themselves in words, and the child pauses to inquire:—*How* did I get here? *Who* placed me here? *What* am I here for? *Whence* have I come? *Whither* am I going? What does it all mean? And how is it all going to end? What is the answer to the riddle of life? As the child looks out upon its earthly dwelling-place, it feels itself to be a stranger in a strange land. “Those mountains, ah! they were there” (it muses) “long before I was born. The rushing river, the wild cascade, the bubbling stream are old features in the landscape. I alone am an intruder.”

It looks up to the sun, flooding the heavens with its light ; and as it basks in the beneficent rays a voice within its heart cries out: “That same sun now shining on me has shone for thousands of years before I was so much as thought of: its bright rays cheered and comforted countless generations that have been born, and run their course, and passed away, and are now numbered with the things forgotten, and it will shine on thousands yet to come.” And as the

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The Rev. John Molyneux, P.P., says:—"Your remedy to many has proved a certain and permanent cure. In one case the effect was simply marvellous."

The Rev. W. Harpur (Methodist Minister), Arklow, Ireland:—"The young man had been for a considerable time under the treatment of a skilful Doctor without any good result. Since he began the 'Remedy' he has not had a single attack, his appetite improved, his strength increased, and he is now full of health and vigour. From what I have seen of it, it is indeed a wonderful Remedy."

The Ven. Archdeacon O'Sullivan, P.P., says:—"The girl got no return of the Epileptic Fits since she began to use your medicine, though previously she got them two and three times a week, for twenty years."

The Rev. J. Vance, M.A., Rector of Newcastle, Canon of Limerick Cathedral:—"Your Epileptic patient suffered from Fits for eight years. Since he began to use your Remedy he has not had a single attack. He considers himself completely cured. This should be widely known, as it deserves to be."

Captain J. Kearney White, Dublin (Secretary to the Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland):—"I have had several opportunities of personally inquiring into the remarkable results of your Remedy for Epileptic Fits. I have seen patients, and learned from their own lips the complete and wonderful cures that your Remedy has effected. May God bless you in your good work. You have already brought happiness to several homes, which have come within my own personal knowledge."

Captain Verschoyle, Castle Troy, Limerick:—"A man had long been given up by his medical adviser as incurable, and had been suffering for fifteen years, and often fell in the street and was almost reduced to beggary by the disease. As soon as he began to take your Remedy for Epilepsy the fits ceased, and after having taken it for the appointed course, he has been completely cured."

The Rev. Ing'is G. Monckton, Coven Vicarage, Wolverhampton:—"The Epileptic patient has had no attacks since he began your medicine. Before he took it his attacks were of an awful character."

Ven. Archdeacon Bell-Cox says:—"The poor woman taking your Remedy for Epilepsy has been perfectly restored to health."

The Rev. Peter Barrett, P.P. (since deceased), wrote:—"Having suffered fearfully for three years the patient began to use your bottle. The first week she got three fits, but since then she has not got a fit, and is now perfectly cured."

The Rev. Charles H.B. Tottenham, A.B., Kinsale:—"The patient had suffered for ten years. His nerves were completely shattered, and he was altogether in very miserable health. He has never had a Fit since taking the first dose of your Remedy. His nerves are steady, appetite good, and his whole appearance is wonderfully changed for the better."

The Rev. A. Milwaine, Longford:—"The young man to whom I recommended your Remedy for Epilepsy is now quite well, and has had no return of the disease. His friends are very grateful to you as the means, under the divine blessing, of his complete recovery."

John Boyle, Esq. Poor Law Guardian of the Manchester Union:—"The man over fifty years of age has been entirely exempt from any symptoms of Epilepsy since he commenced taking your Remedy. He had for a period of thirty years been afflicted first with 'Petit Mal,' and later with 'Epilepsy' proper."



Rev J. F. Luther, Killmarcanon of Limerick Cathedral:—"Your Remedies have been of the most marked and permanent use to several under my personal observation."

Rev. J. Elliott, Moira, Ireland. Methodist Minister:—"I have recommended your Remedy for Fits in many cases with the best results. It is the greatest Remedy on earth."

The Rev. J. Boulton, Methodist Minister, Walsford, England:—"I have seen wonderful results follow the regular taking of your Remedy. I shall recommend it wherever I go, and try to persuade those afflicted with Epilepsy to give it a fair trial."

The Rev. Father Curry, P.P., writes:—"I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the wonderful efficacy of your Remedy for the cure of Epileptic Fits."

Extracts from Opinions of the Press.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD (London), 3rd November, 1892 :—"Mr. Townsend Trench's *great cure* for Epilepsy has now earned a world-wide reputation, and is at the present moment finding its way into the remotest corners of the civilised world."

THE PALL MALL GAZETTE, 26th February, 1892 :—"Mr. Trench appears to have wonderful success in the cure of Epilepsy. I have myself seen several, and heard of more, cures he has effected in Epileptic patients, who were pronounced incurable by their medical attendants."

THE IRISH DAILY INDEPENDENT, 14th November, 1892 :—"Mr. Trench in his new pamphlet gives abundant proofs of the efficacy of his treatment, and shows that his efforts have generally been crowned with success. He now sends his Remedy to India, Australia, Canada, and America, as well as all over the continent of Europe."

THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 24th September 1892 :—"Mr. Townsend Trench's Remedy for Epilepsy seems to be a success, and he would appear to have discovered a valuable remedy for a most serious and terrible disease."

THE DAILY EXPRESS, 19th September, 1891 :—"A genuine cure or Epilepsy will be hailed by the whole community as a great blessing, and we are glad to see that an Irishman has stepped forward with what certainly appears to be a genuine cure for that disease, its failure hitherto being almost unknown. Those who suffer from the disease could do no better than consult him, when they will get an honest opinion."

THE IRISH TIMES, Christmas Number, 1892 :—"Mr. Trench has now become universally known as a specialist at curing that very distressing and unfortunately prevalent disease, Epilepsy. The numerous testimonials he gives in his pamphlet are not the usual anonymous ones published as from patients, but come from thoroughly independent people, who state they have seen cures effected by his treatment."

THE EVENING HERALD, 28th May, 1892 (Extract from a long interview with a special reporter) :—"A Herald man has had the fortune to light on a man who not only professes to cure Epilepsy, but who can produce overwhelming testimony in support of his contention. The Herald man discovered abundant evidence of the accuracy of Mr. Trench's statement."

THE EVENING MAIL, 28th November, 1892 :—"To judge by Mr. Trench's pamphlet, he has certainly discovered a most valuable cure for Epilepsy."

THE ENGLISH CHURCHMAN AND ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE, 22nd October, 1891 :—"Mr. Trench has brought out a cure for Epileptic Fits, which has been most successful."

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL GAZETTE, 12th February, 1892 :—"Mr. Trench has secured a deservedly high reputation for successfully combating the terrible scourge of Epilepsy. It is a strange fact that, although entering on ground which has baffled the skill of our ablest men, no well-founded adverse criticism has assailed Mr. Trench's efforts."

THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE (Belfast), 21st September, 1887 :—"Mr. Trench has a remarkable Remedy for Fits, and we have known a considerable number of persons cured thereby."

THE SOUTHAMPTON TIMES, 7th May, 1892 :—"It has fallen to the lot of a distinguished Irishman, Mr. J. Townsend Trench, to discover a Remedy for Epilepsy, which appears to be almost untailing in its operation. We have carefully examined and made personal inquiries, which have been entirely satisfactory. The great majority of cases yield to his effectual method of treatment."

THE EVENING ECHO, 10th February, 1893 :—"Mr. Trench's success is the best proof of his ability and great medical skill."

THE WITNESS (Belfast) :—"The most absolute confidence may be reposed in the efficacy of Mr. Trench's medicine."

LAND AND WATER, 4th July, 1891 :—"In truth, so numerous and successful have been the cures worked by the Remedy, that medical men speak of it in terms of warmth as unqualified as those employed by laymen. Its success has been so pronounced and consistent that we make no apology for thus introducing it to our readers."

THE BULLETIN (Belfast), November, 1890 :—"Mr. Trench is possessed of a thoroughly scientific mind, and his researches have resulted in the discovery of some valuable Remedies, which have already attracted considerable attention."

THE IRISH CATHOLIC, 11th February, 1893 :—"Mr. Trench seems to have beyond all doubt discovered a cure for Epilepsy, which is effective in the great majority of cases where his instructions are carried out, and we offer Mr. Townsend Trench our hearty congratulation, both as an Irishman and as a great benefactor of suffering humanity."

THE DUBLIN FIGARO, 24th September, and 11th March, 1893 :—"Mr. Trench has been before—let us say, the civilised world—as the patentee of a new medicine of his own for Epilepsy which is a veritable panacea in its way. He has made for himself a name, not only throughout Europe but throughout the world, as the leading Epileptic Specialist of the day, and his fame and position he only gained through long study and great perseverance. That he has succeeded, is proved beyond all question. Of him and his fellow-countrymen may well be proud."

IRISH SOCIETY, 4th March, 1893 :—"That Mr. Trench has discovered a cure for Epilepsy which is effective in the great majority of cases, is a fact that has now been established beyond all reasonable doubt."

THE TYRONE COURIER, 14th February, 1891 :—"Trench's Remedy is a marvellous cure."

THE KILKENNY MODERATOR, 28th March, 1891 :—"Persons who have been suffering from Fits for several years have been immediately benefited, and by continuance of the Remedy permanently cured."

child strolls down to the pebbly beach, and hears the music of the seething waters, and listens to the waves dashing and breaking on the shore, and grinding the rocks to powder, it reflects that "those same sounds have tingled in the ears of multitudes long since dead and turned to clay."

At last he reaches some lonely cemetery, and wanders amid the memorials of the dead. All around him lie the melancholy tombstones. They are old and grey, and gnawed away by the tooth of time, while over many is spread the moss of centuries. The very characters, once so clearly cut upon their polished surfaces, are now blurred, and worn, and hardly legible. He deciphers with difficulty the different inscriptions. "Pray for such a one, who died in 1750," or "Of your charity breathe a prayer for such another, who fell asleep in the Lord in 1699," &c. And while he reads, he hears, in fancy, the dead muttering in their shrouds. They seem, in fact, to be preaching to him from out their pulpits of cold stone; and to breathe in his ear words of awful warning: "Hodie mihi, cras tibi." "To-day for me, but to-morrow for thee." "What I am now (a little dust), thou shalt soon be, and what thou art now (living flesh and blood) I once was." "Yes I, who am now lying here, was once e'en as thou. I too was once rocked in a cradle, fed at the breast, and fondled on the knee. I grew up in strength and beauty, and basked in the sunshine of a mother's love, and gambolled and made merry with my companions on the green. Oh! how gaily we were wont to run and shout, and scream in our thoughtless play. Yes: I, as you, had my days of pleasure and my days of disappointment; my sunshine and my shadow; though now forgotten and corrupted, I too was once absorbed by my business and my profession, my interests, my anxieties, my enemies and my friends. Aye; I strutted my brief hour upon the stage, in anxious care or thoughtless gaiety. But the years stole by, and full soon the drama of life was ended: the play was over: the curtain fell. My body, like a used up garment, was flung on one side, and thrown into the grave. Thou whilst thou standest and gazest, art actually passing along the same route, which I have already trodden. Thy days are numbered, and thou wilt soon be by my side."

And, as such thoughts course each other through the brain, the shortness and uncertainty of life are borne in upon the mind with resistless vividness and force. Oh! how brief, how transient! We are here to-day; to-morrow we are gone. To what are we to compare it? To the passage of a ship through the sea. There is a little stirring of the waters, a little fuss and foam and commotion in its immediate neighbourhood; but it passes; the waters close up, and no trace of its path is to be seen. What is life? A vapour, which endures for a little while, and then disappears. Or it has been compared to a bird, winging its way through the air. Behold! we gaze upon it for a moment, but see! it is gone. Or like a spark, it glows like fire for an instant in the midst of the night. But before we have time to cry—Behold! it is swallowed up again in darkness.

A hundred years ago, not one of you who now read these lines had any existence. You had not come into the world. In a hundred years more, you will most certainly have left it. Life then is like a hyphen connecting two eternities. There is the eternity of the past, out of which we have been drawn, and there is the eternity of the future, into which we are so soon about to plunge. A moment indeed separates us from it. But on that single moment the whole of our endless future is balancing.

2. But the child will ask *how* did I get here? That it did not make itself, is quite clear. It was not even consulted in the matter. God alone made that child, or could make it. Man could not do it. No! its parents were but the instruments—in a sense, the *unconscious* instruments. They know not, nor can they explain, how the marvellous structure was built up; how muscle and bone, and sinew and ligament were knit together into a single living breathing whole. It is a work divine. Who is foolish enough to imagine that unaided man can produce such a marvel? He, who cannot make the least insect that crawls; nor the smallest floweret that blows; how much less can he make a human being. Call together your men of science, your learned philosophers; summon your Darwins, Spencers, Cliffords, Leylls, Harrisons, and bid them construct for you, by their own

power, the simplest object: the robber bee, for instance, that pilfers the nectar from the flowers; or the common house fly that buzzes against the window pane. Bid them create a fruit, a flower, a leaf, nay a single blade of common prairie grass. Impossible! As well bid them create sun, moon, and every gleaming star. No. A power superior to man must have been his author. An Intellect and a Will more than of man himself, were needed to bring him into existence, and that Intellect and Will we call GOD. God made me. He is the author of my being. He and no other placed me in this world. But consider the consequence. If God made me, then I am His. Since He fashioned me, I belong to him. He is my supreme Lord and sovereign Ruler. I belong more truly to Him than the picture belongs to the painter who painted it; than the statue to him who hewed it from the rock, and shaped it in comeliness and beauty. In fact, nothing belongs to me half so absolutely as I belong to God. There are many things that we call our own, and of which we dispose as we please; yet we created none of them, and not one can be strictly said to owe its existence to us. How infinitely greater and further reaching then, is God's dominion over man, than man's dominion even over his own handiwork! The question is, do we realize this? Do we bear in mind the consequences of our subjection to an Almighty Being. Are we conscious, as the days and weeks of toil go by, and as years are added to years, that we are not our own, but are creatures of an Infinite Creator: that we are under the strictest and most binding obligation to obey Him, serve Him, honour Him, and love Him?

3. But granted that God made us, and that we are His; and, consequently, that we must serve Him as our supreme Lord and Master; granting all this; reason will not rest there. It demands further, Why did God make us? What was it that induced Him to call us forth from the bottomless depths of pure nothingness? Now observe, between "nothing" and "something" there yawns an infinite gulf. The two terms are separated, as philosophers speak, by the whole diameter of being. Hence to call my soul from

nothingness into existence, God had, if I may so express it, to exercise the whole of His omnipotence. And what was His motive? Was it because I was in any way necessary to Him? Such an idea is in itself absurd. If He did without me during a past eternity, why should I suddenly become necessary now. No! Was it then because of some advantage He was to derive from my existence? An equally impossible suggestion. God is infinite. He possesses within Himself the source of all perfection and felicity, and can stand in need of no one. What is the entire world in His sight? A mere nothing. What are the heavens and the earth, and all men and angels united before His dread presence? No more than a drop of the morning dew. How could we therefore add to His essential glory, or increase a happiness already infinite? No; He made us; but it was not through necessity, nor was it through any advantage He could derive from our existence.

Why then was it? It was by reason of His inherent goodness and love. Goodness is always diffusive. Goodness yearns to impart its treasures: and to let others share in its happiness and possessions. God desired that His own happiness and glory should radiate beyond Himself. As the sun is not only bright itself, but shoots forth its rays far and wide, and gladdens ten thousand worlds; so God is not only in Himself infinite goodness, but He loves to impart and diffuse His gifts and favours on others. Hence He made man, not through necessity, nor even through any advantage He could hope to reap from his creation, but through pure unadulterated love. Indeed this is the only motive consonant with our very knowledge of the nature of God; and it is just precisely the motive He assigns. "Behold I have loved thee with an everlasting love, therefore I have drawn thee out of nothingness." No other motive can be assigned. But here again I ask, what is the consequence? The consequence is, that we must love Him in return. Love begets love, even between creatures; how much more should the love of the Creator incite and enkindle love in the heart of the creature? If that Divine Power, who stretched out the heavens and laid the foundations of the earth,

condescends to lavish His love upon me, surely the very least I can do, is to love Him in return according to the utmost extent of my limited capacity. Nor is this all. He not merely made me, but He has surrounded me with His gifts and favours. "All things were made by Him, and without Him was made nothing that is made." He has given us great gifts; and what is more, He has given us the capacity of enjoying them, without which the gifts would be of little worth. We may divide these gifts into those which are particular and into those which are general. Among our *particular* gifts are life, health, the sense of sight, of hearing, of taste, of smell, and touch; and above all and beyond all others in the natural order, reason and free will.

The five senses put us in relationship with the whole of external nature: and the intellect enables us to think of those external objects, and to reason about them in a rational manner.

By God's *general* gifts, I mean those of which all men may make use. Thus the earth, our dwelling-place; the air we breathe; the food by which our animal wants are supplied; the sun which warms and cheers us, as well as delighting us by its beauty. All these things are so many gifts from God, so many tokens of His love, so many proofs of His affection and solicitude for us. We are ready enough to *use* His gifts. There can be no doubt about that. We are never weary of extracting pleasure, amusement, happiness, and advantage from every creature capable of yielding it. But how often do we pause, in the midst of our career, to turn a grateful loving glance towards Him whose goodness has laid open all these treasures? Did you ever tarry to consider even the magnitude of God's gifts, or the measureless value of even the least of them? Take, as an instance, *the gift of sight*. The eye! What a marvellous organ. If destroyed by an accident, what can supply its place? Who can manufacture another? Though it is a physical thing, a thing formed of flesh and blood and *mere matter*, no man can manufacture such an organ. He has within his reach all the material elements of which it is composed, yet he cannot even put them together so as to

form an eye that can be of the smallest service to any one. Science has made great strides ; it can do many grand and startling things, but it is powerless to provide a blind man with the organ of vision. It has made many wondrous discoveries, but it has never discovered how to fashion anything to correspond to that. In point of size it is an insignificant organ, yet what endless marvels it discloses for our inclination and delight. It throws open to us the entire heaven with all its myriads of palpitating stars. It reveals to us all the beauties of the world : trees and flowers ; the graceful forms and sparkling hues of thousands of gorgeous insects, and the exquisite colouring of countless birds and beasts, together with fish and finny monsters of the deep, to say nothing of the countless gems and precious stones. By aid of the eye, we are able to tread our way through the mazes of a great town, or to wander safely over hill and dale ; to read books and papers ; to contemplate the finest works of the sculptor and the painter ; and, what perhaps is most pleasing of all, to gaze into the face of friends and relations, and read their affection therein more truly than on their lips ; to learn indeed what is often too deep for words.

All this, and far more, is included in the gift of sight. Yet this is one of the lesser gifts of God. Probably no one truly realizes its magnitude till he lose it. The blind (who have not always been blind) alone know how to estimate it at its full value. And what has been said of sight might be said, in a greater or lesser measure, of *all* the other senses—and, indeed, of all that we enjoy in the order of nature. To God we owe our existence ; and if our existence, then, of course, all that is included in our being : every organ, every limb, every faculty of mind, and every power of body. How we should, therefore, thank God for His goodness and generosity ! Yet how many of us make use of His gifts, merely to offend the Giver. But, further, God not only made us and all that exists around us, but He preserves and maintains us each succeeding moment. Nothing is, or can be, self-supporting. To say that any creature is self-sufficient, is to say that it is independent of God, and needs not God, which is absurd. Let me illustrate my contention by an

example. I lift a great stone from the ground. I raise it till it is on a level with my head. There it will remain. Yes ; but only so long as I support it. If I remove my hands the stone cannot continue suspended in mid-air, but falls abruptly to the ground. So when God lifts us out of nothing, it is not enough. He must needs maintain and preserve us, day by day, hour by hour, minute by minute. St. Augustine reminds us that "we are as much indebted to God for our existence each succeeding moment, as we were in the first moment." That being the case, how our hearts ought to be continually welling over with gratitude and thankfulness.

Many other considerations might be made to awaken within us similar sentiments ; but let us pass them by to ask ourselves :—*Whither* am I going ? We are ever hastening on towards eternity. You have contemplated the mountain torrent skipping and gurgling merrily over the stones ? How quickly, how sprightly, how glittering ! *That is youth.* You have watched the same, broadening out into a full flowing stream ? *That is manhood* and mature age. You have looked upon it also as it grew into a wide majestic river ; and as its waters, with slackened pace, glided on almost imperceptibly, to be at last lost in the deep ocean ? *That is old age*, ending in eternity. We are all like to a river, hurrying on to throw ourselves into that boundless, bottomless main. Death is the dark entry through which we must pass. Those gloomy portals loom in the uncertain distance. Every moment brings us a step nearer. Every hour diminishes the interval separating us from them. Often we may wish to pause in our onward course. Impossible ! Often we would gladly linger on in the groves of pleasure and dissipation, or even call back again the days long fled, or arrest the fleeting hour. But no. It cannot be ! A power stronger than ourselves urges us on. As well seek to stay the earth revolving on its axis, or to check the meteor's flight, as to lay a staying hand on the rushing river of time.

But *whither* are we hurrying so fast ? Into eternity. Aye, but what kind of eternity ? There are two : one of joy ineffable, and one of sorrow inexpressible. The one is a home of peace, pleasure, delight, "where the wicked cease

from troubling, and the weary are at rest." The other is a bottomless abyss, where eternal disorder and confusion, and endless darkness reigns. Darkness in the intellect; darkness in the will; darkness in the heart; as well as darkness before the eyes. Into one of these two places we shall each of us soon find ourselves. Which, we should each ask ourselves, is to be *my* eternity? It depends upon myself. "Before you lie life and death; that which you choose, you shall have." A man need not trouble to inform us which he is choosing. We can tell by observing his life, his conduct, his general behaviour and character. If he is doing what he believes to be right; if he is acting up to his conscience; if he wishes earnestly and practically to carry out God's will, even when it costs him some sacrifice, we know that man is choosing the bright and glorious eternity; if not, we are equally sure that he is choosing the eternity of misery, remorse, pain, and endless agony. What a privilege to help the thoughtless and the giddy to make a proper choice, and to reach at last the haven of everlasting rest!

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

JOSEPH DE MAISTRE.—II.

1817-1821.

DE MAISTRE was now (1817) sixty-four years old. So far he had done little to make himself a name in the literary world. His *Considerations*, it is true, had attracted much attention; but many things had happened since the publication of that work, and some of these had falsified his most confident predictions. We have seen, however, that he had not been idle during his prolonged exile in Russia; that he had been gathering materials and making digests, pondering, planning, sketching, and composing. The world at large knew nothing of these labours. Hence it came to pass that it was only in the last few years, or rather months, of his life that he really became known as one of the most brilliant

writers of his day. His *Du Pape* did not see the light until 1819; his *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg* not until 1821, the very year of his death. Fifteen years more elapsed before the publication of his *Bacon*, and thirty years before the publication of his voluminous correspondence. His fame, therefore, is mainly posthumous. He did not live to see how his books were received; he had no opportunity of correcting or modifying what he had written. The benefits which great works derive from the blows of sturdy opponents and the cuts of candid friends, were denied to him. To this we must attribute the absoluteness of so many of his views and the unpractical character of his aims. Some critics have even thought that they can detect in his style something of the confined atmosphere of the study; but to this most readers will surely demur.

Before we come to deal with these writings we must say a word about the events of the last years of De Maistre's life. After the final downfall of Napoleon he continued for some time to reside at the Russian Court. His wife and daughter had been with him since 1814, but still he longed to end his days in his native land. After repeated requests he at last obtained his recall. The Czar Alexander bestowed costly presents upon him and his family; and to save him as far as possible from the expenses of his long journey homeward, placed at his disposal a Russian ship-of-the-line which was bound for France. With mingled feelings of joy at the end of his exile, and regret at parting from his friends, he set sail from Cronstadt on May 28th, and reached Calais on June 20th. Four days later he arrived in Paris. This was the first and the only time that he ever visited the country and the capital which are now the home of his fame. A hearty welcome was accorded to him in all the royalist circles. Louis XVIII. was especially gracious; but De Maistre's greatest consolation was his audience with the Duchess of Angoulême, the illustrious daughter of Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette. The sight of such calm after such a storm filled his soul with delight and served to intensify his already advanced royalist opinions. As for Paris itself,

he was smitten with that charm which even the dullest travellers have not failed to feel. He stayed there so much of the time at his disposal that he nearly missed seeing Versailles. Such a "disgrace," however, he could not suffer. He who had been the foremost champion of the Bourbons was greatly impressed with that vast and costly monument of the old *régime*.

"Last Thursday [he writes] I managed to find my way there. Louis XIV. still lives in the palace; everything is full of him. I do not know why the devotees of the Revolution spared so many memorials of a king who so little understood the rights of man. In the chamber where this famous prince died, in that other where he held his councils, where Colbert and Louvois gave their opinions in the presence of Madame de Maintenon at her knitting, in the groves where Madame de Sévigné used to walk, I felt quite overcome. There is now nothing left for me to see."

He reached Turin during the month of August. Had he consulted his own desires he would now have retired into private life to complete his long-planned works and to see them through the press. For the sake of his wife and children he solicited office; and after some delay obtained the highest post in the magistracy and numerous decorations. He had not long received these honours when his famous book on the Pope appeared.

For some years past the Revolution had seemed to have finished its course. Bonaparte was safely guarded in far-off St. Helena; Louis XVIII. held peaceful possession of the throne of his fathers; Pius VII. was back in the Quirinal. Throughout Europe the Royalists were triumphant and the Revolutionists in despair. But there were not wanting shrewd men of both parties who perceived that the struggle was by no means at an end. They recognised that, just as the abuses of Royalism had led to the excesses of the Revolution, so the excesses of the Revolution had led to the Restoration. Nevertheless, Royalism and the Revolution were still face to face, and must fight their battles over again. The problem on each side was how to purge Royalty of its abuses and the Revolution of its excesses. No champion of the old order more deeply deplored the mistakes

and crimes of his party than De Maistre. No one was more convinced of the instability of the Restoration. His vast and profound knowledge of the history of the distant past, coupled with his varied experiences of the whole course of the Revolution, made him see clearly that unless some safeguard, some bulwark, could be discovered or devised, the last state of Christendom would be far worse than the first. Such a safeguard, such a bulwark, was happily at hand, and needed only to be recognised in order to fulfil its functions. It was no other than the Papacy—the oldest of all European institutions, and yet flourishing with the full vigour of youth. De Maistre knew well what opposition the Popes had suffered not only from their avowed enemies, the infidels and heretics, but also from Catholics, and notably the aristocratic bishops of France. The success of his *Considérations* encouraged him to embody his ideas in a fresh book. He was aware that he was taking up ground long recognised as the exclusive domain of the clergy; but he pleaded in defence that their diminished numbers and increased labours prevented them from undertaking the proposed task; and also that, inasmuch as his own order, the nobles, had been so guilty in the past, it was fitting that they should furnish religion with at least one defender.¹ Moreover, though he was a ripe classical scholar, he determined to write in French, because that language had been the instrument used by the Church's bitterest foes; and, in order to disclaim any pretension to write a theological treatise, he avoided the use of the scholastic method. The plan of the *Du Pape* is based upon the distinction between the two great classes into which he considered that Europe was divided—the party of authority, and the party of revolution. All non-Catholics, whether infidels, schismatics, or heretics, he embraced in the latter party, because they all agreed in rejecting authority. Unhappily, many of the

¹ No such apology is needed at the present day. De Maistre, De Bonald, Chateaubriand, Montalembert, Nicolas, Veuillot, and De Mun, in France; Goerres and Windthorst, in Germany; O'Connell, in Ireland; Ward, in England; Brownson, in America—all of these have proved in their different ways how much the Church owes to the efforts of the lay members of her flock.

former party did not follow out the principle of authority to its logical consequences; they clung to monarchism in politics, but would have nothing to do with it in religion. De Maistre aimed at conciliating legitimism, and at disarming the revolution.

The first portion, entitled "The Pope in Relation to the Church," is accordingly occupied with a powerful argument for the doctrine of Papal infallibility. Instead of the orthodox method of proving a thesis from Scripture, the fathers, and theological reason, he takes the legitimist principles of his Gallican adversaries, and shows that these very principles, when applied to the constitution of the Church, necessarily imply the infallibility of the Pope. Be consistent, he says; you hold that in the state the King alone is supreme; you must, therefore, admit that the Pope is infallible, for infallibility in the spiritual order is the same as supremacy in the temporal order. This *argumentum ad hominem* is developed and pushed home with much acumen and force. Then follow the testimonies of the fathers and doctors, taken mainly from an authority dear to writer and readers alike—the gentle St. Francis de Sales. Even Bossuet himself, the defender of the Declaration of the Gallican Church, is summoned as a witness, and is forced, in spite of himself, to give evidence in favour of the Papal claims. De Maistre quotes numerous passages in which the great preacher goes so far in support of the Holy See that he cannot logically stop short of admitting infallibility. Here is De Maistre's summary of this first part of his work:—

"There can be no human society without government, no government without sovereignty, no sovereignty without infallibility. This last character is so absolutely necessary that we are obliged to suppose infallibility even in temporal sovereigns (where, in fact, it does not exist), under pain of seeing society dissolve. The Church asks for nothing more than other sovereignties, although it has over them an immense superiority; since, on their side, infallibility is *humanly supposed*, and on hers it is *divinely promised*. This indispensable supremacy can be exercised only by a single organ: to divide it is to destroy it. Even with these truths less incontestable, it would always be undoubted that every dogmatic decision of the Holy Father should have the force

of law until opposed on the part of the Church. When this phenomenon shall appear it will be time for us to see what must be done; until then we must abide by the judgment of Rome. This necessity is invincible, because it belongs to the nature of things and to the very essence of sovereignty. The Gallican Church has offered more than one precious example in this matter. Induced at times by false theories and by certain local circumstances, to take up an attitude of apparent opposition to the Holy See, she very soon came back into the old paths. Recently, too, some of her leaders, for whose names, whose learning, whose virtues, and whose noble sufferings, I have the greatest respect—these, I say, have made all Europe ring with their complaints against the pilot whom they accuse of having navigated during a storm without consulting them.¹ For a moment they may have alarmed the timorous among the faithful, ‘*Res est solliciti plena timoris amor;*’ but when the time came for making a final choice the immortal spirit of that great Church hovered over the heads of those illustrious discontents, and all ended in silence and submission.”²

Supposing now that the Church of France has thus been won over to the cause of Papal infallibility, the objections of the ultra-Royalist are next dealt with in the second book, entitled “The Pope in Relation to Temporal Sovereignties.” After a brief but masterly proof of the necessity of a personal, individual sovereign in a state, De Maistre goes on to point out that, like every good thing, sovereignty is exposed to abuse. The great problem is, how to restrain sovereign power without destroying it. In the Middle Ages this was effected by the spiritual power, which had the right, in certain cases, of absolving subjects from their oath of allegiance. Such a course was good for the prince and good for the people. The spiritual power ever respected the office though it struck at the person. If the prince was deposed, it was by a divine and not by a human authority; and the people, knowing that they had a security against tyranny, had little temptation to rebellion. In spite of much misrepresentation the system worked well. Deposition was seldom resorted to, and when it was exercised it was thoroughly deserved. And here De Maistre draws attention to the fact

¹A reference to the Concordat of 1801, when a number of the old French hierarchy were forced by Pius VII. to resign their sees.

²Chap. xix.

that the power of deposing sovereigns was never used by the Popes for the purpose of extending their own temporal dominions. This leads to a learned digression on the origin and growth of these Papal States. Returning to his main subject, he deals with the story of the struggles between the Popes and temporal sovereigns. The causes of these may be divided into three classes:—Kings claimed not to be bound by the laws of Christian marriage; they claimed to be the bestowers of the spiritual powers of the priesthood; they claimed the power of invading Italy and annexing its provinces to their own dominions. As heads of the Church the Popes withstood the first two claims; as Italian sovereigns they withstood the last. Who can blame them, who does not rather praise them, for their opposition to all three? Again let us take De Maistre's summary of his argument:—

“No sovereignty is unlimited in the full force of the term; and, indeed, no sovereignty can be: always and everywhere there is some restraint on it. The most natural and the least dangerous—especially among young and ferocious nations—is, beyond doubt, some sort of intervention on the part of the spiritual power. The hypothesis of all the Christian sovereignties, united by the bonds of religious brotherhood into a sort of universal commonwealth, under the supremacy of the highest spiritual power—this hypothesis, I say, has nothing objectionable about it; nay, rather, it can present itself to men's reason as superior to the system of the Amphictyonic Council. I do not see that modern times have devised anything better, or even as good. Who knows what would have happened if theocracy, politics, and science could have settled into an equilibrium, as is always the case when the elements are left to themselves, and time is allowed to work? The most frightful calamities—religious wars, the French Revolution, &c.—would not have been possible in that state of things; and even limited as the exercise of the power of the Popes has been, and in spite of the terrible jumble of the mistakes, vices, and passions, which have desolated humanity at various deplorable epochs, the Papacy has nevertheless rendered the most signal services to humanity.”¹

So far. De Maistre has been arguing with friends. He now turns in the third and fourth books to the objections

¹ Chap. x.

brought against the Papacy by enemies. And first he deals with the infidel philosophers of the day, who were continually accusing the Popes of being hostile to civilization. Is not civilization another name for Christianity? he asks. Was it not Christianity, with the Pope as its chief and guide, which tamed the hordes of barbarian invaders in the early ages? And is not that same Christianity, under that same chief, still sending forth missionaries to continue the civilizing work? Have not the Popes ever been the persistent foes of slavery? and was it not their efforts which brought about its suppression? And then, with his usual boldness, De Maistre goes on to show that the maligned Catholic priesthood, with its hated confessional and despised celibacy, has been, and is, one of the most potent instruments of civilization that the world has ever seen. The long chapter (chap. iii.) in which this subject is treated is, to my mind, the most valuable portion of the whole work, and entitles the author to the undying gratitude of the clergy. Nowhere else does he display to greater advantage his vast stores of knowledge, his keen logic, his ardent enthusiasm, his unrivalled powers of ridicule and scorn. I wish I could quote largely from this chapter; but space is denied me, and one or two extracts would give no adequate idea of the whole. It must be read as it stands. Another benefit due to the Popes has been the institution of that very European monarchy which has been almost as much calumniated as the Papacy and the priesthood. The summary of this third book is a summary of the preceding books as well and is too long to quote here. The concluding paragraph may be given in proof of De Maistre's moderation—a quality which is not always manifest in his works:—

“In concluding this discussion, I protest against every sort of exaggeration. Let the power of the Popes be restrained within due bounds; but let not these bounds be altered at the whim of passion or ignorance. Let not public opinion be alarmed by vain terrors. So far from there being any fear of excess in the spiritual power, the contrary is rather to be feared, viz., that the Popes may be wanting in strength to bear the heavy burden laid upon them, and that through yielding, they may at length lose the ability as well as the habit of resisting. Let them have their due

in all good faith. The Popes for their part, know well the rights of temporal authority, which indeed will never have more intrepid and powerful defenders. But they must be able to stand up for their own rights; and if some prince should chance to threaten a schism, unless some concession be granted, the successor of St. Peter could well answer in words written long ages ago: "Will you leave me? Go then by all means. Follow the passion that is carrying you away. Do not think that I will stoop to keep you back. Go! Others there are with me to pay me the honour that is my due; and above all, God is on my side."²

The fourth and last book is taken up with an account of the Græco-Russian Churches. De Maistre's long residence in Russia invests with interest and authority all that he has to say on this subject. Here, too is an attack on the Greek mind and character which would satisfy the veriest Trojan of the days of the Renaissance. Finally, there is an appeal to all schismatics and heretics, especially the English, to rally round the See of Rome as the only hope of Christianity and good government.

Such is a brief and inadequate account of De Maistre's famous *Du Pape*. In passing judgment on it, we must remember that it was written for a certain time, and for a certain class of readers. Looked at from this point of view, it must be pronounced an unqualified success. The Gallican-royalist is dead and buried, and De Maistre undoubtedly had the chief hand in killing him and in lowering his corpse into the grave. But this very fact has deprived the book of much of its utility and interest. I confess that in reading it I have often been struck with the old-world character of some of its arguments—as admirable in their day as three-deckers and Brown Bess; but powerless against the armour and weapons of our present foes. Again, Mr. Morley and other advocates of the Revolution look upon De Maistre as our only champion, and his method of defending the Papal See as our only method. When they have demolished him, they think that they have demolished us. But the vast majority of English-speaking Catholics, and a goodly number of continental Catholics—German, French, and Italian—have no leanings to absolute monarchy, and no

¹ *Iliad*, i. 173-175.

regret for the downfall of the Bourbons. We yield to no one in veneration for the Holy See ; but our veneration is not based upon any abstract love of supreme personal rule. We hold that the Church is a monarchy, in the strict sense of the word, because Christ is her sole Head, and the Pope is His supreme, infallible Vicar. This does not prevent us from denying, if we are so minded, that monarchy is not the best form of *human* government. De Maistre aimed at a vast union of absolute monarchs, controlled only by the Pope. Most Catholics at the present time, I imagine, are far from sympathizing with any such aim. Nevertheless, over and above its historic interest, the *Du Pape* will continue to be studied and admired, on account of its learning, its logic, and its wit, and because it so often rises above the circumstances of time, place, and person, in which it was written.

If space permitted, I should like to defend De Maistre from some of Mr. Morley's strictures. For instance, he laughs at De Maistre for saying that kings reign because they are royal ; because they have *plus d'esprit royal*. "Surely," adds Mr. Morley, "as mysterious and occult a force as the *virtus dormitiva* of opium." Surely not. How did certain families first obtain ascendancy ? Was it not because they were possessed of higher intelligence, courage, strength, dignity, and capability of command ? Charles II. may be vile, and Louis XVI. pitiful, but who can deny "kingly qualities" to the Plantagenets, the Tudors, the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, and even the Stuarts and Bourbons ? As soon as a family loses its *esprit royal* its tenure of the throne is doomed.

No sooner was the *Du Pape* off his hands than De Maistre set to work to get ready for publication a longer and yet more cherished work. But his labours were interrupted. The hand of Austria lay heavily on the little kingdom of Sardinia. Victor Emmanuel I. was merely a tool in the hand of his powerful neighbour. Secret societies were spreading their toils throughout Italy. In vain De Maistre tendered his counsels to his sovereign. The too faithful old servant, worn out with anxiety, rapidly lost his usual robust

health. His body became a wreck, though his mind retained its usual clearness and energy. Early in the year 1821 he was present at the Royal Council for the last time. The Ministers proposed a series of measures, to ward off the revolution which was now daily threatening to burst forth. De Maistre had no objection to the proposals themselves, but he contended that the occasion was not suitable for them. He grew excited as he spoke, and delivered a speech of great power, ending with the words:—"The earth is quaking, and you talk about building!" This was his last public utterance. He passed away on the 26th of February. Eleven days later Turin was in the hands of the mob.

The book which he had not lived to finish, but which was brought out soon after his death, was the *Soirées de Saint-Petersbourg*. It is a series of questions on the Providence of God. During the previous century the principles of the Reformation, worked out to their logical conclusion, had landed its partisans, first in Deism, and finally in Atheism. Those who halted half way in Deism, exerted themselves, on the one hand, to prove against their more extreme friends the wisdom, the power, and the goodness of God, as manifested in His governance of the world; and, on the other, to point out to Christians how plain and convincing this proof was in comparison with the complicated and ineffectual arguments in favour of Revelation. The atheist did not fail to insist in reply, that the presence of evil in the world clearly proved that God did not exist; for an infinitely wise Being would know how, and an infinitely powerful Being would be able, and an infinitely good Being would be willing, to prevent it. In the midst of the discussion came the terrible earthquake of Lisbon (1755), which did much to destroy the deist position; and also proved too great a shock to many of the faithful. A generation later an even more awful calamity fell upon the world, the victims of which were a hundred-fold more numerous. This time the faithful felt the difficulty most, and accordingly it was fitting that one of their number should undertake to explain it. As we have seen,¹ the problem had interested

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, page 240.

De Maistre as far back as the early days of the Revolution. He sketched out the solution of it in his *Considérations*; but he resolved to devote a whole work to it. Recognising that he was at his best in his conversations, he threw the matter into the form of dialogues. The disputants are himself, a Russian Senator, and a young French officer—or rather himself alone, under three different aspects; for, as it had been well said, every reflective man is, at the very fewest, “three gentlemen at once.” The three friends meet in the evening at a rural retreat belonging to the Count, just outside St. Petersburg. The first *Soirée* opens with a charming description of a summer evening on the banks of the Neva. This, we are told, was from the pen of De Maistre’s younger brother, Xavier, the author of the delightful *Voyage autour de Ma Chambre*. Then the discussion soon begins on the great question of the origin of evil or, as the Senator puts it, “the prosperity of the wicked, and the misfortunes of the just.” De Maistre by no means allows the usual answer that the balance will be adjusted in another world. He boldly affirms that it is evidently false to say that *in general* crime is happy, and virtue miserable. The distribution of good things, and evil things is a mere matter of chance; so that the real question is, why do the wicked ever prosper at all? Why are the just ever miserable? Here is De Maistre’s answer:—

“I have never been able to understand this eternal argument against Providence drawn from the misfortunes of the just, and the prosperity of the wicked. If a good man suffered because he was a good man, and if a wicked man prospered because he was wicked, then the argument would be unanswerable; but it falls to the ground if we simply suppose that good and evil are distributed indifferently to all men. But false opinions are like bad money which is coined by great criminals, and then passed from hand to hand by worthy men who perpetuate the crime without being aware of what they are doing. It was wickedness that first started the difficulty; frivolity and good nature repeated it; but in truth there is nothing in it at all. To return to my former illustration; a good man is killed in battle—is this an injustice? No, it is a misfortune.¹ If he has the gout or

¹ This reminds us of St. Augustine’s “Non est mendacium sed mysterium.”

stone; if his friend betrays him; if he is crushed by the fall of a house—it is a misfortune and nothing more; because all men, without distinction, are subject to these miseries. We must never lose sight of this great truth: *a general law which is not unjust for men as a whole, cannot be unjust for the individual man.* It is abundantly clear that evils of every kind fall upon the human race, like bullets on an army, without any distinction of persons. Now if the good man does not suffer *because he is good*, and if the wicked man does not prosper *because he is wicked*, the objection disappears, and common sense wins the day.”

But how comes physical evil into the world at all? “Through the fault of free beings; so that it is there only as a remedy or as an expiation; and hence, it cannot have God for its immediate author.”¹ “As no man is just, no one has any right to refuse to bear his share of human miseries.”

Perhaps it is not quite fair to try to state in a few words De Maistre’s solution of this grave problem. The reader should carefully go through the *Soirées* for himself. The impression left upon me after doing so, was that De Maistre has succeeded in stripping the question of many of its extraneous difficulties, and so has reduced it to its proper limits, but that he has not succeeded in giving a satisfactory answer to the question itself. What then is the value of a book the main contention of which is a failure? To this we may reply that the perusal of it gives us something of the delight which is afforded by the study of the Euthydemus or the Republic. Though we may not approve of every argument, we can enjoy the cleverness of the disputants; we can watch with interest the shifts and windings of the discussion; above all, we can admire the wide learning, the dramatic art, and the literary workmanship of the author. Moreover, it should be borne in mind that, as the method admitted, the *Soirées* contain a number of digressions, not simply arbitrary, but suggested by the course of the argument, and helping to throw light on it. Thus we find in it most valuable contributions on prayer, purgatory, indulgences, and sacrifice.² Then

¹ “Deus est auctor mali quod est poena non autem mali quod est culpa.” (St. Thom. 1a, q. 49, a. 11.)

² For a fuller account of De Maistre’s views on Sacrifice, see his little work, *Éclaircissement sur les Sacrifices*, contained in vol. ii. of the cheap edition.

we have the famous portrait of the executioner, drawn with much realistic power, and by no means deserving the abuse heaped upon it by hostile writers. War, too, so fresh in men's memories as the greatest evil of their day, is shown to be a necessary condition of all physical and moral progress and a lasting benefit to mankind¹ The law of the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest is insisted on with a clearness and vigour which would have delighted Darwin. And not even Malthus (by the way, a great favourite of De Maistre's) speaks in more glowing terms of the blessings derived from the extermination of millions of human beings. De Maistre has frequent occasion to speak of primitive man, and so is led to the study of savage life. Rousseau and his followers, partly out of revolt against the corrupt civilization of their time, and partly out of hatred of the Christian doctrine of original sin, had made no end of singing the praises of the free and primitive life of the woods. This was enough to set our author off on a tirade against the whole "System of Nature." Talk of "the noble savage" and "primitive life"—why the savage is not an original, but a ruin; not a germ, but a fossil. Among other proofs of this view the language of savages is especially appealed to. Here De Maistre's linguistic powers are displayed to great advantage. Although philology was yet in its infancy, and though he made some mistakes, he had the true instinct of an adept of that science. His observations on the formation of words, and on the poetry, the morality, and the history contained in them, are a remarkable anticipation of Trench's well-known studies:—

"Were the savage the primitive man, we should then find savage tribes furnished, scantily enough, it might be, with the elements of speech, yet at the same time with its fruitful beginnings, its vigorous and healthful germs. But what does their language on close inspection prove? In every case what they are themselves, the remnant and ruin of a better and a nobler past."²

¹ See also Mr. Ruskin, *Crown of Wild Olive*, Lect. iii.

² Trench, *Study of Words*, page 17. On mistakes in philology, see *ib.*, 270, *sqq.*

Yet another admirable digression, if so it may be called, is the discussion on the Psalms. Like every other great Catholic scholar, De Maistre was an assiduous reader of the Bible. His direct quotations are frequent and singularly appropriate; and one can see from his style that his mind was saturated with the spirit and the language of Holy Scripture. The Psalms were his especial delight; hence he cites them often, and takes occasion to devote to them a considerable portion of one evening's discussion.¹ The priest who feels his daily office a yoke and a burden will find the yoke sweet and the burden light by reading the Psalms in the spirit of De Maistre.

The *Soirées* is still more famous for the gallery of literary portraits which it contains. Though the hand that draws them is avowedly hostile, it never descends to mere caricature; the nobler features are not suppressed, yet all such as are dark, and hideous, and loathsome are portrayed with terrible truth. Voltaire appropriately heads the series. Perhaps no man has been ever so familiar with his writings as De Maistre. Hardly a page of the great apologist of Catholicism is without some reference to the greatest of her foes; and every reader of both must be struck with the number of points which they had in common. I wish I had room for the marvellous full-length portrait which may be found in the "Fourth Evening."² No description, no extract, can convey the impression produced by the original. After rendering justice to the mighty intellectual qualities of his subject, he points out that all these were blighted by his moral corruption. "Un esprit corrompu ne fut jamais sublime."

"Have you not observed [he continues] that the curse of God is written on his face? We can still see it there after the lapse of so many years. Go to the palace of the Hermitage, and look at his statue. Never do I gaze upon it without rejoicing that it is not from the chisel of the Greek school, which would have given it ideal features. Now all is true to nature, exact as a cast

¹ *Septième Entretien*, vol. ii., page 35, *sqq.*
 Vol. i., p. 140, *sqq.*

from a corpse. Look at that base brow, never blushed by shame ; those two extinct craters, in which lust and hate still seem to seethe ; that ghastly grin, running from ear to ear ; those cruel lips, compressed like a spring, ready to burst open and spit forth blasphemies and gibes."

" Ah ! qu'il nous a fait de mal ! " Yes, there it is. De Maistre well knew the mischief, and so was able to brand the author of it. After another page of scathing attack he concludes :—

" Other cynics have astonished virtue ; Voltaire astonishes vice. He plunges into the mire, wallows in it, takes his fill of it. He devotes his imagination to an enthusiasm for hell, which in turn lends him all its powers to draw him on to the very extremes of wickedness. He invents prodigies and monsters which make us turn pale. Sodom would have banished him . . . How can I describe to you the effect he produces on me ? When I consider what he might have done, and what he has done, his inimitable talents only inspire me with a kind of holy rage to which I can give no name. What with admiration and horror I could sometimes wish to have a statue erected to him by the hands of the hangman."

The other prophet of the eighteenth century, Rousseau, is painted in almost equally dark colours. It is well known that much of the infidelity of France was introduced from England by Voltaire. Hence the admiration of the Encyclopedists and their friends for such men as Hume and Gibbon, Hobbes and Locke. Hence, too, the treatment which they receive at De Maistre's hands. Locke especially seems to fill him with something of that " holy rage " which he felt when he thought of Voltaire. But there was a greater than any of these who was honoured, not simply with an " Evening " in the *Soirées*, but also with a separate elaborate work. In De Maistre's eyes Bacon was the patriarch from whom both the French and English infidels were lineally descended. In his *Critique de Bacon*, finished in 1815, but not published till long after his death, he submits the writings of that great philosopher to a severe and by no means impartial examination. I confess that I have not read the whole work carefully ; but I have read enough

to perceive that "holy rage" often blinds De Maistre to the many excellencies of the *Novum Organum*, and makes him attribute to its author a deliberate attack on Christianity. On the other hand, he shows beyond doubt that Bacon was in no way the father of scientific method and experimental science. The *Critique*, though of little general interest, well deserves the attention of all who make a study of the Baconian philosophy.

And now the reader may say: if De Maistre's *Considérations* has done its work; if his *Du Pape* is based on legitimism; if the main contention of his *Soirées* is false, why not let these volumes rest in peace on our book-shelves? To this we may reply that there is no fear that the dust will gather on them there. The questions which he deals with are continually coming up for discussion. The Pope, the Revolution, the existence of evil—these are ever with us. Though we may not go all the way with him in his solutions, we shall always do well to learn what he has to say. We may thus obtain, if not the answer itself, at any rate the way to find it; and even failing this, we shall surely gain much from contact with a mind such as his. The old Europe, as he said, died with him. May the new Europe produce a Catholic champion as learned, as keen, as brilliant, as noble, as sublime!

T. B. SCANNELL.

ST. PATRICK'S BURIAL-PLACE

THE burial-place of our national saint, like other incidents connected with him, has been matter of doubt and discussion. The doubt arises from the contradictory notices in the *Book of Armagh*. These notices appear in one place to favour the claim of Downpatrick to the burial-place; in a second place, the claim of Saul quite convenient to it; and in a third place, the claim of Armagh. The value of each of these notices is not the same, but depends on the intrinsic evidence of the statement, as well as on the bias and intelligence of the writer, and on the age to which he belonged.

The claim of Armagh is very slender, and rests merely on the possession of some relics of St. Patrick of some kind, coupled with the supposition of only one Patrick having been in the early Irish Church; but the existence of two Patricks and their respective identities have been established in a former number of the I. E. RECORD. I am not in accord with those who deny the existence of bodily relics of St. Patrick in Armagh during the ninth century. It was natural and usual to desire the possession of some relic of a saint less renowned than St. Patrick; and that Armagh procured some bodily relic of him is clearly evidenced in a passage in the *Book of Armagh*. This passage, which must have escaped the notice of the advocates for Armagh, taken by itself would seem to favour their pretensions.¹

The biographers of our national saint have surrounded his death and burial with childish miracles. A comparison instituted by them between him and Moses, however edifying it may be, has led to error on several incidents in his life and the circumstances of his burial. The advocates for Downpatrick have so rested the story of his death and burial on a supernatural basis, as scarcely to leave a human fringe for historical criticism. Nevertheless, the proofs

¹ "In ecclesia australi ubi requiescunt Corpora Sanctorum peregrinorum de longue cum *Patricio* transmarinorum caeterorum que Justorum." (*Book of Armagh*, fol. 21, a. 1.)

adduced by them appear to me quite questionable, while I judge those in favour of Saul to be highly probable.

I now give a description of St. Patrick's burial-place from the oldest, most impartial, and consistent account in the *Book of Armagh*. Tirechan, in a lengthened summary of the saint's life, taken from the oral and written account of Bishop Ultan, who lived in the middle of the seventh century, states that St. Patrick was like to Moses in four things, and the fourth thing was that "no person knew where are his bones." The writer then continues to state that two hosts contended for his body during twelve days without night; and on the twelfth day, as the contending parties were going to give battle, each party saw with themselves the body on a bier, and in consequence refrained from fighting.

Then, as if to justify a departure, by the discovery of Columkille, from the likeness to Moses, the writer continues thus in reference to the burial and the prophetic gift of Columkille:—

"Columkille under the influence of the Holy Ghost pointed out the burial-place of St. Patrick, makes out for certain where it is, that is in Sabul-Patrick, that is in the church, as a sprout from the waves,¹ beside the sea, where is the bringing together of relics, that is of the bones of Columkille from Britain, and the bringing together of all the saints of Ireland on the day of judgment."

¹ *Documenta*, p. 89, by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J. "In ecclesia juxta mare undecima." The last two words not well separated have been read by some as one word *undecima*, and as even this is unmeaning, they imagine it to be a mistaken correction of the word *pro-xi*, an abbreviation of *proxima*. But, in the first place, there is no instance of *proxi* as an abbreviation of *proxima* in the *Book of Armagh*. Moreover, this word in connection with the phrase *juxta mare* would be tautological. Secondly, the forms, *e* (caudata) and *æ* are indiscriminately used in the *Book of Armagh*. The words in the text then, I submit, should be *undæ cima*. Words in the Armagh MS. are sometimes wrongly joined and sometimes wrongly separated by editors. (See Roll's ed. of *Tripartite*, vol. ii., p. 377, l. 25.) The Roll's editor and his followers are not wise in changing a text *undæ cima* for *proxima*. The editor is guilty of a like impropriety in giving wrongly, in accordance with his own views, *Bannaven Taberniæ*, in the text, instead of *Ban navem thabur indecha*. (Vol. ii., p. 494, n. 2, *ibid.*) If a MS. be quoted, its text should be honestly given, and if calling for correction it should be given in a note. The application of *cima* to the wave, *unda*, was very appropriate, as derived from *κύμα*, a wave. *Cima* is a spring sprout: "Frigoribus caules et veri cymata mittit."

Now, nothing can be clearer than this valuable statement. The burial-place is stated to have been at the Sabul or Barn of Patrick: there was only one such place, and that within two miles of Down. The passage just quoted calls for a few remarks. First of all the absence of darkness during twelve days of waking is only a natural explanation of the effect of the lights over the corpse; and though there may have been a desire on the part of some people from Armagh to have the burial take place with themselves, we need not suppose there was a disposition to come to blows: a little exaggeration in the description is only very natural. The saint's wish was a command; and, as stated in the *Book of Armagh*, that wish was carried out by his burial in Sabul or Saul. A holy rivalry for the possession of his body was a mark of religious zeal. Hence in another passage in the *Book of Armagh*, in reference to this subject, the writer states that without divine intervention, "it was impossible to have the peace kept about so illustrious and saintly a corpse." Friendly contention then about the body of our saint was only what decency required.

There is no good reason for doubting that some of the relics of St. Columkille may have been enshrined with those of St. Patrick, though the principal part of them were not located in Ireland till the end of the ninth century. St. Columkille in full health is said, in the *Book of Cuana*, to have come to St. Patrick's grave, and to have enshrined some of the relics buried with him; and it is not unnatural to suppose that when dying he or his followers after his death wished to have some of his own relics rest with our national apostle.

The allusion to the gathering together of all the Irish saints at Saul is grounded on a petition found in his confession, to the effect that he should lose none of the Irish given him by God. In consequence of this, some Lives stated that God "left to him the judgment of the Irish on the day of doom." This tradition took another form, according to Tirechan: it was one of the three petitions which he made when dying; namely, "that each of us repenting, even in the hour of death, would be saved on the day of judgment

and escape hell." The church beside which our saint was buried—the sabul¹ of Patrick—stood, as a sprout from the wave, near the sea. The tidal waters flowing through the inlet of Strangford Lough flooded the low-lying grounds, even under the very shadow of Saul. Even down to the present century, the low ground was occupied by a standing lake, a mile in circumference, and is still called the salt marsh;² but, in early times, before a rampart was thrown up to dam the waters, the Sabul Church, peering above the wavelets, appeared to spring from the very waters. Now what is the reply usually given to this clear and natural statement, that he was buried in Saul? This only—that Saul meant Downpatrick! Such a reply scarcely deserves notice. We have another proof that St. Patrick was buried in Saul: it is found in the Fourth Life as given by Colgan. Saul is incidentally mentioned in connection with a plaything that accidentally fell into St. Patrick's grave there. The incident is alluded to as follows:—

“A boy playing about the church of Saul let his hoop drop into a chink in St. Patrick's grave; and having put down his hand to take it up could not withdraw the hand. Consequently, Bishop Loarn, of Bright, a place near at hand, was sent for; and on his arrival addressed the saint thus: ³—‘Why, O Elder, dost thou hold the hand of the child?’”

Here we have a statement incidentally made in reference to one of the incidents that filled up the life of our saint. It is made without a design of propping up a political or religious system. It was made at a time when Saul was comparatively insignificant, and when Downpatrick, owing to its situation, as a great emporium, had risen to importance, and was the seat of the chief of Ulidia.

Let us now examine what is said in reply to this proof. The reply is that St. Patrick did not hold the hand of the

¹ Sabul meant a barn: the northern chieftain Dichu gave it on his conversion to St. Patrick; and hence the place has been called Saul.

² O'Laverty's *History*, vol. i., p. 238.

³ The *Tripartite* gives:—“Then Patrick went from Saul southwards to Trichem . . . He it is who dwelt in Derlus, south of Downpatrick” . . . Bright “ubi est episcopus Loarn qui ausus est increpare Patricium *tenculem manum pueri ludentis ecclesiam juxta suam.*”

boy at all; that the phrase *tenentem manum* seems a translation of Irish in the *Tripartite*, *gabail lama* "expelling;" that our saint only drove away the boy who gave annoyance; and that Bishop Loarn, who probably outlived our saint, was one of his religious family. The interpretation thus quoted is given on the authority of Dr. Stokes; but, with great respect for his accurate knowledge of Irish, he is not to be implicitly followed, as has been proved elsewhere. But before dealing with this, his opinion, I have to observe that though the *Book of Armagh* makes mention of a Loarn settled in Connaught, there is no warrant for stating that there was a Bishop Loarn in Downs, during the saint's lifetime; nor is there the least warrant for stating that he died before our saint. There is no valid reason then producible for denying the certain statement of the biographer—that St. Patrick was dead and in his grave when Bishop Loarn was sent for.

I now deal with the objection founded on the opinion of Dr. Stokes; namely, that *tenentem manum* was a mistranslation of *gabail lama*, "expelling," and that consequently St. Patrick was not dead, nor his grave made on the occasion referred to, but "drove away" the playing boy perhaps with too much harshness: in confirmation of this latter view, the *Tripartite* is appealed to as an authority for stating that St. Patrick was not "always meek and patient;" and hence the rebuke of Bishop Loarn for probably too much harshness.

Well, an explanation that involves a censure on our national saint for harshness towards an unthinking boy at play is very suspicious. Besides, even if the boy were annoying the saint, as alleged, and if the saint exceeded the limits of moderation in correction, was it a case for having a bishop sent for, and have him rebuke his superior? Moreover, when the bishop came on the scene our saint's action was continued; and if *tenentem manum* meant expelling, the boy must have been persistently bold during the time the bishop was being sent for, and was coming to the church; and this fact should render impossible the charge of harshness for driving away the boy.

Again, if *tenentem manum* in the Latin Life be, as stated, a mistranslation of *gabail lama* in the *Tripartite*, and as Dr. Stokes has stated that the Irish Life was written in the eleventh century, while the Latin was written in the ninth century,¹ how could the latter be a mistranslation of the former?

In good truth, the writer of the Latin Life knew the meaning of *tenentem manum*; and if he wished to express the idea of expulsion he had only to use the proper and natural Latin "*expello*." On the other hand, if the writer of the *Tripartite* intended to express the same idea, he would have used, as on all other occasions he did use, the word *indarb*.²

The Irish as well as the Latin phrase meant literally "seizing the hand," and figuratively "overpowering" or "thwarting." But I am told that other instances in the *Tripartite* countenance "expelling" as the meaning of the phrase. Well, all the instances which occur to me I will submit to a test. In looking into page 118 (Roll's *Tripartite*), I find the phrase *gebthar do lam*, "thy hand shall be seized." This was a reply from the angel to St. Patrick, who refused to budge till he obtained the privilege of rescuing as many souls from hell as hairs on his chasuble. The reply meant, "you shall be overpowered," and nothing more. The editor of the *Tripartite* inferred from the remark of St. Patrick about budging, that the reply had an antithetical meaning, but the inference was not correct. I alight on another instance in page 116. St. Patrick wished to establish a house in Assaroe, but was opposed by Coirbre "who sent two of his people to 'prevent him,'" *gabail lama*.

But a more crucial instance of the phrase occurs in page 156 of the Roll's *Tripartite*. Our saint wished to establish a house in Inishowen; but Coelbad "prevented him in regard to it," *gabail a laim ass*, which the editor renders by "expelling thence." Now the addition of the

See Roll's ed. vol. i., page cxxx.-i.
See *Tripartite*, pages 30-228.

word *ass* here, and not in the other instances, is translated by "thence." But surely we understand that when there is question of a person being in a place, and of his expulsion, the expulsion is from that place. The addition of the word *ass* then is unnecessary on the supposition that the phrase *gabail lama* in the other instances without it meant "expelling." I shall not dwell on another instance, in page 164, which has the same meaning; and in these instances the word *ass* means not "thence" but "in regard to it."

That such is the meaning of *ass*, is very clearly brought out in page 163. It is there stated that our saint wished to take a place in Cell Glass, and (*dlmotha do ass*) "he was refused," according to Roll's editor, but properly and literally "it was refused to him in regard to it." The editor having no meaning for *ass*, but "thence," and seeing such a translation to be unmeaning, he did not translate it at all. The Irish word *ass* lends itself to various idiomatic phrases with which the learned editor is apparently not familiar.¹ I hope now it may be admitted that the allusion to the detention of the boy's hand in St. Patrick's grave was not a mistranslation of the Irish, and that it establishes a belief in the writer of *Vita Quarta* as to the burial-place of St. Patrick in Saul. Notwithstanding the political and social greatness to which Downpatrick had risen, and the comparative obscurity of Saul, there is evidence of its claim to St. Patrick's burial-place being recognised in succeeding ages. Thus, the Four Masters, under the year 1293, state that the relics of St. Bridget and Columkille were discovered with the remains of St. Patrick at Patrick's Saul. The discovery, witnessed by the Archbishop of Armagh, was accompanied by miraculous manifestations. The same statement is made in the *Annals of Ulster*. The fact remains, that at the end of the thirteenth century, we find solemn testimony, confirmatory of the statement made in the *Book of Armagh*, in the seventh century, in favour of Saul being the burial-place of St. Patrick.

Now, in reply to the several clear and natural statements

¹ There are *dul ass*, "to wane," *eirig ass*, "cease," &c.

made, without the aid of supernatural agency, in favour of Saul, what are we told? This, that Saul meant Downpatrick, and that *tenentem manum* did not mean "holding the hand." And the proof in favour of the rival burial-place, of what is it composed? Merely of mystery, visions, and miracles! That one angel was commissioned by another to send St. Patrick to him; and the saint, having gone, was told by the angel from a flaming bush—(a) that his death would be in Saul; but, as a compensation to Armagh, that it should have primacy; (b) that there was to be no darkness for twelve days, or rather partial day for the rest of the year; that angels waked St. Patrick with vigil and psalmody during the first night, whilst all who came to the wake slept; that oxen, yoked to the bier, were to be left to themselves to carry the corpse to the destined burial-place; (c) that the rival provinces of Down and Armagh were kept from deadly fight by the swelling tide which became instinct with life; that on the ebb of the tide the people of Armagh, fording the river, fancied they saw the bier carried on towards Armagh, till it disappeared at Cabcenne stream; that the corpse was to be buried, by angelic directions, seven feet deep in the earth; that the relics should not be removed from the earth, but a church built over them; (d) and yet, that no person knew where was the burial-place: all this supplies material for the argument in favour of Downpatrick!

But I would offer a few hurried remarks—(a) We are told in one place that St. Patrick went to the angel, but quite the contrary in the next page.¹ (b) The primacy is said to have been given then to Armagh; but it had been given, on as good authority, long before then to Armagh.² (c) The angel directed—a very practical direction—that a church should be built where the oxen were to stop, over the corpse. What if they had not stirred from Saul, where there was a church, or moved to a place where there was

¹ *Documenta*, p. 52.

² "Donavit tibi Dominus Deus universas Scotorum gentes in modum paruchia, et huic urbi tue quae cognominatur Scotica lingua Ardmacha." (*Liber Anqueli*, Roll's *Tripartite*, vol. ii., p. 252, l. 35.)

already a church? (d) It is strange that, as the Armagh people acknowledged the finger of God on the disappearance of the phantom bier, they paid no heed to the angel's directions, and were determined to give battle or have the corpse. (e) It is equally strange that a church directed by angels to be built, was undertaken only at the end of the seventh century. The narrator states that when a foundation for the church was being dug, quite recently) *novissimis temporibus*), flames issued from the grave. Does not this prove that the burial-place was known, notwithstanding the similarity to Moses? Besides, the angel, in directing the building of a church, and directing that the delvers should sink the grave seven feet deep, must not have intended that the burial-place should be unknown. I may be told that a mistake in regard to Saul should rather be admitted than a whole cycle of miracles in defence of falsehood. Well, however unpleasant the fact, it must be admitted that unenlightened zeal or dishonest bias can sport with miracles for its own ends; and the *Book of Armagh* affords ample proof of it in another passage.

The *Book of the Angels* tells its readers that an angel having¹ tapped St. Patrick out of slumber, snatched from his long vigils, announced that God "gave him and to the diocese of Armagh all Ireland." The saint then is represented as deprecating such a large and unnecessary gift, because of receiving already a peculiar rent, given freely, though a debt ordained by God, from every free church, and as having no doubt that this debt would be decreed for the future bishops of Armagh by all cenobitical monasteries. What a caricature and profane libel this on the saint's disinterestedness! The writer ought to have remembered the *Confession*¹ —

"They have given me small voluntary gifts, and some of their ornaments upon the altar; but I returned these to them, though they were displeased with me for so doing. But . . . I wished to keep myself prudently in everything . . . so that unbelievers may not, in my ministry, in the smallest point, have occasion to defame it.

"But, perhaps, since I have baptized so many thousands, I

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 353.

² *Ibid.*, p. 372.

may have accepted half a *scrapall*.¹ Tell it to me, and I will restore it. When the Lord ordained everywhere clergy, through my humble ministry, then if I asked the price of my shoe, tell it against me, and I will restore you more. I spent for you, that they may receive me."

In order to prop up the claims of Downpatrick,² angels must commune with each other; man had to abdicate the possession of his senses; the brute beasts are brought on the scene to act their part; and the waters became instinct with life "in digging deep valleys, while, at the same time, piercing the air" as a barrier against contending provinces. Heaven and earth are moved, with their inhabitants, in order to neutralize an historical and the earliest statement in favour of Saul. This simple and natural statement, in striking contrast to its contradictory, tells us that our saint, overtaken by the sickness of death at Saul, was there buried. Saul was his first love, the scene of his first missionary success, and the closing scene of his divinely-favoured apostolate. The alleged signs and wonders in connection with the burial resemble others on which, before the present, I had to observe that their extravagance appeared in proportion to the evidence of the falsehood in support of which they appeared to be manufactured. Downpatrick possessed nothing in fact, in association, in prophecy, not even a church, suggestive of a burial-place. Neither the glory of God, so far as it is allowed us to raise a corner of the mysterious veil, nor edification of man called for Divine interposition on the occasion. As to the dying wish of the saint, it certainly did not lean to Downpatrick, nor probably, notwithstanding the repeated and accentuated assurances to the contrary in the *Book of Armagh*, to Armagh; for his wish on such a matter would be an absolute command; and as to a chosen spot, "all Ireland was given to him as his diocese."

It was only natural, then, in the circumstances that the great high priest, the glorious national apostle, would lie where he fell; and, if it were not natural, it would be a

¹This is the only Irish word in the *Confessio*. *Scrapall* was worth three pence.

²So called only since the twelfth century.

matter of indifference to him who, in his extreme old age, had to say :—

“ I daily expect murder, or to be circumvented, or reduced to slavery, or to a mishap of some kind . . . And if ever I have imitated anything good on account of my God, Whom I love, I pray Him to grant me that, with those proselytes and captives, I may pour out my blood for His name’s sake, even though I may be deprived of burial, and my corpse most miserably be torn limb from limb by dogs or wild beasts, or birds of the air should devour it.”¹

In conclusion : the alleged angelic direction in regard to the burial of St. Patrick in Down, and to the church to be built over him, is still further proved to be false by the fact that law and custom forbade any person in the fifth century to be buried in a church, or a church to be built over him, unless he was a martyr.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

ST. KIERAN OF SAIGHER, B.C., PATRON OF OSSORY

HOW pleasant to the tempest-tossed mariner at sea, or to the weary traveller in the desert, is the appearance of the bright morning star that terminates the blackness of the stormy night, and heralds in the near approach of day ! How delightful to us all when, after a long, dreary winter, the zephyrs come charged with the sweet gales of spring ! But pleasanter far, and more consoling to the guardian angels of our own dear country, was the birth of him who is justly styled, “ Primogenitus sanctorum Hiberniae, Kieran, the faithful, noble coharb, the senior of the heaven-loving saints of Erin, illustrious, the festival of the royal one, whose peaceful cathedra is great Saigher.” According to the best authorities² the last quarter of the fourth century saw our saint ushered into this valley of tears. His father, Lughaidh, or Lugneus, although a prince of Ossory, was eldest son of

¹ *Confessio. Trip.*, vol. ii., p. 373, 374.

² See *Lives of the Irish Saints*, by Canon O’Hanlon, vol. iii., part 27.

one of the seven foreign kings of the Corca Laighe. In the fragments of the annals of Mac Firbisigh, edited by Dr. O'Donovan, it is related that before the birth of St. Kieran, seven kings of Corca Laidhe, in the south-west of the county of Cork, assumed the kingship of Ossory (part of it), and seven kings of the Osraighe took the kingship of Corca Laighe. His mother, Leidania, or Liadain, was sprung from the Clan Hiederdriscole, or O'Driscoll whose chief resided at Baltimore.

“Leighain, daughter of Maine, who was the mother of Ciaran of Saighir. He was born at Finntract-Clere; and the angels of God attended upon her. The orders of heaven baptized him. Here was (dwelling) the chieftain who first believed in the Cross in Ireland; for Ciaran had taken Saighir thirty years before Patrick had arrived.”¹

BIRTHPLACE OF ST. KIERAN

Lughaidh, the father of our saint, did not, it appears, succeed his father, Ruman, as a ruler over any part of the Ossory territory. Early in life he left his father's court, and migrated to the south of the present County of Cork, then called Corca Laighe, and there formed a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of the local chieftain. In a very interesting article, contributed to *The Month*, December, 1881, by the late Parish Priest of Baltimore, the lamented Very Rev. C. Davis, he writes as follows concerning the birthplace of St. Kieran:—

“The island of Cape Clear is situated on the broad Atlantic, the nearest point to the mainland, Baltimore, being six miles distant. Viewed from any side, it presents the appearance of a huge excrescence on the surface of the deep. In length it is four miles, in breadth one. Within the memory of men still living it contained twelve hundred inhabitants; the various vicissitudes of fortune, to which the whole country was subjected, have reduced the population to six hundred. The name by which the island was known to Latin writers was *Insula Sancta Clara*; in the language of the country it was *Innis Cleire*, the Island of the Clergy. In modern phraseology the word *Innis*, island, is changed to cape; and *Cleire*, of the clergy, has been corrupted into Clear: hence Cape Clear. The sacred character of its ancient name is principally derived from the fact of its being the birthplace and subsequent home of one of Ireland's earliest and most illustrious saints, St. Kieran.”

¹ *Books of Lecan and Ballymote*, translation by Dr. O'Donovan.

Almost from the moment of his birth Kieran seemed to be a favoured child of heaven. In the old Irish *Life* of the saint, which the learned Colgan refers at least to the seventh century, we are informed that on a certain day, whilst he was yet a child, at Cape Clear, “a crow or kite flew over him in the air, and descended and took up a small bird in its talons from its nest, in the presence of Kieran, and flew away, and tore it open. Kieran took compassion on the little bird, and felt grieved at what occurred; but the crow flew back again, and dropped the bird, torn and nearly dead, in his presence. Kieran said to the bird, ‘Arise, and be whole;’ and the bird, by the grace of God, immediately arose, and flew to the nest again quite sound.” It may be, as Mr. Hogan observes, that this legend only presents to us a simple natural action, which required no miraculous agency for its accomplishment.¹ But the anecdote beautifully illustrates the tenderness of Kieran’s childish heart, and his fondness for even the irrational creatures of God.

Bearing in mind the circumstances of his early association and training amongst the hardy islanders of Cape Cleire—a most fitting birth-place for the pioneer saint of Erin—it is not at all surprising that a spirit of adventure developed itself early in the character of our saint. According to the old *Life*, thirty years or thereabouts Kieran spent in Ireland, in the full enjoyment of bodily health, before he was baptized, for all the Irish of that time were pagans; yet when the Holy Ghost took His abode in His chosen servant, Kieran, he led a life of holiness and perfection in all his works during that time. But on learning of the spread of Christianity in Rome, he left Ireland, and proceeded thither, and was baptized there, and instructed in the Catholic faith; “and remained there for the term of twenty years, reading and studying the Holy Scriptures, and storing his mind with the laws and rules of the Catholic Church.” The Roman journey of St. Kieran is also mentioned in the *Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, said to have been written by St. Evan before the end of the sixth century, and in the *Festilogium of Aengus*, compiled before the year 778. Here

¹ *Life of St. Kieran*, page 67.

we are informed that "the eloquent man bounded with his fame over the salt (sea) eastwards" (to Rome).

When Kieran's wisdom, devotion, and faith became manifest at Rome, he was, we are told, ordained (not consecrated), and sent back to Ireland to preach the Gospel. We are not informed where, or when, or by whom, he was consecrated bishop. Cardinal Moran holds that our saint was consecrated bishop in Rome, by the great St. Leo.¹ It is, however, stated in the old *Life of St. Kieran*, and the statement is confirmed by all our old traditions, that during the homeward journey he met St. Patrick, then on his way to Rome; and after mutual congratulations and blessings, Kieran was thus addressed by Erin's illustrious apostle:—

"Saighuar, the cool, refreshing fountain,
Erect a city on its brink.
At the end of thirty full fair years
We shall meet there, you and I;
And famed there your name shall be
Till dread dawning of eternity."

Kieran then received a bell from St. Patrick, which rang out with a most clear, melodious sound when he arrived at Saigher, thereby pointing it out as the heavenly-selected site of his future monastery and cathedral city. The fulfilment of St. Patrick's prophecy and the destiny of Saigher are well described in the following verses by "Enigenensis," published by Mr. Cooke in his *History of Birr, &c.*:—

ST. KIERAN'S BELL

A hawthorn stands on yonder hill
Bare, desolate, and lone—
A token frail, but faithful still,
Of centuries long flown.

The startled ear at even-time,
When weird-winds wander free,
May hear the ghostly Mass-bell chime
Beneath that hoary tree.

And still around the peasant's hearth
The legend strange is told,
How, never touched by hands of earth,
Rang out that Bell of old.

¹ *Transactions Ossory Archæol. Society*, vol. ., p. 4.

They tell how Sainted Patrick's hand
On Kieran's head was laid,
While thus he spoke in a stern command—
“ Ne'er shall thy step be stayed.

“ Till sweet as song by seraphs sung,
Which saints alone may hear,
A chime by hands unseen be rung,
To charm thy mortal ear.

“ There churches seven thou shalt build;
But ages yet shall see
Their trampled dust—and see fulfill'd
For aye this prophecy.

“ When strewn the temples thou shalt raise
A tree sown, by thy hand,
Shall live and preach to distant days
God's blessing on the land.”

He wandered forth, and wandered far,
That ancient Pilgrim Saint—
Nor flood nor foe his path could bar
Till way-worn here, and faint

He paused—when, hark! upon his ear,
With joy no tongue can tell,
Like seraph-songs the sainted hear,
Rang out the unseen Bell!

And here he built his churches seven,
Ere summer thrice was gone—
Won many a soul from earth to heaven,
And spread God's benison.

And though above his cloisters fair
Now rots the clotted weed,
Though all their beauties blighted were
To glut a tyrant's greed,

The hushed ear still, at even-time,
When weird winds wander free,
May hear the mystic Mass-bell chime,
Beneath yon aged tree.

It is most rational to suppose that St. Patrick directed Kieran, on landing in Ireland, to visit his own part of the country, and to commence his mission among the influential persons of his own family, and among his tribesmen. Now, it seems probable enough, that he went first to his native

place; and, in point of fact, an ancient tradition prevails that the Corca Laidhe, first of all other people, were believers in Ireland. Most likely, St. Kieran first landed there, and if so, he undoubtedly began at once to open his mission. There, too, it is stated, that the chief or the inhabitants first granted him the site, on which afterwards stood the church known as Cill-Chiarain, or "St. Ciaran's Church," near Fintractclere. (In English, the white strand of Clere) now Traigh-Chiarain (Ciaran's Strand) on Cape Clear Island.¹

In the *Tripartite Life* of St. Patrick, the directions of Patrick to Kieran are thus recorded: "Old St. Kieran of Saigher, asked St. Patrick on their meeting where he should fix his abode. To whom the holy man replied (*quod iuxta fluvium Huar appellatum*), that by the river called Huar, he should build a monastery." According to a learned Ossory archæologist, Mr. Hogan, in his *Life of St. Kieran*, by the word *Huar* is meant the river Heoir or Nore, which river must have been from the remotest time a leading feature in the physical geography of the kingdom of Ossory. And to the valley of the Heoir or Nore, Mr. Hogan surmises Kieran did proceed, on his return to his native land, where he appeared, in the midst of his own tribesmen, the harbinger of a new civilization. Here he planted the cross in view of the Ard-righ's mansion, and eloquently invited the chieftains and tribesmen of his race to renounce the religion of the Druids, and to embrace the creed of which that cross was the symbol. Here, on the banks of the Nore, surrounded by his disciples, he now chants the divine office, beneath the sylvan shade of those sacred groves till then dedicated to pagan rites.

According to the most generally received opinion, the site of St. Kieran's first monastery was near the fountain and stream of Fueran, which passes near the present Seir Kyran, formerly Saigher, a small hamlet in the barony of Ballybritt, King's County. This old parish, although insulated by the diocese of Killaloe, is regarded as the cradle of the diocese, and still remains under the jurisdiction of the bishops of Ossory.

¹ *Lives of the Irish Saints*, by Canon O'Hanlon, March 5.

After living an eremitical life at Saigher, St. Kieran began to attract great attention. Many amongst the Ossorians were induced to embrace the Christian faith, and numbers received baptism at his hands. His fame and sanctity also drew to Saigher many neophytes, who, under his direction, embraced a religious life, and obliged him to erect a monastery for their accommodation. That was, indeed, a glorious and an auspicious day on which St. Kieran, his disciple and successor, St. Carthage, and all the holy ones of Saigher went forth in solemn procession to meet St. Patrick, King Ængus, and the immense multitude by whom they were accompanied, and who were, as we are told, miraculously provided with food by St. Kieran. It was also on that occasion that the holy well was blessed and changed into delicious wine, in honour of the meeting of the two saints after a separation of thirty years. "And he blessed his own well, and turned it into wine; and though immense multitudes assembled, it happened by the grace of God and Kieran that they had plenty of food and drink."

A very ancient vellum old book states that Ciaran of Saigher was, in his manners and life, like unto Pope Clement.¹ The saint's office informs us that he was a faithful practitioner of virtuous acts of humility, prudence, bounty, chastity, faith, hope, and charity. He lived in poverty during his term of life, but he was rich in grace. He is called a balance of the law, an ark of justice, a doctor of youth, the guide of old persons, and the incomparable tower of all. In the language of an ancient Irish writer he was a true priest, "whose heart was chaste and shining, and his mind like the foam of the wave, or the colour of the swan in the sunshine—that is, without any particle of sin, great or small, resting in his heart."

"His only meal each day was partaken of at sunset, and consisted of a little barley bread and undressed herbs. From his youth till his death he never tasted strong drink, but his drink was water from the holy well; the bare ground was his bed, and skins and sackcloth were his only garments. And when at length our holy prelate was bowed down by the weight of his years, and of his apostolic labours, the *voice of the turtle* sounded in his ears, at the spring-time of the year, inviting him to arise and come

¹ *Martyrology of Donegal*, pp. 64, 65.

away to the land of perpetual spring, of immortal youth, and of never-ending happiness. Then it was that the beautiful death-bed scene took place which is so well described by our saint's ancient biographers. 'When he saw the hour of his death approaching he collected his flock and his parishioners around him, and exhorted them to keep holy the commandments of God. Thirty bishops also came to Saigher, all of whom had been trained by St. Kieran in piety, and had received the sacerdotal ordination at his hands. These being assembled around him he said: 'My brethren, pray with me to God that I may not stand alone before His judgment-seat, but that His holy saints and angels may be with me; and pray that my path unto the King may not be through darkness, and that His smile may welcome me.' He afterwards went into the church of the monastery, where he was wont to celebrate, and there at the altar he offered up the holy sacrifice, and having partaken of the Body and Blood of Christ, and received the last sacrament of Extreme Unction, he asked the brethren to inter his body close to the spot which was hallowed by the relics of St. Martin, and where the remains of the holy men who preceded him had been laid. And now, having perfected his victory of abstinence and penance, and attained his triumph over the demons of the world, the choirs of angels came to meet the soul of Kieran to give him the greetings of heaven, and to conduct him to God. At midnight he breathed his last, but so many were the lights that burned around him that night seemed changed into day. His remains were wrapped in precious linen, and for seven days hymns and canticles were chanted in thanksgiving to God for the mercy shown to him, and earth seemed to breathe the fragrance of heaven; but his soul was in bliss in the company of St. Patrick and St. Martin, and all the saints of God.'

VINDICATION OF THE CLAIM OF ST. KIERAN TO THE TITLE
OF "PRIMOGENITUS SANCTORUM HIBERNIAE"

In addition to the proofs already given, and the tradition of Cape Clear, as testified to by the lamented Father Davis,¹ the *Genealogy of the Corca Laighe*, after recording the conversion of the chieftain who first believed in the Cross in Ireland, adds:—

"Augus is e Ciaran sindsor naem Erend, thus translated by Dr. O'Donovan: And Ciaran is the senior of the saints of Eire.

The gloss of the *Martyrology of St. Aengus*, after styling the

¹From time immemorial they (the islanders of Cape Clear) have intermarried—never closer, however, than the third degree of kindred. Living thus isolated for centuries, their traditions are naturally very perfect.—*Father Davis*.

venerable founder of the see of Ossory 'the senior of the heaven-loving saints of Erin,' informs us that he took possession of Saigher 'thirty years before St. Patrick.'

The constant and universal tradition of Ossory will be found to be in perfect accordance with the above express declaration concerning the pre-Patrician mission of St. Kieran. One of the most learned Ossory archæologists of the present century, the late lamented John O'Donovan, in a paper on the traditions of the County of Kilkenny, published by him in the *Transactions* of the Kilkenny Archæological Society for 1851, introduces St. Patrick as travelling through the plains of Southern Ossory 'to see what progress his predecessor, St. Kieran, had made in the conversion of the inhabitants,' &c.

As far as Northern Ossory is concerned, we would expect that its traditions should be centred in Saigher, the cradle of the diocese; and in this we have not been disappointed. It was our privilege more than once to take part in the celebration of the Feast of St. Kieran in that celebrated locality—to witness the very edifying fervour of the crowds of pilgrims who come every year from remote distances to worship at the holy well, and to elicit from the oldest and most intelligent amongst them their impressions concerning the history of their great patron. All appeared to hold with remarkable unanimity the old tradition affirming the pre-Patrician mission of St. Kieran; in fact, they would not be at all pleased to have any doubts cast on its authenticity.

Mr. Cooke, a native of the vicinity, gives a striking confirmation of the truth of this statement in what Cardinal Moran calls 'his valuable *History of Birr*.' At p. 166 he informs us that 'the very ancient and interesting place commonly called St. Kieran's, is reputed to have been the seat of the oldest bishopric in Ireland.' And again, at pp. 167, 168 (according to Colgan), 'St. Kieran studied at Rome, and met St. Patrick in Italy, who desired him to go before him to Ireland, and at the well Fueran to build a monastery, where he (St. Patrick) would afterwards visit him. St. Kieran is called *Primogenitus sanctus Hiberniæ*, the first-born saint of Ireland; and the Abbé Macgeoghegan styles him the first of the apostles of Ireland.'

Two of our most learned non-Catholic archæologists, Messrs. Pim and Graves, in their scholarly and beautifully-illustrated *History of St. Canice's Cathedral*, do not hesitate to pronounce the following well-considered judgment on the pre-Patrician (albeit Roman) mission of St. Kieran:—

'SEIR KEIRAN.—There can be little doubt that from a community thus constituted the first preachers of Christianity went forth amongst the rude and turbulent tribes of ancient Ossory; and it is not at all improbable that on this spot was also erected one of the earliest Christian churches in Ireland, a date anterior

to the advent of St. Patrick being generally assigned to the founding of the cell at Saigher by Kieran (Chiarain), the son of Lughaidh. It is true that in the opposite scale must be placed the authority of the accurate and judicious Lanigan, who, deterred by the many difficulties which beset the advocacy of an earlier date, has fixed on the latter end of the fifth century as the more probable era of its foundation. But thus totally to reject all testimony in favour of the earlier epoch does not seem to be in accordance with the rules of sound criticism, much as it may tend to smooth the path of the historian. The lives of Kieran, and those of Declan, Ailbhe, and Ibar, are unquestionably of great antiquity; and, although containing much that is fabulous, do not bear the marks of documents forged to support a preconceived theory. They are all opposed to Dr. Lanigan's conclusions; and it is assuming too much to suppose that they are altogether without foundation, especially when we recollect that they derive support from almost every historical authority bearing on the ancient Church history of Ireland.'"¹

THE FESTIVAL OF ST. KIERAN

Father Davis informs us that the Feast of St. Kieran has ever been celebrated at Cape Clear as a holiday of strictest observance; and the resident priest of the island never fails to celebrate the Divine Mysteries amid the most crowded congregation of the year. All the male children who are born, and happen to be baptized on or about that day, rejoice in the name of Kieran. In the diocese of Ossory St. Kieran's feast formerly ranked as high as St. Patrick's day. In 1773 Bishop De Burgo issued a pastoral to the clergy of Ossory, stating that among the other holidays retrenched by Pope Clement XIV., in his lately-published Indult, the obligation of hearing Mass on St. Kieran's day and on St. Kenny's day had been removed. The feast is now celebrated in Ossory, being the feast of the patron of the diocese, as a double of the first class.

"The first stone of the new Cathedral of Ossory was laid by Bishop Kinsella, on the 20th August, 1843, being Sunday within the octave of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary; and this having been the Feast of St. Mary's parish, in the City of Kilkenny, he founded the church under the

¹ See also, "The Early Birth and Pre-Patrician Mission of St. Ciaran of Saighir, Vindicated by John Hogan, Kilkenny," *Journal Royal H. and Archæol. Association*, January, 1879.

title of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. But at the solemn consecration of the same church by Bishop Walsh, on Sunday, the 4th October, 1857, it was dedicated to God, and the high altar consecrated under the invocation of SS. Mary and Kieran." ¹

The Bardan, or Bodhran Kieran, the celebrated old mystic bell of the saint, has been replaced, in the Cathedral of Ossory, by a melodious-toned bell, manufactured by Murphy, of Dublin, having the following legend in raised Roman letters around the exterior:—"This bell is dedicated to St. Kieran, patron of Ossory." And thus, after fourteen centuries, by the river called "Hevil"-Nore, has been fulfilled the prediction of the Irish apostle, and

"The hushed ear still, at even time,
May hear his mystic Mass-bell chime."

But, after the diocese and cathedral, his grandest monument is the magnificent diocesan seminary, founded A.D. 1782, *Primogenitum seminariorum*, and most appropriately named after and placed under the protection of the *Primogenitus sanctorum Hiberniae*.

N. MURPHY, P.P.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

QUESTION REGARDING THE INDULGENCE OF PRIVILEGED ALTAR

REV. DEAR SIR,—When a priest celebrates Mass at a privileged altar on a day which does not permit the celebration of a Requiem Mass, may he apply the *fructus Missae* to a living person, and the indulgence of the privileged altar to a deceased person? The solution will, of course, hold whether the privilege be *local* or *personal*. An early reply in the I. E. RECORD will oblige,

INQUIRER.

Looking at this question from a theoretical standpoint, there would seem to be no difficulty in replying in the

¹ Mr. Hogan, *Life of St. Ciaran*, p. 215.

affirmative. For, in theory, at least, the fruit of the Sacrifice of the Mass is quite distinct from the indulgence of the privileged altar at which the Holy Sacrifice is offered. Hence, one might fairly conclude, that, when a priest celebrates at a privileged altar for a living person, in the circumstances mentioned by our correspondent, or even for a deceased person, for whom he is not bound to celebrate at a privileged altar, he may apply the fruit of the Mass to the person for whom he celebrates, and the indulgence of the altar to any deceased person.¹ In the year 1848, the Congregation of Indulgences was asked to decide whether the fruit of the Mass, and the indulgence of the privileged altar at which the Mass was celebrated, could be thus divided. The Congregation, instead of giving an authoritative decision, submitted the question to an expert, and ordered his reply to be forwarded to the person from whom the question had come. This reply is published among the *Decreta Authentica*; and as it is of historical interest, at least, we give it, together with the question which evoked it. As will be seen, the reply of the *Consultor* of the Congregation permits the division of the fruit of the Mass, and the indulgence of the privileged altars unless in those cases in which the terms of the indult, granting the privilege, express or imply that the indulgence must be applied to the person for whom Mass is celebrated.

“1548, 31 Januarii.—Viceparochus S. Ensiperii, diocesis Tolosaræ, humiliter proponit casum infrascriptum :

An, quando requiritur Sacrificium Missæ pro indulgentia lucranda, Missa possit offeri pro uno, et indulgentia applicari pro altero ?

Sac. Congregatio habita in Palatio Apostolico Quirinali die 31 Januarii, 1848, respondendum esse censuit :

Communicetur Oratori votum Consultoris.

JACOBUS GALLO, *Secret.*”

“*Votum Consultoris*: Hanc eadem quaestionem enucleandem sibi proponit doctissimus P. Joannes Cavalieri, scilicet an indulgentia et Sacrificium dividi queant? Respondet: ‘Decisio pendet ex verbis indulti. Si enim cantat: *qui pro defuncto Missam in tali altari dixerit, liberat animam ejus, &c.*, Sacrificium et indulgentia non possunt dividi, sed utrumque pro eodem defuncto est

¹ See Lehmkuhl, vol. ii., n. 557, b.

applicandum ; si autem *to pro defunctis* in indulto desit, applicatio solius indulgentiae sufficit ad liberandam animam, et sacrificium cuilibet poterit applicari ; . . . si tamen fundator, aut stipem erogans imponat onus celebrandi in altari privilegiato, tunc praedicta divisibilitas locum non habet : per impositionem quippe talis oneris censetur etiam voluisse applicationem indulgentiae. Secus est si sacerdos onus habeat sacrificandi, sed non in altari privilegiato ; tunc quidem adimplet obligationem suam per applicationem Sacrificii, et liber est quoad applicationem indulgentiae, dummodo tamen celebre in altari, cujus privilegium non exquirat etiam applicationem Missae.'

Quae solutio et mihi arridet : nam indulgentia etiam pro defunctis est donum ex Ecclesiae thesauro depromptum, qui constat ex meritis Christi, Beatae Mariae Virginis, et aliorum Sanctorum ; opera vero injuncta sunt conditio solum, sine qua effectum non sortitur indulgentia, aliud opus injunctum. Pono si applicatio indulgentiae pro solis defunctis concessae necessario conjuncta esset cum applicatione Sacrificii, Sacrificum et indulgentia forent unum et idem ; ergo sacrificium non esset tantum opus injunctum, nec indulgentia in Ecclesiae thesauro deprompta, sed ex valore infinito ejusdem Sacrificii, qui certe ecclesiae potestati non subest, sed voluntati Dei finito modo applicantis ; atqui Sacrificium est tantum opus injunctum, et indulgentia non ex valore, seu fructu Sacrificii eruitur, ergo non sunt unum et idem, adeoque sacrificium et indulgentia dividi possunt (saltem dum aliquid in indulto non exprimitur) et consequenter in hac hypothese sacerdos potest Sacrificium offerre pro uno, et indulgentiam applicare pro altero. Haec sunt, quae sapienti iudicio vestro, Eminentissimi Patres, subjicienda esse duxi."¹

In practice, however, our reasoning, though apparently strengthened by the Congregation of Indulgences, avails not : for indults granting the favour of a privileged altar always now contain words which imply that the indulgence must be applied to the soul for whom the Mass is offered.² Hence if the Mass be not offered for a deceased, but for a living person, the indulgence is not gained at all. And even in the absence from the indult of such words as are above referred to, the indulgence must necessarily be applied to the soul for whom the Mass is offered. For in the indult granting a privileged altar to priests who have made the *Heroic Offering* no condition is mentioned ; but when the Congregation of Indulgences was asked could such priest apply the

¹ *Decr. Authentica*, n. 348.

² Beringer ii^e Partie, iii^e section i.

indulgence to one and the Mass to another, the answer was an unqualified negative.

“ Utrum [it was asked] indulgentia plenaria altaris privilegiati personalis (1) debeat a sacerdote, qui actum heroicum caritas emisit applicari animae pro qua missam celebrat? Aut (2) possit applicari pro libito cuius defuncto?

Resp. Ad primam partem, *Affirmative*; hoc enim modo privilegium altaris conceditur a Summo Pontifice; ad secundam, *provisum in responsione ad partem primam.*”¹

This decision must extend to all privileged altars whether local or personal; for it is unlikely that the Holy Father would grant to others a privilege denied to priests who make the *Heroic Offering*. It seems, therefore, to be certain that the indulgence of a privileged altar is gained only for that soul for whom the Mass is offered. And if a priest celebrates at a privileged altar for several deceased persons, he should form the intention of applying the indulgence to some one of them; for the indulgence of a privileged altar cannot of its very nature be applied to several; and hence in the case made, if the celebrant does not fix on one of them to whom he wishes the indulgence to be applied, there is danger of its being wholly or partially lost.

MAY CERTAIN INDULGENCED PRAYERS BE DIVIDED?

REV. DEAR SIR,—The very salutary instruction given in the last I. E. RECORD, with reference to the indulgences which can be gained by those who wear the blue scapular of the Immaculate Conception, is of truly practical importance. May I most respectfully ask if the six Our Fathers, six Hail Marys, and six Glory be to the Father, &c., in honour of the Blessed Trinity and the Immaculate Conception, may be, so to speak, cut into two parts; viz., three at morning prayers, and three at evening prayers? If so, the devotion will be wide-spread, as comparatively few can spare time to recite at all the same time.

THE PRAYERS FOR THE POPE'S INTENTION

“ When a person wishes to gain several plenary indulgences in the same day, for each of which prayers for the Pope's intention are a necessary condition, he must repeat these prayers for each

¹ December 18, 1885.

indulgence." The above quotation is from the last I. E. RECORD. May I ask the Editor which is the least prayers required to be said on these occasions. Will one Our Father and Hail Mary be sufficient in each case ?

LAON.

1. We have no means of deciding definitely the first question proposed by our correspondent. The Congregation of Indulgences, as well as the authors we have been able to consult, are silent on the point ; hence whatever conclusion we may arrive at can be only conjectured. As far, however, as we ourselves are concerned, we are very strongly of opinion that the prayers cannot be divided as suggested by our correspondent. It would seem to be a general rule, that when certain indulgences are attached to the recital of certain prayers, these prayers should be said without interruption. Two notable examples of this will occur to every one. These are the Rosary and the Stations of the Cross. To gain the indulgences attached to the former, it is necessary to recite the five decades without interruption; and, similarly, to gain the indulgences of the Way of the Cross, one must visit each of the fourteen stations in uninterrupted succession. From analogy, therefore, we conclude that the six *Paters*, *Aves*, and *Glorias* should be said uninterruptedly.

2. Our correspondent must be satisfied with a still less definite reply to his second question. All writers agree in saying that five *Paters* and *Aves*, or other prayers of corresponding length, suffice to fulfil the conditions of praying for the Pope's intentions, but all do not agree in saying that prayers of this length are required. Thus, for example, Suarez would admit that one *Pater* and *Ave*, or even a shorter prayer, is sufficient; while Theodore, a Spiritu Sancto, a classic writer on indulgences, makes the following distinction:—If in the rescript granting a particular indulgence it is stated that in order to gain it one should pray *for some time (per aliquod temporis spatium)* for the intentions of the Pope, a *very* short prayer will not fulfil this condition. But if in the rescript no such clause is to be found, then one *Pater* and *Ave* are amply sufficient. It must be said, however, that there seems to be no foundation for this

distinction, and that the prayers which suffice in one case, suffice equally in all.

The Congregation of Indulgences, though frequently appealed to for a definite decision, has contented itself with stating that the prayers for the Pope's intentions are left to the will of each individual. The following question and reply sufficiently indicate the attitude of the Congregation towards this question :—

“*Quaer.*—Au sufficient quinque *Pater*, et *Ave*, quae veritari solent ob adimplendam Summi Pontificis intentionem, quando praescriptum est ut visitatur ecclesia vel altare, ibique fundantur preces, quae admodum ex gr. pro lucranda indulgentia praescriptum est associatis operi Propagationis fidei ?

Resp.—Preces requisitae in indulgentiarum concessionibus ad implendam Summi Pontificis intentionem sunt ad unius cujusque fidelis libitum, nisi peculiariter adsignentur.”¹

So recently as 1888 the Congregation of Indulgences was again asked to decide the matter, once for all ; but in replying the Congregation contented itself with merely referring to the reply given in 1841, which we have just quoted. From what has been said, then, it may be inferred that, to be quite certain of fulfilling the conditions of praying for the Pope's intentions, one should say more than one *Pater* and one *Ave*.

THE LITANY OF LORETTO IN “ST. PATRICK'S HYMN BOOK”

REV. DEAR SIR,—In *St. Patrick's Hymn Book*, edited by Fr. Gaynor, the Litany of our Blessed Lady is not the same as is found in the Roman Ritual, for in the beginning there are repetitions, and at the end the versicles *Christe audi nos*, &c., are omitted.

Is it lawful for such a Litany to be sung at Benediction ? An affirmative would seem to be given, inasmuch as the *Hymn Book* has the approbation of the Ordinary. But bishops can neither add nor detract from the Roman Ritual. Will you kindly clear up this doubt for me ?

A SUBSCRIBER.

Our correspondent raises two objections to the form in which the Litany of Loretto is printed in Father Gaynor's

¹ *Decreta Authentica*, n. 291 ad 3, May 29, 1841.

beautiful collection of hymns and chants. The first objection regards the repetition of the *Kyrie, eleison* and *Christe, eleison* at the beginning; the second, the omission of certain versicles and responses at the end of the Litany. These additions and omissions appear to our correspondent to be of such moment as to substantially change the Litany, and to render it unlawful to sing the Litany in this form at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament. We hope, however, to convince him that he is mistaken.

In the first place, the versicles and responses, which are so often found printed at the end of the Litany after the *Agnus Dei*, do not form a part of the Litany at all, and are not to be found in recent editions of liturgical books. They are, it is true, to be found in some editions of the Roman Ritual; but, according to a very learned writer,¹ they crept into these editions through a mistake on the part of someone. At any rate, they are not to be found in any late edition either of the Ritual or of the *Raccolta*. In the latter, the Litany ends with the third repetition of the *Agnus Dei*; from which it follows, that, in order to gain the indulgence attached to the recital of the Litany, neither the versicle *Ora pro nobis*, &c., nor any prayer is necessary. Hence, with regard to this point, the editor of *St. Patrick's Hymn Book* had more recent and more correct information than his critic.

With regard to the repetitions at the beginning of the Litany, we are of opinion that they cannot be regarded as *additions* to the Litany, since they are merely repetitions of invocations occurring in the Litany. And as only additions, strictly such, and omissions are forbidden, it would seem that repetitions are lawful, especially when, as in the present case, they make for order and harmony.

D. O'LOAN.

¹ Dr. F. H. Haberl, in his work, *Magister Choralis*, translated by Most Rev. Dr. Donnelly, Bishop of Canca.

Documents

THE NEW "SCAPULAR OF THE MOTHER OF GOOD COUNSEL"

S. RITUM CONGREGATIO

DECRETUM

De Beata Virgine Genitrice Dei Maria, quae a Sanctis Patribus, "Aeterni Consilii opus et Consiliatrix Universalis" salutatur, ea ab Ecclesia praedicata sunt, quae in Sacris Scripturis de divina Sapientia leguntur: "Meum est consilium; Ego habito in consilio et eruditis intersum cogitationibus." Inde titulus ortum habuit quo ipsa Caeli Regina a fidelibus christianis iam ab antiquis temporibus donata est, "Mater Boni Consilii." Qui mos Beatam Dei Genitricem appellandi ac venerandi Genestani potissimum invaluit ex ea tempestate, cum quatuor abhinc saeculis, sedente Paulo II. Summo Pontifice, speciosa Icon Beatissimae Matris ibidem mirabiliter apparuit. Quin et Pia Unio sub tali vocabulo a Moderatoribus Ecclesiae Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini inibi existentis, de Prioris Generalis Ordinis ipsius consensu, instituta est, quam Benedictus XIV. approbavit et confirmavit, atque inviolabili Apostolicae firmitatis patrocinio munivit, ipseque ac alii Summi Pontifices indulgentiis ditaverunt. His autem temporibus nostris, populorum christianorum necessitatibus urgentibus, mirum quantum huiusmodi cultus ceperit incrementi. Unde factum est ut Christifideles desiderium patefecerint signum aliquod seu Scapulare gestandi a Beata Virgine de Bono Consilio nuncupatum, quo sibi uberius ipsam Bonorum Consiliorum Matrem demereri valeant. Quocirca R. P. Fr. Aurelius Martinelli, Moderator Generalis praefatae Piae Unionis, ab Apostolica Sede humillimis precibus efflagitavit, ut singulis pro tempore Directoribus uniuscuiusque sedis tribueretur facultas benedicendi atque utriusque sexus Fidelibus imponendi Scapulare in honorem Almae Dei Parentis sub enunciato titulo "de Bono Consilio." Quibus precibus ab Eñño et Rñño Dño Vincentio Vannutelli, Causae Ponente, in Ordinario Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Coetu subsignata die ad Vaticanum habito relatis, Eññi et Rññi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, re mature perpensa, atque audito R. P. D. Augustino Caprara, Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt: "Supplicandum Sanctissimo pro concessione Scapularis iuxta

schema a Sacra Congregatione approbandum et penes eam adservandum favore Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini; cum facultate subdelegandi et cum Indulgentiis ab eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro impetrandis: quoad formulam vero benedictionis et impositionis eiusdem Scapularis, ad Eñum Ponentem cum Promotore Fidei." Die 19 Decembris anni 1893.

Facta postmodum de iis per me infrascriptum Cardinalum, Sacrae eidem Congregationi Praefectum, Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII. relatione, Sanctitas Sua, in tot tantisque rerum ac temporum perturbationibus auxilium enixe implorans a Sanctissima Dei Genitrice, exhibitum Scapulare eiusque formulam, ab eodem Eñno Ponente una cum praedicto Sanctae Fidei Promotore revisam et emendatam, approbavit iuxta mentem Sacrae ipsius Congregationis, simulque facultatem illud benedicendi atque imponendi Patribus Ordinis Eremitarum S. Augustini cum expetitis Indulgentiis, et cum facultate subdelegandi benigne concessit. Die 21 iisdem mense et anno.

CAI. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA, *S.R.C. Praef.*

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, *Secretarius.*

FORM OF BLESSING THE SCAPULAR

FORMULA BENEDICENDI ATQUE IMPONENDI SCAPULARE BEATAE MARIAE VIRGINIS A BONO CONSILIO

Suscepturus Scapulare genuflectit, ac Sacerdos stola alba indutus dicit:

V. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.

R. Qui fecit caelum et terram.

V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.

R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.

V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.

R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.

V. Dominus vobiscum.

R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS

Domine Iesu Christe, qui Magni Consilii Angelus et Admirabilis Consiliarius hominibus per Incarnationem tuam adfuisti: hoc Scapulare Beatae Mariae, Matris tuae a Bono Consilio bene ✠ dicere digneris, ut haec insignia gestantes per gratiam

tuam recta consilia secuti bonis perfrui mereantur aeternis: Qui vivis et regnas in saecula saeculorum.

R. Amen.

Postea aspergit Scapulare aqua benedicta, atque illud imponens dicit:

Accipe, Frater, (vel Soror) haec insignia Beatae Mariae Virginis, Matris Boni Consilii; ut, ea inspirante, quae Deo placita sunt digne semper perficias, et cum electis suis consociari merearis Per Christum Dominum Nostrum.

R. Amen.

Tunc proseguitur:

V. Ora pro nobis, Mater Boni Consilii.

R. Ut digni efficiamur promissionibus Christi.

OREMUS

Deus, qui Genitricem dilecti Filii tui Matrem nobis dedisti, eiusque speciosam imaginem mira apparitione clarificare dignatus es: concede, quaesumus; ut eiusdem monitis iugiter inhaerentes, secundum cor tuum vivere, et ad caelestem patriam feliciter pervenire valeamus. Per eundem Christum Dominum Nostrum.

R. Amen.

LIST OF INDULGENCES

ELENCHUS INDULGENTIARUM.—PLENARIAE

Plenariam omnium admissorum Indulgentiam utriusque sexus Christifideles lucrari queunt, Animabus quoque in Purgatorio igne detentis applicabilem, in sequentibus diebus, dummodo rite Confessi, et ad Sacram Synaxim accesserint:

1. Die, qua B.M.V. Boni Consilii Matris Scapulare suscipiant, vel Dominica, aut in aliquo Festo eam immediate sequenti.

2. Die 26 Aprilis, vel aliqua infra Octavam festi B.M.V. Boni Consilii Matris.

3. In articulo mortis, dummodo rite Confessi et Sanctissima Eucharistia refecti corde saltem, si nequeant ore, Sanctissimum Iesu nomen invocaverint.

4. In festis Immaculatae Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumptionis B.M.V. itemque in festo S. Augustini Episcopi Confessoris Ecclesiaeque Doctoris.

PARTIALES

1. Indulgentiam septem annorum ac totidem Quadragenarum, pari modo Animabus piaculari igne cruciatis applicabilem, consequi possunt Fideles utriusque sexus in festis Praesentationis

et Visitationis B.M.V.; dummodo corde contrito Ecclesiam, vel publicum Oratorium inviserint, ibique aliquod temporis spatium iuxta mentem Summi Pontificis pias ad Deum preces fuderint.

2. Centum dierum indulgentiam quoties corde vel ore, Deiparae Virginis Consilium invocaverint.

3. Item Indulgentiam Centum dierum quoties corde contrito, et pro conversione peccatorum bonum aliquod opus exegerint.

ORDINIS EREMITARUM S. AUGUSTINI

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII., referente me infrascripto Cardinali Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefecto, suprascriptam benedictionis formulam ab Eñño ac Rño Domino Cardinali Vincentio Vannutelli, Causae Relatore, una cum R. P. D. Augustino Caprara S. Fidei Promotore revisam et emendatam approbavit, simulque expetitas Indulgentias, in superiori elencho adnotatas, Fidelibus Scapulare gestantibus in honorem B.M.V. Boni Consilii Matris, benigne impertiri dignatus est, iuxta eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis Decretum diei 19 Decembris 1893. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque. Die 21, iisdem mense et anno.

CAL. CARD. ALOISI-MASELLA S.R.C. Praef.

Loco ✠ Sigilli.

VINCENTIUS NUSSI, S.R.C. Secretarius.

Notices of Books

THE LIFE OF THE BLESSED ANTONY BALDINUCCI. By Francis Golder, S.J. Quarterly Series. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

THE STORY OF ST. STANISLAUS KOSTKA. By Francis Goldie, S.J. Third Edition, enlarged. Quarterly Series. London: Burns & Oates. 1893.

THE LIFE OF ST. FRANCIS BORGIA, S.J. By A. M. Clarke. Quarterly Series. London: Burns & Oates. 1894.

We read through these volumes with much pleasure, and we can say they are worthy of the other publications by members of the same Society. Blessed Antony Baldinucci, whose life forms the subject of the first volume, was born at Florence. Soon after

Antony's birth, a certain holy nun had a vision in which she saw St. Ignatius with Antony in his arms. The saint told her that the child would one day become a member of the Society of Jesus. At first it seemed that the vision was not to be realized, but after a retreat entered into for the purpose of finding out God's will in his regard, it became plain to him that he was to be a member of this Society. The novitiate began, and so great was the perfection of the young Jesuit that he was called by the Master of Novices an "angel come down from heaven." During his early religious life he showed an extraordinary love for penance and a great desire to be sent to preach to the Pagans, which later on transformed itself into a love for martyrdom. The records of our saint's missionary life are very interesting; the fruits of his labours were such as should be expected from one so rich in every virtue. His powerful zeal showed itself at the very moment of his death, and in his advice to a brother missionary at this time, we have an excellent picture of the interior state of his soul. He died, having spent thirty-five years in religion, twenty-five of which he had worked on the missions. After the account of blessed Antony's death, the volume contains a chapter on his characteristic virtues, among which his principal one was that of humility, if, indeed, humility means—"a lowly idea of oneself, the shunning of honours, and a love of contempt." He was remarkable for the interest he took in the souls in purgatory; but the centre of his devotion was the Adorable Sacrament of the Altar, in the presence of which his attitude is described as that of an angel. During the reign of Pius IX., the virtues of our saint were declared heroic, and last year during the Jubilee festivities of Pope Leo XIII., the solemn beatification was celebrated in the presence of pilgrims from every land.

The second volume contains the interesting story of St. Stanislaus. In this third edition the Life has been practically rewritten. The appearance in the *Analecta Bollandiana*, in 1892, of the first part of the hitherto unpublished MS. Life of the saint, written by Father Urban Ubaldini, about 1066, showed that it was necessary to revise, and in great part re-write, this new edition. The editor explains how Father Ubaldini had exceptional opportunities for this work. He was the promoter of the cause of St. Stanislaus' canonization, and this official position opened to him all the sources of information regarding the saint. The demand for a third edition of this volume of the Quarterly

Series is a practical testimony to the popularity of the book, which was mainly the work of the late Father Coleridge, S.J.; and the value of the *Life* is greatly enhanced by the abundant new information regarding the saint, collected by the present editor, Father Goldie, S.J.

St. Stanislaus was born in Catholic Poland, and was connected on his father and mother's side with every family of note in the land. From his birth God's will in his regard was made known to his mother, who saw in a vision the name of Jesus, in letters of gold and encircled by rays of glory, which event was interpreted by her director as a sign of the future sanctity of her child. It was no wonder then that special interest was taken in the young Stanislaus and his dawning sanctity soon justified the hopes that had arisen from this wonderful vision before his birth. When the time came, he was sent with his brother to the Jesuit school at Vienna, where he remained for three years, when his whole time was divided between study and prayer. During this time Stanislaus had been listening to an interior voice calling him to enter the Society of Jesus. He knew that it would be useless for him to ask his father's permission, and, accordingly, without his brother's knowledge, fled from Vienna to join the Society, at Rome. The story of his flight is most touching, the manner in which he managed to avoid recognition on his way being truly miraculous. He was received at Rome by St. Francis Borgia, and began his novitiate on that saint's birthday. Unlike our blessed Antony, during this time Stanislaus never showed that desire for missionary work, but was full of the thought that he was made for eternity. On one occasion, as the Feast of the Assumption was approaching, he expressed his desire to witness the celebration in heaven. The saint got his wish, for on the Feast day his soul was in heaven with our Lady. It is said that among all the confessors who have been canonized by the Holy See, no one had died at so early an age as St. Stanislaus Kostka.

The saint whose life is the subject of the third volume was of even still nobler birth than the subject of the last one; nor were his parents less truly virtuous. His beauty of person, grace of manner, and cultivation of mind, were on a par with his high lineage. No saint, perhaps, ever gave up as much for God as St. Francis Borgia, and God in turn proportioned his gifts to the perfect sacrifice. A mere statement of the facts of the saint's life would be highly interesting, but when clothed in the flowing and

attractive style of the author, the book can be called delightful reading. We can recommend the three volumes with confidence, even to those who may read them from other than a purely religious motive, and we can say with truth that we scarcely ever read anything that pleased us as well. We have not said enough in their praise; but, they say, "Good wine needs no bush."

J. O'N.

CONNOR D'ARCY'S STRUGGLES. By Mrs. W. M. Bertholds. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THE present volume is a valuable addition to the many good works that have already proceeded from Mrs. Bertholds' pen. The battle of a noble and generous soul against the reverses of fortune is graphically depicted, and the various characters of the narrative are faultlessly sustained throughout. The work is thoroughly Catholic. The deathbed scene in the London home, the religious ceremony in Father Domatti's unpretending little church, must impress any reader with feelings of piety and devotion. The descriptive passages with which the story abounds may be read again and again with increased interest, so real do they seem, and in such simple and pleasing style are they set forth. It is a pleasure to meet with such a book in these days, when we see so many novelists employ all their talent in perverting the minds of their readers.

D. O'C.

THE INCARNATION OF JESUS CHRIST. By Alphonsus De Liguori. Edited by Rev. Eugene Grimm. New York: Benziger Brothers. London: R. Washbourne. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

THIS book is one of the volumes the centenary edition of one of St. Liguori's Ascetical works. It is divided into two main portions. The first, which is called the "Mysteries of Faith," was written by St. Alphonsus, in 1750; while the second, which is styled "Darts of Fire," was not published by him till 1767. Both treat of the Mysteries of the Incarnation and Redemption. The "Mysteries of Faith" comprises a series of discourses for the Novena of Christmas, and Christmas day, in which are explained the many humiliations that Christ underwent in becoming man for our sake. It also embraces several series of short meditations for Advent and Christmas; a number of hymns to the child Jesus, and many indulgenced prayers

to our Infant Saviour. The "Darts of Fire," is a little treatise which St. Liguori used daily, and earnestly recommended to those who aspired to spiritual perfection. It explains the love that Christ bore us in humbling Himself by becoming man, and dying for our redemption. It also contains a large number of pious sentiments, aspirations, and ejaculations which are very useful for our visits to the Blessed Sacrament.

Throughout the whole work there is a deep spirit of devotion to our Lord in his Incarnation. The meditations breathe divine love and conformity to God's holy will in every line. Above all the reader is struck by the beautiful prayers in honour of the Infant Jesus. Childhood is a time of innocence. We must become as little children if we wish to enter heaven. What devotion then can we practise with greater profit than love of the Infant Jesus, since through its means we become like to His holy childhood? We cannot find a more suitable way of exercising this devotion than that which was used before us by so great a saint as St. Alphonsus.

The work is a translation from the Italian. The style is generally easy and flowing. Occasionally the difficulties of a translator seem to have left their mark, though in a less degree than is usually the case. We desire to see this useful work in the hands of all, as well laymen as ecclesiastics, who aspire to perfection.

J. M. H.

A TREATISE OF THE SPIRITUAL LIFE: Leading Man by an Easy and Clear Method from the Commencement of Conversion to the very Summit of Sanctity. Translated from the Latin, by Mgr. C. J. Morozzo, Cistercian Abbot and Bishop of Bobbio. By the Rev. D. A. Donovan, O. Cist.

THIS is a translation of an old, and we suspect a somewhat unknown, treatise on the spiritual life. It is now more than two centuries since the original Latin text appeared; and its first impression, as well as a reprint lately made, received the approbation of the Master of the Sacred Palace; a fact which, as the translator remarks, gives a guarantee for at least the soundness of its doctrine. The English translation before us is printed, we may add, with the *imprimatur* of the Coadjutor Archbishop of St. Louis.

Father Donovan's translation deserves a warm welcome. It makes us at least acquainted with the spirit of the past—that spirit which, as history knows, was the fruitful principle of so much sanctity. Indeed, everywhere through its pages the book breathes the grave and earnest piety which characterized the faith of the distant ages in which it appeared and the Cistercian Abbot who composed it. No doubt, the original treatise was chiefly intended for religious, but the main principles of the spiritual life are common to all classes and states; and we have no doubt the present volume will be found useful, not to religious only, but to all who seriously try to serve God and make themselves holy, whether in the world or the cloister. It will be very welcome to those who are anxious for a scientific treatise of ascetic theology. The book is eminently scientific. It is solid, clear and easy, and though comparatively brief is sufficiently exhaustive. To our mind, indeed, it is too much of an abstract character; but then everyone has his own favourites among spiritual books. Some are satisfied with the simple statement of abstract truth. Others require to have it seasoned for them, “*ut veritas placeat et suadeat.*”

The translation is made into simple, and though unpretentious, very readable English. We warmly recommend it to our readers, and hope the handsome and portable volume of 513 pages will find a ready and extensive circulation. M. F.

THE COMEDY OF ENGLISH PROTESTANTISM. By A. F. Marshall, B.A., Oxon. New York: Benziger Brothers. 1894.

THIS clever and humorous little book, purports to be the report of a conference of the representatives of English Protestant sects, held in Exeter Hall, to discover some means of uniting all into one body. Towards the end, an Irishman and a convert appear as the professed defenders of Catholicism. In the dialogues between the various representatives, there is developed the truth that the marks of the true Church, especially unity of faith and apostolicity, are conspicuous by their absence in the case of Anglicanism as well as of the other sects, and that the true Church, the Church of the Apostles, can be only the Catholic Church. The arguments are set forth in the clearest logic, and, when necessary for his purpose, the writer draws freely upon his evidently wide acquaintance with ecclesiastical history, to the

great interest and benefit of his readers. We commend the book to priests for the use of Protestants who intend to become converts. Indeed, it should be read by all Catholic laymen who at any time enter into polemical discussions with Protestant friends.

P. M.

THE NEW SPIRIT OF THE NATION. Edited with an introduction by Martin MacDermott. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

IN the introduction to this delightful little book the editor anticipates the question—"Why should such a collection of poems be published now?" Surely no answer is needed, unless in so far as it would serve to explain why such a collection has not been made and published long since. Those who have read the *Spirit of the Nation*, to which the present publication is but an addition, will not only accept without apology another volume of poems by such writers as Davis, Mangan, Darcy-Magee, and "Mary of the Nation," but will hail them with the enthusiasm which the prestige of these celebrated names is calculated to inspire. Writings which, for their literary merit alone, have won reluctant applause from our political foes, will find a ready access to Irish hearts, whose patriotic sentiments and national aspirations they so powerfully and so beautifully express. The grand old *Nation* newspaper deserves to be remembered; and no more fitting monument to its greatness can well be imagined than a collection of the poems which delighted its readers, and which went far to establish its high literary standing, as well as its political strength. Many of these beautiful poems are already familiar to many readers—indeed such gems could not, under any circumstances, remain hidden for long—but it is time to furnish them in a collection for themselves; they have long enough remained scattered through periodicals and miscellaneous collections of Irish literature where much of their individuality has been lost.

The introduction is not the least valuable part of the work. The gifted editor gives, in the compass of a few brilliant pages, a most interesting history of the poems as well as a succinct but marvellously instructive account of the Young Ireland movement. A short graphic notice is given of each author's life; and these sketches, together with the numerous explanatory notes

scattered throughout the book, give the poems an extrinsic interest which adds immensely to their worth. A criticism of the poems would be out of place here; the names of their authors and the widespread reputation of their source are a sufficient guarantee of their excellence. We congratulate the members of the Irish Literary Society on the manner in which they have carried out an admirable idea, and are only uttering a prophesy already partly fulfilled, when we say that the work will be enthusiastically received as a very valuable contribution to the literature of Ireland.

J. B.

ANNALS, ANECDOTES, AND TRADITIONS OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENTS. By J. R. O'Flanagan. Dublin: Gill & Sons.

JUST now everything that treats of Irish government is of interest to Irishmen, and the *History of Irish Parliaments*, by Mr. O'Flanagan, should be sure of a very hearty welcome.

Mr. O'Flanagan gives us an account of the different parliaments held in Ireland from the first towards the end of the twelfth century, representing, of course, only the English of the Pale, and of the more important laws passed from the Statute of Kilkenny and Poynings' Law down to the Act of Legislative Union with England in 1800.

Naturally a great deal of attention is devoted to the years 1780-1800, and we have a short life of Grattan, and an account of his determined struggle for Irish Independence.

The appendices contain some interesting notes on the customs of Irish Parliament, and some capital anecdotes, illustrative of the spirit of the times.

H. O'H.

LOURDES: YESTERDAY, TO-DAY, TO-MORROW. By Daniel Barbé. Translated by Alice Meynell. London: Burns and Oates.

MISS MEYNELL deserves our gratitude for introducing us to this delightful volume. It tells us the history of the famous shrine of our Lady at Lourdes, which made the little French town renowned throughout the world. In the opening chapters of the book we get a detailed account of Lourdes as it was before the apparitions—obscure, uninteresting, commonplace; and as it is now—beautified and transformed by the generosity of

devout clients of Mary, the goal of never-ceasing pilgrimages. The famous Grotto, in the midst of the Massabielle rocks, in which our Lady appeared; the stately Basilica, that crowns the rocks; and the beautiful Church of the Rosary, in the Place beneath, with everything of interest in and about Lourdes, are all fully described. In the subsequent chapters we have an account of the repeated apparitions of our Lady to Bernadette Soubirous, a simple country maiden, and of the enthusiasm and devotion they excited among the good people of Lourdes. We are told how, despite the opposition of the civil authorities, the devotion to our Lady of Lourdes grew daily more widespread; how rumours of striking miracles began to be noised about; how the Bishop of Tarbes, in whose diocese Lourdes is situated, appointed a commission to inquire exhaustively into the truth of the apparitions and miracles; and how, in course of time, after duly considering the report of the commission, he authorized the devotion of our Lady of Lourdes in his diocese. There is a special chapter devoted to the miracles of Lourdes, which, we think, might have been much fuller, with advantage to the book. At the end there is given a long hymn, which tells in simple, devotional verse the whole wonderful story of Lourdes.

The book is admirably translated by Miss Meynell, every page reading as if original, and is handsomely brought out by Messrs. Burns & Oates, being enriched with no less than twelve full-page reproductions of water-colour drawings. Altogether it is an attractive volume, and will make a charming gift-book.

P. J. B.

MANUAL OF THE HOLY FAMILY. Compiled from Approved Sources. By Rev. Buonaventure Hammer, O.S.F. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS is a very useful little manual, containing as it does, besides the ordinary devotions found in prayer-books, the rules of the Association of the Holy Family, as given in papal briefs, and its privileges, an extract from Pope Leo's Brief of June, 1892, setting forth the utility of this Association; a concise summary of Catholic doctrine; an Instruction on Catholic life written by Pope Leo when Archbishop of Perugia; Instructions on the duties of married people; on the duties of Catholics in regard to their parish church, their pastors, Confession and Communion, sick-calls, &c. The concise summary

of Christian doctrine would serve very well to give directors of the Association the main ideas for a series of catechetical instructions to be delivered to the associates. The Manual has the *Imprimatur* of the Archbishop of New York, and is specially prepared for the American members of the Association.

P. M.

THE LABOURS OF THE APOSTLES: THEIR TEACHING OF THE NATIONS. By Right Rev. Louis de Goasbrand, D.D. Burlington. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers, 1893.

To the vigour and activity of the American Church we are daily becoming more and more indebted for Catholic literature of the best kind. The volume before us presents in a new form a subject which, to the Catholic mind at least, will in itself be ever new. But it does more. It shows in a remarkably clear and cogent manner the connection between Catholic dogma and the writings of the New Testament, and defines with admirable precision the place which Holy Scripture occupies in the Rule of Faith. The chief source utilized is, of course, the New Testament, particularly, the Acts of the Apostles—indeed whole pages of the Bible are transcribed word for word, but so arranged as to furnish a more connected account of the lives of the Apostles than could be obtained without an amount of patient study from the inspired original. The author, too, has enriched his work with an amount of original matter which not only increases its value as a history, but renders it most useful for exegetical and even for controversial purposes. To say that we agree with the illustrious French-American in all his topographical and chronological opinions, would be to assert a very unusual coincidence, viz.: that two students of Sacred Scripture would arrive independently at the same conclusion on such a multitude of disputed questions. But this is immaterial. The scope of the book is not to settle questions in dispute among commentators, and which probably never will be settled, but to point out the means by which the early Christians were converted. "The way to the truth must be the same now as it was then," he pointedly remarks in the preface. When Protestants can be brought to admit that the early Christians were converted by the preaching of the Apostles, rather than by the reading of the Scriptures, the author's wish will be fulfilled; and certainly the present work seems well calculated to assist in bringing about this desirable result.

We feel confident in predicting that the design and execution of the work, together with the well-established reputation of its author's name, will secure for it a wide circulation not only among Catholics, but among a large number of religiously-inclined persons outside the Church.

J. B.

GOD'S BIRDS. By John Priestman. London : Burns & Oates.

THOUGH all the living things that inhabit the air are the creatures of God, the birds mentioned in Sacred Scripture are specially deserving of the appellation "God's Birds," and it is with these the volume before us deals. A short account is given of each bird with reference to the occasions on which it is spoken of in the Inspired Narrative, and with some useful reflections. Possessed of extensive knowledge, which is tempered by tender piety, and enhanced by a rich imagination and a happy way of expressing his thoughts, the author has given us a charming work. Insensibly, as one reads its beautiful pages—which really contain poetry written like prose—one is carried back in imagination to the land of the chosen people, hears murmuring sounds

" As of the hidden brook,
In the leafy month of June ; "

listens to the sighing of the wind that blows fresh from the Judean hills, and feels one's heart rejoiced by the warbling of many birds that sing unceasingly their Creator's praises.

The book is tastefully got up, and would, we think, be a valuable and suitable prize-book for the young. P. K.

THE PERFECTION OF MAN BY CHARITY: A SPIRITUAL TREATISE. By Fr. H. Reginald Buckler, O.P. Second Edition. London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

THIS treatise, as the author tells us in the preface, is "mainly intended for religious persons, in view of placing briefly before them what may be termed the science of their profession." It is divided into two books. Book I., "The Study of Perfection," starting with the consideration of man's ultimate end, viz., Union with God, leads us on to consider Perfection; the attainment of which is man's proximate end, in its different qualities and degrees. Book II., "The Life of Charity," is more immediately practical. Setting out with the distinction between the *natural*

and the *spiritual* man, and discovering charity to be the characteristic principle of the latter, it goes on to indicate in detail the various means of nourishing, developing, and practising charity; till, finally, the fulness and maturity of this virtue is found to embrace and unite in itself all other virtues. Though primarily intended for those who have been called to, and who wish to make progress in the contemplative life, the work will be found to contain much that is useful to the ordinary faithful.

NEW MONTH OF MARY. St. Francis De Sales. From the French. By a Sister of the Visitation, Baltimore. 32mo. New York: Benziger Brothers.

THIS little volume contains a devout exercise in honour of the Blessed Virgin for every day in the month. To each exercise is appended an illustration taken from the life of St. Francis. The work bears the approbation of Cardinal Gibbons.

THE LITTLE TREASURY OF LEAFLETS: Vols. I., II. compiled by M. and S. Eaton, 49, Dame-street and 95, Grafton-street, Dublin, 1893.

IT is no misnomer to call this little work "a treasury." A more choice collection of prayers and hymns than it contains it would be difficult to imagine. The compilers, who evince a highly cultured taste throughout, have gone to much pains to bring together, in convenient order, the most approved form of prayer for every conceivable occasion; and have selected, from the standard devotional critics, hymns that are hardly less varied. There is also attached, where possible, an indication of the indulgences to be gained by the devout recitation of the compositions. The work, which is neatly bound in rich morocco, makes a most reputable and useful prayer-book. We know few books better suited for a birthday present or a gift at any time to a young friend. We wish it a hearty God-speed, and a large circulation.

J. J. C.

LIFE OF THE PRINCESS BORGHESE. By Le Chevalier Zeloni. Translated by Lady Martin. London: Burns & Oates.

THIS is the biography of a noble lady, who, living in the world in the midst of every attraction to earthly joys, devoted herself to the service of God in a singular manner. Gwendalin Talbot,

afterwards Princess Borghese, was the daughter of wealthy and virtuous parents. Her mother was a native of Wexford; her father, Mr. Talbot, who was sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury, was a scion of an illustrious family that always championed the cause of Catholicity in England. Born to wealth and honour, with singular gifts of mind and body, Gwendalin was beloved by all with whom she came in contact, and at the early age of seventeen she became the bride of an Italian prince. The remainder of her short life was spent for the most part at Rome, where she was a most affectionate wife and a constant benefactress of the poor. Her death, in 1840, was declared a public calamity by the Pope; and rich and poor, prince and peasant, mourned her loss.

The translator has evidently found her task a labour of love, and has creditably carried out her undertaking.

THE NEED AND USE OF GETTING IRISH LITERATURE INTO THE ENGLISH TONGUE. An Address by Stopford A. Brooke. Second Edition.

THE REV. MR. STOPFORD BROOKE delivered the inaugural address of the Irish Literary Society, London, on the "Need and Use of Getting Irish Literature into the English Tongue."

The Lecturer points out the high literary merit of some of our early MSS., and offers some excellent suggestions to those who will undertake the work of putting Irish literature before the reading public.

A couple of hours spent in reading and studying the lecture will be indeed well spent.

H. O'H.

HOLY LIVES. BLESSED GERARD MAJELLA. By a Priest of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer. New York and Cincinnati: Pustet & Co.

THIS is a most interesting sketch of a lay brother whose earthly life came to an end before he reached his thirtieth year "Being made perfect in a short space, he fulfilled a long time." After giving a short account of Blessed Gerard's mode of life and austerities, the author devotes by far the greater part of his work to recording the numerous extraordinary miracles it has pleased God to work through the humble Brother, who has been justly styled the *Thaumaturgus* of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1891 OF THE FUND FOR THE
PRESERVATION OF THE MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.
Edited by Colonel P. D. Vigors, F.R.I.A.I.

RESPECT for the resting-place of the dead, and a desire to safeguard their memorials, are the great ends the compiler of this report desires to promote. The collection is a most desirable one. It gives us a survey of the burial-grounds of Ireland, and brings into prominence the objects of interest to be met with in each. We have a long list of quaint inscriptions, and a short sketch of some of the old abbeys, and of the relics that have survived the ruins of centuries. The work is beautifully illustrated, thus setting before us faithful representations of those monuments of the past which, in many instances, are but too quickly passing away. So good a cause should reckon more supporters. Now that archæological research has received such an impetus, it is to be hoped many others will come forward, and join in furthering this praiseworthy undertaking. Co-operation is required to preserve our graveyards from that neglect now so widespread. The present work cannot fail to direct the minds of the community to their duty in this respect, and the editor deserves the highest praise for his care in amassing so valuable and such interesting information.

D. O'C.

THE REVIVAL OF IRISH LITERATURE. Addresses by Sir
Chas. G. Duffy, K.C.M.G., Dr. George Sigerson, and
Dr. Douglas Hyde. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894.

THIS little volume contains four addresses on the above-mentioned subject: two by Sir Chas. G. Duffy—(1) "What Irishmen may do for Irish Literature," and (2) "Books for the Irish People"—delivered before the Irish Literary Society, London; one by Dr. Sigerson—"Irish Literature: its Origin, Environment, and Influence;" and one by Dr. Hyde, "The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland," both delivered before the Irish National Literary Society, Dublin. As we might anticipate from the nature of the subject, and from the well-known zeal and ability of the lecturers, the addresses are most interesting and instructive. They should be read by every Irishman; nor can anyone read them without feeling himself stimulated to do something in furtherance of the great cause of the national literary revival.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

MAY, 1894

THE FOUR MASTERS¹

THE name of the Four Masters will be always a dear and venerable name in Ireland; and a sketch of their lives and labours must prove both interesting and instructive to everyone who feels the least interest in the history of his native land. That name was first given to the compilers of the *Annals of Donegal* by the celebrated John Colgan; and it was felt to be so appropriate that it has been universally adopted by Irish scholars. It has, indeed, sunk deep into the hearts of the people, and the memory of the Masters is fondly cherished even by those who know little or nothing of their history. As O'Curry has truly said:—"It is no easy matter for an Irishman to suppress feelings of deep emotion when speaking of the Four Masters; and especially when he considers the circumstances under which, and the objects for which, their great work was undertaken."

Just a mile to the north of the estuary of the river Erne, on a steep and nearly insulated cliff overhanging the stormy waters of the Bay of Donegal, may still be noticed by a careful observer the grey ruins of an old castle that in the distance can hardly be discerned from the craggy rock on which they stand. That shapeless remnant of a ruin is now all that remains of Kilbarron Castle for some three hundred years the cradle, the home, and the school of the

¹ This paper was prepared and delivered as a Lecture to the Students of Maynooth in the College *Aula Maxima*. It has been slightly altered in some respects to suit its present purpose.—✠ J. H.

illustrious family of the O'Clerys, from whom three of the Masters sprang. All those who can appreciate scenic beauty, or who feel something of the spiritual power that brings from out the storied past visions of vanished glories to illuminate the present, should not fail to visit Kilbarron Castle. The rock on which it stands is not only steep, but overhanging; and the waves are for ever thundering far below. Before you is the noble Bay of Donegal, the largest and finest in Ireland, flanked as it is on three sides by grand mountain ranges exhibiting every variety of shape and colouring, but open to the west, and therefore to the prevailing winds which carry in the unbroken billows of the Atlantic to the very rocks beneath your feet. Poor D'Arcy M'Gee, influenced by the grandeur of its surroundings, and doubtless even still more by the associations of the past, has described Kilbarron Castle in a sonnet of much grace and beauty. The opening lines describe the scene:—

“ Broad, blue, and deep, the Bay of Donegal,
Spreads north and south and far-a-west before
The beetling cliffs sublime, and shattered wall,
Where the O'Clerys name is heard no more, &c.
Home of a hundred annalists, round thy hearths, alas!
The churlish thistles thrive, and the dull grave-yard grass.”

The “home of a hundred annalists” is fast falling into the sea; but the grey ruin is still lit up with the radiance of an old romantic story that tells how the O'Clerys came to Kilbarron, and how they grew and flourished there. These O'Clerys originally belonged to the southern Hy Fiachrach, or the Hy Fiachragh Aidhne, whose ancient kingdom was conterminous with the present diocese of Kilmacduagh. But they were driven out by the Burkes in the thirteenth-century, and were forced to migrate northwards to their ancient kinsmen on the banks of the river Moy, who were known as the northern Hy Fiachrach. Yet even there they were not allowed to remain in peace, for the Burkes and Barretts followed them, and once more the O'Clerys were compelled to seek new quarters. Tirconnell was still the inviolate home of Irish freedom, and its grand mountains could be seen any day from Tirawley rising up in strength

and pride beyond the bay to the north-east. Then it was that a certain Cormac O'Clery, disgusted with his oppressors by the river Moy, put his books in his wallet, and taking his staff in his hand, set out for the inviolate home of freedom in the North. Round by Sligo he walked, lodging probably at Columcille's abbey of Drumcliff; then keeping between the mountains and the sea he crossed the fords of the Erne, and came into Tirhugh, the demesne lands of the chieftains of Royal Donegal. Now the young man being hungry and footsore betook himself for rest and shelter to the hospice of the great abbey Assaroe, which the children of St. Bernard had founded long before in a pleasant valley on the banks of a small stream that falls into the river Erne a little to the seaward of Ballyshannon. Abbey Assaroe, like most of the foundations of St. Bernard's children in Ireland, was a great and wealthy monastery, and its hospice was always open with a hearty welcome to receive the poor and the stranger. But in Cormac O'Clery the good monks soon discovered that they had more than an ordinary guest; and we are told that they loved him much "for his education and good morals," and also "for his wisdom and intelligence." This is not to be wondered at, for Cormac O'Clery, besides being an Irish scholar and poet, was, we are expressly told, a learned proficient both in the "Canon and Civil Law." Now you must not think that you have had the Irish monopoly of these things in Maynooth, and that our ancient Celtic scholars knew nothing about them. The Canon and Civil Law were taught, and well taught, far west of the Shannon fifty years before Cormac O'Clery went to Donegal. Under date of A.D. 1328, the *Four Masters* record the death of Maurice O'Gibellain, "chief professor of the New Law, the Old Law, and the Canon Law." The New Law was the Civil or Roman Law, then recently brought to Ireland from the schools of Bologna; the Old Law was the Brehon Law; and, of course, the Canon Law they had in one shape or another from the time of St. Patrick. This O'Gibellain is described as a truly learned sage, canon chorister of Tuam, and officialis, or diocesan judge, for nearly all the prelates of the West. O'Clery, therefore, would be in no want of teachers to instruct him in the Canon and Civil Law.

Now Abbey Assaroe was only about three miles from what was then Kilbarron Castle ; and a frequent visitor at the abbey was its owner at the time, Matthew O'Sgingin, the historical Ollave of O'Donnell, who had many years before come to the banks of the Erne from his native territory near Ardcarne, in the County Roscommon. He was then an old man ; his only son, Giolla Brighde, the hope of his house, and the intended Ollave of Tirconnell, was slain in battle about the year 1382, and now his hearth was very lonely and his house was desolate, for, save one only daughter, he had no child in his castle by the sea ; above all, no son to be heir of his name and of his learning amongst the gallant chiefs of Old Tirconnell. Just then it was the old man met Cormac O'Clery at Abbey Assaroe, a gracious and learned youth, moreover, one of gentle birth, and well skilled in history, although now a friendless and homeless poor scholar. So old Matthew took young Cormac down to Kilbarron ; he showed him his castles, his lands, and his daughter—let us hope, though last, not least in his estimation ; and he said you can live with me here as my son-in-law, on one condition, that if God blesses your marriage with a son, you shall train him up from his infancy as the intended Ollave of Tirconnell in all the learning necessary for that high office. These terms were not hard ; O'Clery accepted them ; and from that auspicious union was derived the illustrious line of scholars that have shed so much lustre on the literary history of their native land.

The great-grandson of this Cormac O'Clery was called Diarmaid of the Three Schools, because he kept in his castle of Kilbarron “ a school of literature, a school of history, and a school of poetry.”¹ It is worth recording, too, and remembering, that O'Donnell nobly endowed those schools at Kilbarron ; for we are expressly told that, in addition to the lands held by his ancestors, he also granted to Diarmaid, for the maintenance of his schools, as well as for a house of general hospitality, the lands of Kildoney and Kilremur, along the winding Erne ; and also the rich pastures between

¹ His son Peregrine O'Clery was the author of a *Book of Annals*, which the Four Masters had in their hands, augmented, doubtless, by his successors.

Bundoran and Ballyshannon, lands which, at the present day, according to John O'Donovan, would produce more than £2,000 a-year. So you see our Celtic princes were no niggard patrons of learning and of learned men. And, oh! such a glorious site for a school. How could a man be weary there—roaming through those swelling meadows a hundred feet above the sea, inhaling the bland Atlantic breezes, with the blue of the sky above, and the deeper blue of that ever-glorious sea around him; beyond rise the giant cliffs of Slieve League, gleaming like fairy palaces in the sunlight, and then far away on the dim horizon's verge, where the billows bathe the clouds, is that golden line of light which, even in the peasant's rude imaginings, leads to the Islands of the Blessed far beyond the western waves. Many a time I have seen it in the sunshine, and, when it is far grander still, in the storm; and I can only say that to my taste, at least, Diarmaid of the Three Schools had a far better site for his college at Kilbarron than could by any possibility be found on the plains of Kildare.

That school at Kilbarron flourished during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries down to the flight of the Earls, in A.D.1607, when, as you know, the old proprietors were all expropriated in Donegal, as well as in five other counties of the North; and the ample domains of the O'Clerys of Kilbarron became the spoil of the stranger, and that ancient sanctuary of Celtic learning was left a desolate and dismantled ruin. Now this brings us down to the time of the Four Masters; and we must pass from Kilbarron to Donegal Abbey. It is not a long way, as the bird flies—about seven miles—over the sand-hills, and down by the sea—that far-sounding sea, where the broken billows roar in a fashion that old Homer never heard—past the old abbey of Drumhome, where we have good grounds for believing that two Irish scholars, whose names are known throughout all Europe, spent their youth; that is, Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba; and the blessed Marianus Scotus, the Commentator. Presently, the bay narrows, and becomes like a broad river flowing between fertile and well-wooded banks, especially on the northern shore; and then you suddenly

come upon the old abbey, standing close to the water's edge at the very head of the bay. Little now remains of the building—the eastern gable, with a once beautiful window, from which the mullions have been torn down; a portion of the stone-roofed store-rooms, and one or two of the cloister arches, with their broken columns—that is all that now remains of the celebrated Franciscan Abbey of Donegal. Still, it is a ruin that no Irishman should pass heedless by; not so much for what he will see, as for what he must feel when standing on that holy ground, so dear to every cultivated and thoughtful mind.

“ Many altars are in Banba,
 Many chancels hung in white,
 Many schools and many abbeys
 Glorious in our father's sight;
 Yet! whene'er I go a pilgrim
 Back, dear Holy Isle, to thee,
 May my filial footsteps bear me
 To that abbey by the sea—
 To that abbey, roofless, doorless,
 Shrinckless, monkless, though it be.”¹

It was founded in the year 1474 by the first Hugh Roe O'Donnell and his pious wife, for Franciscans of the Strict Observance. Under the fostering care of the O'Donnells, whose principal castle of Donegal was close at hand, the abbey in a short time grew into a great and flourishing house, and became the religious centre of all Tirconnell, although Abbey Assaroe still survived in almost undiminished splendour on the banks of the Erne. The despoiling edicts of Henry VIII. did not run in Tirhugh. Hence we find that when Sir Henry Sydney, the deputy, visited Donegal, in 1566, he described the abbey as “then unspoiled or unhurt;” and with a soldier's eye he perceived that it was, “with small cost fortifiable; much accommodated, too, with the nearness of the water, and with fine groves, orchards, and gardens, which are about the same.” Close at hand, there was a landing-place, so that when the tide was in, foreign barks, freighted with the wines of Spain and silks

¹ D'Arcy M'Gee.

of France, might land their cargoes at the convent walls, and carry away in exchange Irish hides, fleeces, flax, linen, and cloth. So we are expressly told by Father Mooney, who must have often seen the foreign ships when he was a boy, and who tells us also, that in the year 1600 there were forty religious in the community, and forty suits of vestments of silk and cloth of gold in the sacristy, with sixteen chalices and two ciboriums. But, in that very year, the traitor Niall Garve O'Donnell seized on the abbey, in the absence of his chief, and held it for the English. By some accident, however, the magazine blew up on Saturday, the 20th of September, at early dawn, and the beautiful fabric was almost entirely destroyed. After the battle of Kinsale, and the flight of the Earls, it passed into Protestant hands, and was partially restored, so that Montgomery, the King's Bishop of Raphoe, proposed to make it a college for the education and perversion of the young men of the north who could not afford to go to Trinity College. This benevolent proposal was not adopted by King James; but about the beginning of the reign of King Charles, in 1623, when some measure of toleration was granted to the Catholics, the building, probably then derelict, seems to have again been occupied by the Franciscans. This I infer from the express statement of Brother Michael O'Clery himself, as well as from that of the superiors of the convent, who declare that the *Annals of the Four Masters* "were begun on the 22nd day of the month of January, A.D. 1632, in their convent of Donegal;" and that "they were finished in the same convent of Donegal on the 10th day of August, A.D. 1636, the eleventh of the reign of King Charles." Colgan also distinctly asserts that they "were completed in our convent of Donegal."

Let us now go back to that Tuesday, the 22nd of January, in the year 1632. It was truly a memorable scene, the first session of the Masters in the library of the half-ruined convent of Donegal. We can realize all the details from the statements of the Four Masters themselves, and of the superiors of the Convent of Donegal. Bernardine O'Clery, a brother of Michael O'Clery, was then guardian of the

convent, and most generously undertook with the assent of his poor community, to supply the Masters with food and attendance gratuitously during the entire period of their labours. He placed the convent and everything in it at their disposal, so far as was necessary for their comfort and convenience. The library, as Sir James Ware tells us, was well supplied with books; and there they took their places in due order according to their official rank, for the antiquarians (as now) were then most jealous of their rights and privileges—all the more so, perhaps, because they were slipping away from them for ever.

Brother Michael took his seat at the head of the table; around him on either side were his venerable colleagues—each with the parchment books of his family and office which were hardly ever permitted to be taken out of the personal custody of the Ollave, lest they might be in any way injured or mutilated. On his right, we may assume, sat the two Mulconrys, Maurice and Fergus, from Ballymulconry in the County Roscommon, historical ollaves to O'Connor, and the first authorities in all the historical schools. Maurice explains that he himself cannot remain long with them, but that Fergus would remain throughout, and have the custody of the books of Clan-Mulconry. Hence, Colgan does not reckon this Maurice as one of the Four Masters, although he gave them his assistance for one month. On the left of Brother Michael sat Peregrine O'Duigenan from Castlefore, a small village in the County of Leitrim, near Keadue. He was Ollave to the M'Dermotts and O'Rorkes; and came of the celebrated family known as the O'Duigenans of Kilronan, because they were erenaghs of that church, as well as ollaves to the chiefs of Moylurg and Conmaicne. He had before him the great family record known as the *Book of the O'Duigenans of Kilronan*. Next to him sat Peregrine O'Clery, son of a celebrated scholar, Lughaidh O'Clery, and at this time the head of the family, and the official chief of the ollaves of Tirconnell. In better days, when he was still a boy, during the glorious years of the chieftaincy of Red Hugh, his father owned Kilbarron Castle, with all its wide domains, and sat amongst the noblest at

O'Donnell's board in the Castle of Donegal. But now his castle was dismantled, and his lands were seized by Sir Henry Ffolliott and his followers—he had nothing left but his books, which he tells us in his will he valued more than everything else in the world—like a true scholar, he would part with everything—castle, lands, and honours—sooner than part with those beloved books that he had now before him on the table. At the foot of the table sat Conary O'Clery, an excellent scholar and scribe, but still not ranking with the official ollaves present. He seems to have been chosen as secretary and attendant to the official historians, and hence is not reckoned by Colgan amongst the Four Masters properly so called.

And now that the Masters are about to begin their labours, Brother Michael explains in brief and touching words *the object and purpose of their labours*, which was to collect and arrange and illustrate¹ the *Annals of Erin*, both sacred and profane, from the very dawn of our Island's history down to their own time.

“For [he said] as you well know, my friends, evil days have come upon us and upon our country; and if this work is not done now these old books of ours that contain the history of our country—of its kings and its warriors, its saints and its scholars—may be lost to posterity, or at least may never be brought together again; and thus a great and an irreparable evil would befall our native land. Now we have here collected together the best and most copious books of Annals that we could find throughout all Ireland, which, as you are well aware, was no easy task to accomplish. We must, therefore, begin with the oldest entries in these ancient books; we must examine them carefully, one by one; we must compare them, and, if need be, correct them; then as every entry is thus examined and approved of by us, it will be entered by you, Conary O'Clery, in those sheets of parchment, and thus preserved to latest posterity *for the glory of God and the honour of Erin*.”

“The good brothers of this convent, poor as they are themselves, have still undertaken to provide us with food and attendance. There is, alas! no O'Donnell now in Donegal to be our patron and protector; but, as you know, the noble Ferrall O'Gara has promised to give you, my friends, a recompense for your labours that will help to maintain your families at home.

¹ As O'Queely puts it, “colligendo, castigando, illustrando.”

As for myself—a poor brother of St. Francis only needs humble fare, and the plain habit of our holy founder. So now let us set to work hard, late and early, with the blessing of God, and leave the future entirely in His hands.”

Yes, let them work for the glory of God and the honour of Erin :—

“ We can hear them in their musings,
 We can see them as we gaze,
 Four meek men around the cresset,
 With the scrolls of other days—
 Four unwearied scribes who treasure
 Every word and every line,
 Saving every ancient sentence
 As if writ by hands divine.”

Brother Michael in the thread-bare habit at the head of the table, and now nearly sixty years of age, was in his young days known as Teige of the Mountain, and, doubtless, shared the danger and the glory of the dauntless Red Hugh through the battle-smoke of many a desperate day. He went abroad with the exiled earls, in 1607, or very shortly after, and subsequently became a lay-brother in the celebrated Franciscan Convent of St. Anthony in Louvain. Ward and Fleming, members of that community, were just then engaged in collecting materials for the *Lives of the Irish Saints*—those materials afterwards so well employed by Father John Colgan. Brother Michael was an accomplished Irish scholar, and belonged, moreover, to one of those learned families, whose duty it was to make themselves familiar with all the old books of their country. So it was resolved to send him home to collect materials for their work. Brother Michael, of course, obeyed, and spent fifteen years in Ireland collecting those precious materials, without which Colgan could never have accomplished his own immortal work.

During these years of unremitting toil, Brother Michael had a two-fold object in view: first, to collect materials for the lives of the saints as projected by his own superiors in Louvain; and, secondly, to gather at the same time all the books and documents that might prove to be useful in the execution of his own special project, namely, the compilation of the ancient annals of Ireland, both sacred and profane. What I especially wish to call your attention to is the long-continued and unremitting—aye, and unrequited, labour

which he spent in accomplishing this double purpose. At this time no member of a religious order, and especially no friar from France or the Low Countries, could travel through Ireland without constant and imminent peril of his life, because they were regarded as agents or emissaries of the exiled Irish princes. But Brother Michael, with the most heroic courage, faced every danger in order to accomplish his purpose. Even before the *Annals of the Four Masters* were begun, he tells us himself that he spent ten long years travelling through all parts of the country, in order to collect his materials. He visited nearly all the religious houses then in existence; he called upon nearly all the Catholic prelates in Ireland at the time, from whom he got valuable assistance and encouragement; he was a welcome and an honoured guest in the great houses of the old Catholic gentry of Ireland, both Celtic and Norman; he visited the great historical schools kept by the professional ollaves, and being himself one of the craft, he was heartily welcomed in them all. These long journeys he accomplished, so far as we can judge, all on foot, trudging from convent to convent, and from house to house, laden with his old books and manuscripts, which we must assume he carried in his wallet. He had no money to buy books, but he got the loan of several to be afterwards copied at his leisure; many of them he had to copy on the spot, because the owners would not part with them; for in most cases, as he himself tells us, he had no other resource, seeing that he could neither buy, nor beg, nor borrow the precious treasure. "Before I came to you," he says, "O noble Ferrall O'Gara, I spent ten years in transcribing every old material I found concerning the saints of Ireland;" and also, as we know from the introductions prefixed to his work, in compiling certain preparatory treatises before engaging in his last and greatest work, the compilation of the *Annals of Erin*, both sacred and profane.

In this preparatory labour he was also careful to secure the co-operation of the greatest scholars of his own time, and especially of the official antiquarians, who were afterwards associated with him in compiling the *Annals*. How unceasingly he laboured during those years we may infer

from what we know he accomplished in the two years, from 1630 to 1632, when he began the *Annals*. The first-fruit of these labours was the work now known as the *Martyrology of Donegal*, which in its present form was completed in the Convent of Donegal, by Brother Michael, in 1630. In the same year was completed the *Succession of the Kings of Erin* and the *Genealogies of the Saints*, a work which was begun at Lismoynty, in Westmeath, and completed in the Convent of Athlone in November, 1630. Next year, Brother Michael and his associates met at the Franciscan Convent of Lisgoole, near Enniskillen, under the patronage of Brian Roe M'Guire, and with the help also of his chief chronicler, O'Luinin, they completed the well-known *Book of Conquests*. O'Clery had previously gone to Lower Ormond to submit his work to Flann M'Egan, one of the greatest scholars of the day, who gave it his most cordial commendation. From Lower Ormond, Brother Michael set out for Coolavin to secure the patronage of Ferrall O'Gara for his projected work, the *Annals of Erin*. Fortified with his promise of pecuniary assistance for the chroniclers, he went off with the good news to Ballymulconry, near Elphin, to engage the services of the two Mulconrys; from Elphin he went to Kilronan to make his final arrangements with O'Duigenan; and thence, laden with his books and manuscripts, and his heart full of hope and courage at the near prospect of successfully accomplishing his great work "for the glory of God and the honour of Erin," Brother Michael trudged home to his own dear old convent down beside the sea.

Is it not true, as the poet says, that:—

“ Never unto green Tirconnell
 Came such spoil as Brother Michael
 Bore before him on his palfrey.
 By the fireside in the winter,
 By the seaside in the summer,
 When the children ar'e around you,
 And your theme is love of country,
 Fail not then, my friends I charge you,
 To recall the truly noble
 Name and works of Brother Michael,
 Worthy chief of the Four Masters.
 Saviours of our country's Annals.”

Of the other Masters, the colleagues of Brother Michael, in nearly all his great works, little need now be said. The Mulconrys were generally recognised as at the head of their profession both in learning and authority. We can trace the family for nearly five hundred years as official ollaves to the O'Connors, the chief kings of Connaught. They resided chiefly at Ballymulconry, which is now known as Cloonahee, near Elphin; and the remains of the ancient rath where they dwelt may still be seen to attest their opulence and power. Many offshoots of the family settled in various parts of the country, and all of them were greatly distinguished for their learning. Of these, perhaps, John Mulconry of the Co. Clare was the most famous; for M'Egan of Lower Ormond expressly declares that he had the first historical school in Ireland in his own time. Many of the family also, as might be expected, became distinguished ecclesiastics, one of them being Florence Conry, Archbishop of Tuam, the founder of the great convent of St. Anthony's of Louvain.

The O'Duigenans of Kilronan were also most eminent as historical ollaves, and from numerous references in the *Annals of Loch Cé*, of which they seem to have been the original compilers, we gather that they were for several centuries the official historians of Moylurg and Conmaicne, and as such held large possessions around Kilronan, in the north-eastern corner of the Co. Roscommon.

Such then were the men, "of consummate learning and approved faith," assembled under the guidance of Michael O'Clery to compile the Annals of their country for God's glory and the honour of Erin. For four years the Masters laboured with unremitting zeal in the execution of their great task, or rather for four years and a-half, from January 1632, to August, 1636.

The work was now completed; but it was of no authority until it was *approved*—approved by historical experts, and sanctioned by the ecclesiastical authorities. It must always be borne in mind that the historian of every tribe, or rather of every *righ*, or king, was a hereditary official, who alone was authorized to compile and preserve the annals of the tribe or clan. These officials formed amongst themselves a

kind of college or corporation of a very exclusive character; and the approbation of the leading members of this body was deemed essential to give authority to historical records of every kind, whether dealing with the tribe, or the sub-kingdom, or the entire nation. Brother Michael, therefore, by order of his superiors, deemed it necessary to submit the work of himself and his colleagues to the independent judgment and censorship of the two most distinguished members of this learned fraternity. And here again we have an example of the indefatigable zeal of the poor friar in carrying out his noble and patriotic purpose. The work was completed on the 10th of August, 1632; and the Superiors of the Convent of Donegal formally testify to the time and place of its composition, to the names of the authors, whom they saw engaged on the work; to the ancient books which they made use of as their chief authorities; and also to the name of the noble patron with whose assistance the work was brought to a successful issue.

Then Brother Michael took his staff and sandals, and, putting his precious manuscript in his bag, set out to submit his work to the judgment of Flann M'Egan, who then dwelt at a place called Ballymacegan, which is now known as Redwood Castle, in the Barony of Lower Ormond, County Tipperary, where he had studied in his youth. M'Egan examined the work, and formally testifies, under his hand, that of all the books of history which he ever saw, even in the great school of John Mulconry, "who was tutor of the men of Ireland in general in history and chronology," he never saw any book of better order, more copious, or more worthy of approbation, than the book submitted to him by Brother Michael; which, he adds, no one, lay or cleric, can possibly find fault with. This approbation is dated 2nd November, 1636. Though so late in the season, the poor friar at once set out to visit Conner M'Brody, who then kept a historical school at Kilkeedy, in the County Clare. M'Brody gave a similar testimony, on the 11th day of November, 1636. Then Brother Michael set out to submit his work to the ecclesiastical authorities; and first of all he came to the celebrated Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of

Tuam, who, relying on the official testimony of the distinguished antiquaries to whom the work was submitted, gave it his own formal approbation, and authorized its publication "for the glory of God, the honour of the country, and the common good." This approbation is dated the 17th of November, just a week after Brother Michael was in the County Clare. Then, facing still north, he came to the beautiful convent of his order at Roserilly, near Headfort, and there got a similar approbation from the learned Boetius M'Egan, Bishop of Elphin, himself a Franciscan friar, and a famous Irish scholar. The work was also solemnly approved by Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, and Dr. Roche Bishop of Kildare. Then Brother Michael once more returned to spend his Christmas with the brotherhood in his own beloved convent of Donegal, having completed his great work for the glory of God and the honour of Erin. He felt, it is true, that the darkness of the evil days was deepening around his country; but he had also the satisfaction of feeling that his own great work was accomplished, and never could be undone. When he heard the brothers chant the complin of the dying year, he might well sing, with a full and grateful heart, the *Nunc dimittis Servum tuum, Domine*. His toilsome journeys now were over, and his long day's work was done. He had laboured for God and for his country; and he knew that God would reward him beyond the grave, and that his country would never forget his name.

Neither must we forget the illustrious name of the noble Ferrall O'Gara. Brother Michael himself tells us that it is to him in a special way "thanks should be given for every good that will result from this book in giving light to all persons in general." The poor friars of Donegal nobly did their duty, and more than their duty, in supplying the Masters for four years with food and attendance; but it was Ferrall O'Gara "who gave the reward of their labours to the chroniclers by whom it was written." The poor chroniclers, like the native chieftains, had been robbed of their patrimony, and were now entirely dependant for the maintenance of themselves and their families on the generosity of those

members of the ancient nobility who had still some property remaining. It was Torloch MacCoghlan, of King's County, who maintained the Masters when compiling the *Succession of the Kings*; Bryan Roe M'Guire, Lord Enniskillen, was their patron and paymaster when producing the *Book of Conquests*. These, however, were comparatively small undertakings, and the Masters were not long engaged upon them. But who would be their patron in the great task now before them, which would engage them for years, and cost a large sum of money? To the eternal honour of the County Sligo, such a man was found at Moy O'Gara, in Coolavin. He told Brother Michael to be of good heart, to secure all the help he needed, and that he would give the antiquarians the reward of their labours, no matter how long they might be engaged on their task; and therefore Brother Michael says that, after the glory of God and the honour of Erin, he writes the *Annals* "in the name and to the honour of the noble Ferrall O'Gara;" and he beseeches God to bestow upon him "every blessing, both of soul and body," for this world and the next. The ruins of the old castle of Moy O'Gara, where Ferrall O'Gara then dwelt, may be seen about three miles from Boyle, and not far from the junction at Kilfree. It was a square keep, like so many others, yet not like them; for a halo of literary glory lights up its mossy, mouldering walls. Its very site will be sought and visited by Irishmen in the future, when the castles of its spoilers will have become nameless barrows. We may well re-echo the touching prayer of Brother Michael for the welfare of his soul:—

" Oh, for ever and for ever
 Benedictions shower upon him ;
 Brighter glories shine around him,
 And the million prayers of Erin
 Rise, like incense, up to heaven,
 Still for Ferrall, Lord of Leyney."

Neither should we forget those younger Masters, who have lately passed away, by whose labours those who are strangers to the ancestral tongue of Erin are enabled to profit by the writings of Brother Michael and his associates. Foremost

amongst them stands the ever-honoured name of John O'Donovan, who has translated and annotated the *Annals of the Four Masters*, and thus made that great work accessible to the whole English-speaking world. It was a task requiring great learning and immense labour; and, according to the confession of all, it has been most successfully accomplished. His name will go down to posterity, and most fitly so, bracketed for ever with the immortal Masters of Donegal. Eugene O'Curry also and Petrie, with Todd and Hardiman, gave most valuable assistance to O'Donovan in accomplishing this great work.

It was O'Curry who transcribed for the press in his own beautiful style the autograph copy of the *Four Masters*, and also gave most effective help by explaining, as perhaps he alone could do, ancient and obsolete words in the text. Petrie, to whom in other respects Irish literature is so much indebted, read the sheets as they passed through the press, itself a work of very great labour, and gave useful help in many other ways also. Todd and Hardiman likewise lent their assistance; the former especially, for he spared neither his labour nor his purse in order to bring the work to a successful issue. The publisher, too, Mr. George Smyth, who at his own sole risk undertook this vast work, certainly deserves his meed of praise for making the *Four Masters* accessible to the literary world. We should never forget the ungrudging labours of those great men in the cause of Irish literature; and, certainly, their example should not be without its effect in moving us to do something, each in his own way, be it great or small, to forward the same glorious work.

We are living in brighter days than the Four Masters lived in. Now there is everything to encourage students to pursue the study of Irish literature and of Irish history. A wider and more general interest is being awakened in all that concerns the antiquities of Ireland. Continental scholars eagerly scan the Celtic glosses of our ancient manuscripts, and our old romantic tales are translated and read with the greatest interest. Not so in the time of the Masters. Their lot was cast on dark and evil days. They

had no motive to inspire them but a lofty sense of duty, and the hope of a supernal reward:—

“ Not of fame and not of fortune
 Do these eager pensmen dream,
 Darkness shrouds the hills of Banba,
 Sorrow sits by every stream;
 One by one the lights that led her,
 Hour by hour were quenched in gloom;
 But the patient sad Four Masters
 Toil on in their lonely room—
 Duty thus defying doom.”

All that time Donegal itself was a vivid picture of Erin's woe; school and castle and abbey were despoiled and dismantled. The six counties of the North were confiscated after the flight of the Earls; and were just then in process of subdivision and occupation by the stranger. The hungry Scot and greedy Saxon were settling down in every fair valley of green Tirconnell, and the remnant of its owners were being driven to the bogs and mountains. The bawns of the new comers were rising up in hated strength by all their pleasant waters. The gallant chiefs of the North, who at Kinsale had made their last vain stand for Irish independence, were now all dead—some from the poisoned cup of hired assassins, and some from broken hearts. At the very time that the Masters were writing, Strafford was maturing his plans in Dublin for further despoiling the native chiefs, who had yet escaped the sword and the halter. The present hour was dark, and the future was darker still:—

“ Each morrow brought sorrow and shadows of dread,
 And the rest that seemed best was the rest of the dead.”

And yet it was in the deepening gloom of those darkest days, when the religion, the patriotism, and the learning of the Gael were all proscribed together, that the Masters sat down in that ruined convent of Donegal—the fit emblem of their unhappy country—to compose with patient and self-denying toil that enduring monument of their country's history, which will be our cherished possession for ever. What men ever laboured under more discouraging circumstances, with more unselfish toil, or for a nobler purpose? Where

can we find a better lesson than in the simple record of their lives? And where shall we look for men to be inspired with the spirit of the Masters, and to continue their patriotic labour except amongst those who inherit their names, their blood, and their faith—and to whom every old book and every crumbling ruin should speak with a voice stronger and more persuasive than mine—surely they before all others are called upon to share in the noble work of preserving and extending through the coming years a knowledge of the Irish language and literature. The study of our history, our literature, and our antiquities, will serve to elevate and purify the mind; it will occupy leisure hours that might easily be spent in more frivolous, if not more ignoble, occupations; it will lend a new interest to those old storied scenes that are scattered throughout the land; it will clothe in the spiritual beauty of religious and historic association many a broken arch and ivied ruin that in our ignorance we might heedless pass by. And when we are tempted to let our ardour grow cold, then the vision of the Four Masters in that old abbey by the sea, toiling patiently at their self-imposed task, may serve to inspire us to labour with renewed zeal in the same patriotic work for the glory of God and the honour of our native land.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

ST. PIRMINIUS OF REICHENAU

Celtica te misit, suscepit Nordica tellus,
Censorem genti numen utrique dedit.
Cui licuit spectare pios in praesule mores,
Huic pro censura tam pia vita fuit.

Plurimus errabat qua nunc jacet Augia serpens,
Venit ut hic Marsus, vipera terga dedit.
Templorum celsas eduxit ad aethera moles,
Expugnaturus Sanctior astra Gigas.

(*Bavaria Sancta*, vol. i., p. 97.)

ABOUT a hundred years after the death of St. Gall a large part of the region he evangelized had fallen away from its primitive earnestness in the practice of religion, and had become a prey once more to the ravages of superstition and

to the evil instincts of nature. The incursions of barbarian hordes from the north and east had wrought havoc amongst the ecclesiastical as well as the civil institutions of the empire of Charlemagne. The rulers of the Church were seriously affected by this general disorder. The disruption of society on a large scale always opens wide the door to abuses unless they are met with a strong hand and vigorously repressed. At the period of which we write the tide had swept almost all before it. Pastors, as Bishop Hefele¹ remarks, had begun to think more of the wool than of the sheep. Strong belief in the rewards and punishments of a future life had faded away or had been choked and smothered in the turmoil of earthly interests that swayed the minds and the hearts of the people. The beneficent influence of the monastery of St. Gall itself was thwarted and neutralized by persecution and tyranny. It was to cope with the prevailing ignorance and the calamitous results of such a state of things that the monastery of Reichenau was founded in the year 724.

Reichenau was the parent house of fifteen or twenty monasteries everyone of which played an important part in the early history of civilization in Germany. From its cloisters came forth monks like St. Meinrad, the founder of the great Benedictine monastery of Einsiedeln in Switzerland, which worthily maintains even to the present day its religious traditions of more than a thousand years; like St. Wolfgang, the noble Bishop of Ratisbon, who preached the faith through the dark forests of Pannonia; like the blessed Etto of Altenburg, who was taken from his cenobite cell at the call of Charles Martel, and placed over the diocese of Strasburg, which he ruled with admirable success in difficult times, and enriched with schools, monasteries and churches, which attracted the attention and admiration of Europe.² Its halls were illuminated by the wisdom and learning of such illustrious teachers as Hermann Contractus, theologian, commentator, poet, musician, and immortal author of the

¹ *Geschichte des Einführung des Christenthums in Südwestlichen Deutschland*, p. 348.

² *De Viris Illustribus Augiæ Civitatis*, by Joannes Egon, p. 22.

two antiphons of the Blessed Virgin, the *Salve Regina*¹ and the *Alma Redemptoris Mater*; as the accomplished Walafried Strabo, whose ability and acumen call forth the repeated acknowledgments and admiration of St. Thomas; as Berno, the greatest musician of his age, the forerunner of Guy of Arezzo, and the teacher of a host of ecclesiastical youths, who acquired a knowledge of his art, and helped to propagate it far and wide amongst the people.

The founder of this famous institution, as well as of the monasteries of Altach in Bavaria; of Monsee and Pfeffers in Switzerland; of Gengenbach, Schuttern and Mörsmunster, in the Black Forest; of Schwartzach, Weissenburg, Neuwiller, and Murbach in Alsace; and of Hornbach in Franconia, was St. Pirminius, one of the greatest of the early religious organizers and missionaries in Germany and Switzerland. Although the origin of this saint is involved a good deal in obscurity, there is an old and, in our opinion, a well-authenticated tradition that he was a native of Ireland:—

“Celtica te misit, suscepit Nordica tellus.”

The opinion is supported with more or less misgivings by such writers as Neugart,² Hefele,³ and Schönhuth.⁴ The question is discussed by Dr. Friedrich in his learned *History of the Church in Germany*,⁵ and by Duplessy Mornay, in his *History of the Diocese of Meaux*. The Irish origin of the saint is maintained without any qualification by one of the most learned historians and archæologists of this century, the late lamented Dr. Greith, Bishop of St. Gall.⁶ It was

¹The *Salve Regina* is sometimes attributed to the Blessed Peter of Monsoro, Bishop of Compostella in Spain, but more generally to Hermann of Reichenau.

²*Episcopatus Constantiensis*, a Trudperto Neugart, Sti. Blasii, 1803, vol. i., p. 69.

³*Geschichte des Einführung des Christenthums in Südwestlichen Deutschland* I, p. 338.

⁴*Chronik des Ehemaligen Klosters Reichenau*, Von O. F. Schönhuth Schönhuth writes:—“Des frommen Pirminius Vaterland lässt sich nicht urkundlich nachweisen, doch ist es wahrscheinlich dass er aus Schottland oder Irland nach Frankreich kam.”

⁵*Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*, vol. ii., p. 582.

⁶*Geschichte des Altirischen Kirche*, p. 399.

evidently regarded at one time as an undoubted fact by the late Bishop Reeves,¹ although he hesitates somewhat about it in a note at the end of his work on St. Columba, for what reason he does not assert. In addition to the testimony of tradition there are several considerations that seem to us to weigh in favour of Ireland's claim to this illustrious apostle.

In the first place, if he had been a native of Switzerland or of any of the parts of Germany that now lay claim to him, it is not likely that his origin and early life would have been allowed to pass so completely unnoticed by the natives of these localities. Had he come from a distance their silence, on the other hand, is easily explained. They could know nothing about his early life, and it was not for him to lay stress on his foreign origin and education. Pirminius, moreover, was thoroughly imbued with the monastic spirit and with the principle of the Irish missionaries that the best way to propagate religion amongst the pagans and to ensure its continued success, was to establish a monastery in their midst. He had the monastic passion as strong as St. Columba himself. No other of the early missionaries established so many monasteries as he did. The English missionaries trusted more to personal action and individual prestige. They were more secular than religious, and although many of them founded monasteries, they never became so thoroughly identified with them as their Irish brethren.

Again it is significant that whilst Pirminius had his free choice to select any residence he wished in the lands of his patron Sintlaz, he should have chosen an island in the Brigantine lake which was then overgrown with brushwood and whose only inhabitants were wild birds, toads and

¹ In his work on Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*, p. 389, Bishop Reeves, speaking of Augia Dives, says:—"It is a remarkable coincidence that this monastery, now Reichenau, should furnish the only narrative of St. Blaithmaic's martyrdom, and be the depository of the oldest manuscript of Adamnan. Its familiarity with the ecclesiastical affairs of the far west is accounted for by the fact that this abbey was originally an Irish foundation. Before its suppression, in 1799, it contained many Irish MSS. and the bowl of St. Fintan." In the end of his work, however, he inserts a note saying: for "Irish foundation" read "much frequented by the Irish;" and he refers to Mabillon, who merely speaks of the doubt regarding the origin of Pirminius, and concludes by saying: "Nobis ariolari non vacat." (*Ann. Benedict.*, tom. ii., 79.)

reptiles, in preference to any of the cultivated and inhabited parts of the mainland. Here we recognise one of the most remarkable characteristics of the old Irish Church, which, nurtured in the island of Ierins, in the Mediterranean Sea, always turned with particular predilection to the silence and calm of an island life. Arran and Inisfallen, Devenish and Iniscaltra, are but a few examples of the "Holy Islands" which were specially consecrated to religious purposes in Ireland. Iona itself has been called the Ierins of the North. In happy remembrance of these island homes many of the Irish missionaries to foreign lands sought similar retirement wherever they could find it. Nowhere was this more remarkable than in Germany itself, where several small islands in the Rhine were secured for their monasteries by Irish monks. Hohenau, Seckingen, and Rheinau, succeed one another from Strasburg to Schaffhausen; and for our own part we can scarcely doubt that Reichenau finishes the series, and crowns the list of Irish colonies that were planted and that flourished in the fertilizing waters of the Rhine. Another characteristic of the Irish saint is the "Blessed Well;" and in the case of Pirminius it is not wanting.¹ Neugart tells us about it in his *History of the Diocese of Constance*.

The eulogium of Pirminius, written by Rabban Maur, falls in completely with this theory of the saint's origin, and could scarcely suit any other. The language he uses is, indeed, in the exact formula which was applied to most of the Irish missionaries:—

“ ‘ Deseruit patriam gentem simul atque propinquos,
 ‘ Ac peregrina petens aethera promeruit.’
 Gentem hic Francorum quaesivit dogmate claro,
 Plurima construxit et loca sancta Deo.”²

This title of "peregrinus" was given in a special and almost in a distinctive manner to the Irish monks of the period to which we refer. In several ancient documents Pirminius himself is described as a "peregrinus." Thus in

¹ *Episcopatus Constantiensis*, by Trudpert Neugart, vol. i., p. 48.

² Mabillon, vol. iv., p. 124.

the act of donation, made by Charles Martel to the saint, of the island of Reichenau and of some of the lands bordering on the lake, he and his monks are spoken of as pilgrims¹ who came from the direction of Gaul. It does not matter to us whether this document was invented or falsified in the sense contended by Dr. Karl Brandt of Heidelberg.² It is at least a proof of the tradition at Reichenau as to the character and condition of its founders. Again, in a brief of Widgern, Bishop of Strasburg, conferring certain privileges on his monastery of Murbach, he speaks of its inhabitants as "Peregrini," and tells them that if they cannot agree as to the choice of an abbot from amongst themselves they may choose one from any of the other "congregationes peregrinorum jam dicti Pirminii episcopi." In the letter of Theoderic⁴ authorising the foundation of this very monastery of Murbach, Pirminius is also described as a "peregrinus." We do not maintain, of course, that the Irish were the only "peregrini" in these days; but when there is question of "peregrini" in this wholesale fashion and of whole "congregationes peregrinorum," we believe it could only refer to Irish communities.

In addition to all this the early years of Reichenau and of the other Pirminian monasteries are full of Irish associations. It was at Reichenau that Walafrid Strabo wrote, in excellent hexameters, the only account on record of the massacre at Iona, by the Danes, of St. Blaitmaic and his companions:—

"Strabus ego misit quem terra Alemannica natu
Scribere disposui de vita et fine beati
Blaitmaic, genuit quem dives Hibernia mundo
Martyriique sequens misit perfectio coelo."⁵

¹ "Qualiter Vir Venerabilis Pirminius Episcopus una cum monachis suis peregrinis de partibus Galliae in fines Alamanorum ad perigrinandum propter nomen Domini venerat."

² "*Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Abtei Reichenau*, von Dr. Karl Brandt. Heidelberg: 1890.

³ See Trouillat, *Monuments de Bâle*, and Grandidier, *Histoire de l'Eglise de Strasbourg*, vol. i., p. 39.

⁴ "Igitur cum et venerabilis vir Pirminius gratia Dei episcopus nostris temporibus cum monachis tuis, Deo inspirante, pro Evangelio Christi peregrinatione suscepta."

⁵ *Canisius Lectiones Antiquae*, vol. ii., p. 201.

It was here that the famous abbot, Ermenrich of Reichenau, wrote, in the ninth century, that eloquent tribute to the orthodoxy and zeal of the Irish Church, which according to him was wrapped in the mantle of the Old and New Testament, and was so free from any stain of heresy or schism that it was in itself a diminutive image or miniature of the universal Church.¹

Again, it was at Reichenau that Father Stephen White, the learned Jesuit of the seventeenth century, discovered the oldest and most faithful manuscript of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columba*. He communicated the work to John Colgan, of Louvain, who published it in his *Trias Thaumaturga*. At the time of the Revolution, when the monastery was suppressed, its books and manuscripts were scattered and many of them lost. It was by the merest accident that this valuable manuscript was discovered at the bottom of a decayed book-chest in the library of Shaffhausen, by Dr. Ferdinand Keller, in the year 1845.

But it is perhaps the library of Carlsruhe that tells more eloquently than any other place of the presence of Irish monks at Reichenau from the earliest days of its existence. Dr. Mone in his collection of the *Hymns of the Middle Ages* gives us several specimens of their works. Amongst others there is an interesting hymn to St. Peter, which reveals to us the spirit of these writers and their attitude towards the Holy See of Rome:—

“ Sancto Petro pro merito
Christus regni coelestium
Claves simul cum gratia
Tradidit in perpetuum.
Animarum pontificem
Apostolorum principem
Petrum rogamus omnium
Christi pastorem ovium.”²

We know from other sources that the monastery of Pfeffers, in Switzerland, founded by Pirminius, was also

¹ Mabillon, *Analecta*; and St. Gall, Codex (Manuscript), No. 268, pp. 82-86.

² Mone's *Lateranische Hymnen des Mittelalters*, vol. iii., pp. 68, 74, 181.

much frequented by Irish monks. It was a station for Irish pilgrims on the old Lucmanian way to Rome. St. Fintan of Rheinau was attracted there by the presence of his countrymen, and his biographer was an Irish monk who lived and died within its walls. Still more did the pilgrims of the west flock to Murbach, in Alsace, which Schöpflin calls a "vivarius peregrinorum."¹ Here the Irish monks kept an account of their former teachers and superiors in Ireland. In their annals we meet with such inscriptions as: "704, mors Canani Episcopi; 705, dormitio Domnani Abbatis; 706, mors Cellani Abbatis; 707, dormitio Tighermal; 708, Drocus mortuus; 719, mors Rathbodi; 729, Macflathei mortuus."² Were the early annals of the saint's other foundations available, we have little doubt but that they would furnish similar evidence. All these considerations are further strengthened by the weakness of the arguments used against Ireland. Thus Wattenbach's chief objection is based on the un-Irish sound of the name Pirminius, as if it were less Irish than Fridolinus, Columbanus, Virgilius, Marianus.³ Others, like the historian Hauck,⁴ object to Ireland because Pirminius introduced the Benedictine rule into his monasteries. As a matter of fact, the rule of St. Benedict was exactly at that time beginning to supplant the Columbanian rule everywhere, even in the monasteries founded by St. Columbanus himself. With these considerations we leave the question of the saint's nationality. We do not by any means presume to say that it is a matter beyond all dispute; but we believe, with Bishop Greith, that all the probability and all the positive information at hand are in favour of Ireland.

The *Life of St. Pirminius* was written, in the eleventh century, by Waramann, Count of Dillingen,⁵ monk of

¹ *Alsatia Illustrata*, No. 10, p. 10.

² See *Annals of Lorsch, or Lauresham*, in *Monumenta Germaniæ* of Pertz, pp. 21-22.

³ *Deutschland's Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter, bis zur Mitte 13 Jahrhunderts*, von W. Wattenbach, vol. i.

⁴ *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands Erstes Theil*, p. 316.

⁵ This work is attributed by some to Otho of Hornbach, the biographer of St. Boniface. See Rettberg, *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands*;

Reichenau, and afterwards Bishop of Constance, who died in the year 1034. A second biography of the saint was composed by a nobleman named Henry De Kalb, who became Abbot of Reichenau, and died in 1237. The work of the former is published by Browsers¹ and Mabillon² in their respective collections. That of the latter seems to have perished; but it still existed in the seventeenth century, for the learned Jesuit Raderus had a copy of it before him when he wrote his sketch of Pirminius in the *Bavaria Sancta*.³

From these sources we gather the information that early in the eighth century things were turning badly in the districts of Rhetia and Suevia. Discipline had all but vanished; religious duties were neglected; churches had fallen into decay, and their furniture had become squalid and unfit for use. A kind of general licence prevailed which drew away the minds of men from spiritual things. Many had even already relapsed into the superstitions of paganism, so that the most energetic action was required in order to stem, and, if possible, to turn the tide. Fortunately a man of strong faith was found in the country itself to put his hand to the good work. This was Sintlaz, a great feudal lord, whose castle looked down on the Lake of Constance, and who realized the grave importance of a Christian life for his numerous vassals and retainers as well as for himself. Looking anxiously around him in search of an ecclesiastic with the training and spirit of sacrifice necessary to carry out his views, he could not find in his immediate neighbourhood a single one. Determined at any cost to find one, he

Mone's *Quellensammlungen*, vol. i., p. 29; and Hefele, *Einführung des Christenthums*, p. 335.

¹ *Silera Illustrium et Sanctorum Virorum qui Germaniam præsertim Magnam olim rebus gestis Ornarunt. Scti. Pirminii Epi. Vita.*

² *Acta Sanctorum, O.S.B.*, vol. iv., p. 124. See also Mone, *Quellens.* i. 28.

³ "Warmannus Comes idemque Constantiensis Antistes et Henricus Angiae Cenobiarcha res a Sancto Pirminio gestas in publicas tabulas retulere; quas religiosus vir Josephus Rieber ex vetustissimis membranis transcriptas ad me misit; e quibus velut a fonte quae ad Pirminium pertinent, præteritis omnibus parergis et prologis, delibavi." (*Bavaria Sancta*, vol. i., p. 97.)

set out, with a few companions, for Meaux,¹ in France, where Pirminius was already at work.² He represented to the saint the urgent needs of his locality, the decline of faith, the decay of the churches, the children crying for bread, and nobody to break it unto them. Pirminius was much impressed with his tale, and particularly with his sincerity and with the manifest desire which he and his companions showed to render all the assistance in their power. But Pirminius was also a cautious man. Although he was then what was called a "chorepiscopus," he did not count much upon his dignity. He reminded his interviewers of the canons of the Church, which forbade an outsider to preach in the diocese of another prelate without his permission. To secure himself against any hindrance of that kind, as soon as he had made up his mind to accept their invitation, he resolved to pay a visit to Rome, and seek the Pope's authority and blessing for his mission.³ Sintlaz agreed to join him in the Eternal City after a short time, and to urge, if necessary, his demand before the Papal Court. Pirminius was at first received with something like

¹Gallus Oheim, who in the fifteenth century wrote *The History of the Abbey of Reichenau*, states that Sintlaz paid a visit of devotion to the Holy Land, and that it was during this journey he made the acquaintance of Pirminius, who had gone there for a similar purpose. (See Schönhuth, *Cronik des Ehem. Klosters Reichenau*, p. 2.)

²There is a good deal of discussion amongst ecclesiastical writers as to whether Pirminius was bishop at Meaux, in France; or at Metz, in Lorraine; or at Meltsheim, near Zweibrücken or Gmunden, in Franconia; or at Melis or Meils, near Sargans, in Switzerland. We think there can be no doubt that he was assistant bishop, or *chorepiscopus*, at Meaux, in France. Cf. Hefele, *op. cit.*, p. 338, 339; Mabillon, *A. S. O. S. B.*, vol iv., p. 124.

³"At vir eximius consulto sagacissimi animi secreto ita respondit: Pia equidem sunt, o viri Deo devoti, quae postulatis, sed in omni re, sicut ipsi nostis, plurimum valet cautela consilii prudentis. Sanctum profecto constat canonibus sacris ne quis sibi aliquid arroget in alterius dioecesi Pontificis. Et quomodo me cogitis illuc migrare, quo neque a Praesulibus illarum partium sum evocatus, neque ab Apostolicae Sedis Antistite destinatus. Quare quem persuadere certatis, ut ego mihimet coelestis accunulem bravii lucra vos eadem intentionem, mecum laborare delectet quatenus itineris Romani laborem simul aggredientes a Summae Sedis culmine desiderati operis censuram studeamus perquirere. His dictis animos eorum ad consentiendum sibi reflexit. Sintlaz domum repe-dabat ac ea quae itineri conducto forent necessaria parare satagebat." (*Vita antiqua apud Mabillon*, vol. iv., pp. 129, 130.)

caution and even distrust in Rome. It is probable that the supporters of St. Boniface, whose well-known devotion to the Holy See made him a "persona gratissima" at the Papal Court, fomented this suspicion. He had never got over the opposition of his Irish brethren in the great Easter controversy, and the prejudice he conceived against them on that account led him into several other quarrels with them in Germany. But "Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos." Pope Gregory II., from a personal knowledge of the stranger, soon changed his opinion; and as a mark of his special favour and confidence, he gave Sintlaz a letter to Theoderic, King of France, advising, persuading, and commanding him to recommend Pirminius to all the bishops in his realm and obtain their consent to his preaching in the countries under their jurisdiction, and doing whatever else he thought necessary for the advancement of religion. Furnished with this authority, the zealous bishop proceeded at once to Switzerland, accompanied by Sintlaz and his followers; and having secured the necessary consent of the local authorities, according to the canons of the Church and the directions of the Pope, he at once set about his mission.

Pirminius was endowed with many natural qualities calculated to win the hearts and to impress the minds of those to whom he addressed himself.¹ He was eloquent and persuasive in his speech, grave, modest and gentle in his manners, but withal firm and fearless in the execution of duty. All who approached him were impressed with the kindness and suavity of his disposition; and the crowds who were drawn at first through curiosity to hear him soon recognised in him the genuine and unselfish spirit of the pastor.

When he had by these qualities once secured the goodwill of the people his first concern was the establishment of a monastery which should be the centre of his labours and

¹ "Multa erant in Pirminio quae illi passim mortales concilabant: mira vis dicendi, ratio cum virtute vivendi, animosque hominum cum modesta gravitate, quam suavitas temporabet, tractandi. Quae res efficiebant uti magnos animorum motus cieret, conciones populorum frequentaret, multos a peccandi licentia avocatos ad innocentiam traderet, magnos denique operae fructus domi faceret, famaque viri nominisque sanctitas longe lateque differretur." (*Bovaria Sancta*, fol. i., p. 96.)

should be animated by the spirit which had brought him away from everything he loved and cared for in the world. It was then that he fixed his eye on the wild and neglected island which was covered with tangled brushwood, and was then a refuge for fowl, birds, serpents, and snakes. When he proposed to fix his dwelling there, Sintlaz remonstrated with him, and pointed out the impossibility of living in a place which had never been inhabited by man, and which was the horror of the whole locality on account of the vicious and noisome animals that were sheltered there. But Pirminius in his turn gently reproached him for the weakness of his faith. Did not Christ possess all power in heaven and in earth? Did He not grant to his elect to tread on the adder and the basilisk, and to trample on the lion and the dragon? His men were soon at work on the island, Before the blessing of the saint and the axes and spades of his labourers, the poisonous tribe soon disappeared. A house was built, and an oratory suited for the divine office arose alongside it. The whole foundation was dedicated to the "Blessed Virgin Mary and to the Holy Apostles SS. Peter and Paul." The island that was once so sterile and rough soon became smooth and fertile. Instead of the briars and tufted brambles fruit trees and vines were planted all around. Civilization of every kind followed in the footsteps of the Benedictine monks, in these days, and soon Pirminius was able to furnish his new home. Forty monks and fifty books are said to have arrived there together. For three years Pirminius and his companions laboured in this fruitful vineyard, renewing both materially and spiritually the face of the country around them.

Political troubles then came upon the new institution. Theodebald, the son of a German duke, rebelled against Charles Martel, who was then mayor of the palace under the weak scion of the Merovingians who occupied the throne of France. He wished to make use of the monastery and its monks to propagate his rebellious ideas amongst the people. Pirminius firmly refused to lend himself to such proceedings, and was expelled from the island and the country. He appointed Etto, the son of a German nobleman, to take his

place, and turned his own energies and exertions elsewhere. It was then that his activity made itself felt all over the central part of the Continent. He founded a great number of monasteries, beginning with Murbach in Alsace, whither he had been invited by Count Eberhard, brother of Etto, his successor in Reichenau, pushing his conquests as far as Altag on the banks of the Danube, and ending at Hornbach, where he had been brought by Wernher, feudal lord of the district. Walafrid leaves no doubt as to the place of his death :—

“Primus in hac Sanctus construxit moenia Praesul
Pirminius, ternisque gregem protexerat annis.
Hujus quisque velit sanctam cognoscere vitam
Ipsa sepulchra petat, satis ipse probabit in Hornbach.”

Under the title of *Dicta Abbatis Pirminii de Singulis Libris Canonicis*, we possess a short work written by the saint,¹ which is a very important historical and literary document of the eighth century. He shows in this work a wide and accurate knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. He is particularly eloquent on the sufferings and passion of our Lord, and on the object for which they were borne :—

“Christ goes freely and without compulsion to suffer for our salvation. For us He bore insult, blows, stripes, thorns, and treachery. For us He was nailed to the cross. For us He bore that parching thirst which was embittered by vinegar and gall. For us His sacred side was pierced with the lance. At the ninth hour He yielded up His spirit, and blood and water flowed from His side; the blood for the salvation, and the water for the baptism of the world.”²

The regulations which he lays down for the observance of the people are valuable from an historical point of view, as showing the sort of superstition and the evil practices that were then most prevalent,³ and the difficulties the

¹ Cf. *Caspari. Kirchenhistorische Anekdota*, i., p. 151.

² See *Kirchengeschichte Deutschlands von Dr. Alb. Hauck, Professor in Erlangen. Erster Theil*, p. 320.

³ “Non ad petras neque ad arbores, non ad angulos neque ad fontes, ad trivios nolite adorare nec vota reddere.”

“Membra ex ligno facta in trivios nolite mittere quia nulla sanitate vobis possunt praestare.”

“Karactires, herbas, sueimo nolite vobis vel vestris appendere. Tempistrarias nolite credere nec aliquid pro hoc eis dare.”

“Praecantatores et sortilogos, karagios, aruspices divinus, ariolus, magus, maleficus, sternutus et aguria per ariculas vel alia ingenia mala et diabolica, nolite facire et credere.”

missionaries had to overcome in withdrawing the people from such gross observances.

But it is with Reichenau that the name of Pirmin has remained most closely associated. He was the founder and the father of that great school that sent forth so many archbishops and bishops in these centuries of the Middle Ages, that nurtured so many scholars, poets, philosophers, theologians. Ziegelbauer¹ proudly tells of the large number of books—large for the time—that were collected there towards the end of the ninth century. It was there that Walafrid wrote the famous *Vision of Wettin*, and described the “Hortulus” with its herbs and flowers; it was there that Berno wrote *De Mensura Monochordi*; that Hermann composed the *Alma Redemptoris Mater* and the *Salve Regina*. As many as six hundred monks at one time filled its cloisters. Princes and barons sent their sons in crowds to its schools. Richly endowed by successive emperors,² its wealth excited the cupidity and jealousy of the revolutionists of last century to whom it fell a victim in 1799. The island, however, remains still religious and Catholic. The buildings of the monastery are used partly for secular and partly for religious and educational purposes. Its church contains many ancient treasures. In its sanctuary is the tomb of Charles Le Gros, who died there in 888. It is but natural that the whole place should look neglected. Nothing could be more desolate than these lonely cloisters from whose walls the frescoed portraits of ancient abbots and long-departed monks look gravely down, calling back to the soul visions of the monastic virtue of bygone years, and evoking memories that are all the more vivid on account of the silence and gloom that reign through these deserted passages. What different impressions one feels when he ascends the eminence close by. Beneath it hundreds of boatmen ply their oars in the clear and placid lake. On the shore beyond lies Constance, with its historic cathedral, near which one can still discern the hall of the great council that gave peace

¹ *Historia Literaria Benedictinorum*, vol. i., p. 569.

² It is said at one time to have counted amongst its dependents not less than four archdukes, twenty margraves, and fifty-one feudatory lords.

to the Church in 1414. On the other shore is Gottleben, in the strong towers of whose rugged keep John Huss was carefully immured. If there be on all sides here indications of prosperity and religious civilization, how much of it is not due to the exertions of the great and good Pirminius? On the island, at all events, his services are not forgotten. His festival there is one of the great events of the year; and even though his name should be one day forgotten there, it can never be effaced from the honourable place it holds in the history of Christianity in Germany.

J. F. HOGAN.

THE NATURE AND PUNISHMENT OF VENIAL SIN.

THE idea of writing on this subject was first suggested by an allusion we came across in one of last year's issues of the I. E. RECORD, to which we shall refer presently; and, but for a variety of untoward circumstances, this paper would have been in the printer's hands months ago. Ours is an attempt, albeit a feeble one, to obtain a clearer understanding of what *venial sin* is. This will appear to some as a very unnecessary and quite superfluous undertaking. Is it not in the presence of us all? To this it might be answered, rather does not its true nature lie hidden? It seems to be simplicity itself, intelligible to all the world, and yet, in the ultimate analysis, according to many, as we shall see, it is something inaccessible. Our subject-matter is one which may be approached from different sides; but in order to attain to our immediate object in view, it will be useful, and, we believe, highly interesting, to contrast and compare the workings of great minds on this very question, and then bring about a reconciliation between their apparently conflicting definitions. This being done to our satisfaction, if not to that of others, it will serve as a groundwork for the discussion of the other question, which will be

to elucidate, as clearly as we can, the doctrine of Scotus, as to the punishment of venial sin. The title, therefore, of our paper is a fairly accurate index to its contents. We shall confine ourselves scrupulously to these narrow limits, and it will be observed that we are treating as extraneous matters all questions which, though possessing a certain affinity with our present research, are to be found sufficiently well threshed out in our well-thumbed manuals of Moral Theology. These, therefore, may and will be eliminated without our prejudicing, to any appreciable degree, the unity of our study, or detracting from the cogency of the arguments we make use of.

What we may term the characteristic feature of sin in general, as Werner¹ points out, is the fact of its being an act or action against a law. That this is so, is evident from the moment it is granted that a certain act or action conformed to the law is morally good; for then it follows in logical sequence, that every act or action in opposition thereto must be morally bad. But as the human conscience presents a two-fold aspect—a moral and a religious one—so also sin may be considered from a psychological or a theological point of view. Considered in the latter sense, sin is a violation of the law *ἀνομία, ἀδικία, ἁμαρτία*, and, therefore, an offence against God; whilst, on the other hand, if we view sin from a psychological standpoint, it is an act of egotism, having at its root or source self-love, *φιλαυτία, conversio ad bonum commutabile*. Here we must hasten to draw the line of demarcation between a small and inconsiderable transgression, and a rebellion properly so called; between a slight deviation from the path of duty, and a complete disavowal of all those relations which bind the soul to God. Setting aside the more glaring revolt, we propose to search out the nature of the lesser or venial sin. And, at the outset of our inquiry, we ask ourselves is it necessary to remind the reader that we are confronted by those who utterly deny the very existence of venial sin? It is a well-known fact that heretics, whose name is legion, Wickliffe,

¹ *System of Christian Ethics*. Ratisbonne, 1850.

Luther, Calvin, &c., have arisen and sought by specious arguments, to prove that such a distinction of sin should be erased from the code of Christian morals. We shall not delay to investigate the grounds on which they base their rejection of this particular Catholic doctrine; nor shall we be at any pains to refute their objections, persuaded as we are, that these are familiar to our readers. Let it suffice to say, that—firstly, both Holy Scripture and the fathers declare that certain sins dissolve the friendship between man and God, and exclude from the heavenly kingdom, whilst others do not; secondly, that the twentieth proposition of Baius, “No sin is, of its own nature, venial, but every sin deserves everlasting punishment,” has been condemned by three popes.

It may be as well to direct attention, in passing, to the opinion of certain Catholic theologians, Gerson among the number,¹ who have favoured views which approach perilously near, one would say, to this condemned doctrine. They have not hesitated to maintain that no sin is of itself (*ex natura*) venial; but that all sins are mortal, and, consequently, deserving of eternal death. Still, notwithstanding this uncompromising attitude, they admit that, *de facto*, certain classes of sins are venial, either by reason of the parvity of matter, or imperfect deliberation, &c., not because of the sin itself, but because God in His infinite mercy abates, out of condescension, His just and lawful rights. Their contention, therefore, is that if God so willed, we should forfeit His friendship by every sin we committed. A glance at this doctrine shows how they escape the condemnation fulminated against the heretics above mentioned, for they, unlike the heretics, recognise the existence of venial sin. But it is of no small moment to recall the fact that Herincx,² and Suarez,³ demonstrate how God, by virtue of His absolute power, and the unlimited jurisdiction He exercises over creatures, could abolish all such distinction of sins; and, hence, they teach that, in a

¹ P. 3, *de vita spirituali*.

² *De peccatis*, Disp. 7, q. 7.

³ *De peccatis*, Disp. ii., n. 9.

sense, it does depend on His mercy that every sin is not grievous.

But what is venial sin? Before entering upon an answer to this question, we must make one further remark; *i. e.*, that reference to the writings of the fathers in this respect often proves misleading. With them mortal and venial sins are terms which assume quite a different meaning to the modern one. Hence, unless this be borne in mind, a confusion of ideas is likely to arise; indeed, scholastic writers have more than once completely failed to grasp the true sense of certain passages, owing to their ignorance or forgetfulness of this distinction. Petavius, in his edition of Epiphanius, lays stress on this interpretation: "The fathers," he says, "mean by mortal sins (*mortalia, capitalia, lethalia*), not, as we do, those sins which deprive us of grace, but sins of an aggravated character, which were specially named in the canons and synodal decrees, as being subject to certain penalties. To these they oppose "lighter and daily sins," comprising some which are now called mortal, and some venial sins. Or, again, they distinguish between mortal sins for which public penance was due, and the daily faults of good people. Thus, Tertullian,¹ St. Augustine,² &c.

And now to answer the question what is venial sin? St. Augustine evidently hesitates in defining it, for, as to the difference between mortal and venial sin, we read in his *Enchiridion*, cap. 75: "Ista non humano sed divino pensanda iudicio;" and in *De Civ. Dei*, cap. xxi., "until the present time, strive as I may, I have never been able to obtain a satisfactory solution of this difficulty." "Ego usque ad hoc tempus cum inde satagerem ad eorum indaginem pervenire non potui. Et fortasse propterea latent ne studium proficiendi ad omnia peccata vitanda pigrescat." But St. Bonaventure,³ after demonstrating how venial sin does not consist in the aversion from or contempt of God, goes on to say that venial sin is neither directly against the law of God, nor does it set up the creature as its last end; but, he

¹ *Pudicitia*, 19.

² In Joannem *Tract.* xii., *ad finem*.

³ *Sent.*, lib. ii., *Disp.* xlii., art. ii., q. 1.

continues, because venial sin is committed beyond (*praeter*) the command of God, an obstacle intervenes between the creature and its proper relations with God. It follows, consequently, that man, through venial sin, withdraws from the way of the commandments in a certain sense, and also dallies with (*morose adhaeret*) what he ought simply to pass by. In other words, two distinct elements are discernible in venial sin: a certain divergence (*elongatio*), and a certain delay (*retardatio*). If, however, it be objected that venial sin is against God's prohibition, the Seraphic Doctor replies, that speaking accurately, that is said to be against the prohibition of God, to whose opposite the prohibition obliges; now, venial sin is not of this kind, and, therefore, is not directly forbidden. It must be added, nevertheless, that venial sin is bound up, as it were, with the prohibition; and, as the same divine puts it, "magis proprie dici debet cohibitum quam prohibitum." And, in proof of this opinion, he gives the following illustration:—God forbids concupiscence, saying: "Thou shalt not covet," *non concupisces*; in which prohibition He does not include the first movements of concupiscence, but the following of them up, according to Ecclesiasticus, xviii. 30, "Son, go not after thy lusts;" but, at the same time, it is clearly made manifest that the movements of concupiscence are neither good nor pleasing to God.

St. Thomas¹ explains his mind on the question when he says that mortal sin is against the end of the law, whilst venial sin is against the means to that end. Mortal sin is irreparable, not absolutely, but relatively to the individual guilty of it, for the man guilty of it loses every principle of spiritual vitality; so that he is unable to recover life of himself, as is the case with one who has suffered bodily death. Renewal, therefore, cannot come from within; but must necessarily proceed from some external source. Whereas venial sin, which is a disease of the soul, not its death, may be repaired by means of the grace which is still left.

¹1, 2, q. 88, art. 1.

Scotus¹ takes exception to the first part of this explanation. He lays down as a principle that mortal and venial sins may be committed against those things which are means to the end; *e.g.*, in a theft; whilst, on the other hand, venial sins may be committed against the end; for instance by passing doubts which arise unbidden to the mind regarding the mysteries of our faith. Then he advances his own views on the matter, which will be found closely akin to those of St. Bonaventure. That transgression, he holds, which is called mortal, on account of its causing death to the soul, is directly opposed to that ordinance or command without which it is impossible to attain to life eternal; and it is this ordinance or command alone which properly merits the name of precept. But there exists a second species of ordinance which, while bearing a certain relation to the end to be obtained, *viz.* life eternal, is not a necessary, but rather an advisable (*utilis*) one; and, therefore, it does not come under the strict sense of a precept, but rather under that of counsel. Therefore he defines venial sin as being against a counsel rather than a command. Foreseeing that this definition would be open to an equivocal interpretation, he guards against hasty conclusions likely to be drawn from his words by subjoining "not that there is no precept, for instance, against stealing both in matters of a great or small nature, but that the one who is guilty of a trifling theft does not thereby act against the necessary attainment of the end, nor does the thief in this case fall from the principle of spiritual life. In other words, venial sin acts after the manner of an obstacle which intervenes between the act and its proper relation to God; just as the interposition of a solid body will oftentimes prevent the rays of the sun reaching a given object directly. The light is more or less impeded, it is true, but it is not shut out altogether.

Hence it is that both mortal and venial sin are against the precept; but with this difference, that the law or precept binds at times necessarily, *viz.* under a heavy penalty; *i.e.*, that of losing sanctifying grace, if it be contravened; and,

¹ 2 Disp. 21, q. 1, *utriusque scripti.*

again, at times it imposes a lighter obligation, so that the one who acts against it does not incur God's displeasure, but only elicits an act which is less intense and less meritorious than it might otherwise have been. And thus the most merciful God has not willed so to burden human weakness that every time it should act against the law it should fall from grace; and, in consequence, the law does not, properly speaking, appertain to or influence all human acts, but rather the perfection with which they ought to be equipped; which perfection, however, is *hic et nunc* wanting. The Divine purpose is, that these should be *de consilio*, and that they should not be in opposition to any precept whose impletion in the present order of things is necessary to attain to our end.

Vasquez¹ argues from the answers given by St. Thomas to the objections raised against his definition, that the Angelic Doctor in this matter seems to have taught the selfsame doctrine; he only expresses himself differently.

Whilst Cajetan² with more than usual ingenuity, but with less than his accustomed perspicuity, objects that it is utterly false that venial sin is against a counsel, since anyone may, *suppositis supponendis*, marry; and, therefore, act against a counsel of perfection, and yet not sin. It is evident from the foregoing explanation of the text how egregiously he misses the point.

After having more or less satisfactorily shown that these definitions of venial sin, though varying in form resemble each other in reality, we pass on to the consideration of the second, we may say the main, question of this paper—the *punishment* of venial sin. Here we discover that on many points perfect and absolute unanimity reigns among those who treat the subject, whilst on others the difference of opinion could scarcely be more sharply defined.

The punishment due to venial sin is temporal, and may concern both this life and the next.

1. All are agreed that the punishment of venial sins never extends to the diminution of even one degree of

¹ 1, 2, Disp. 143, c. 2.

² Disp. 21, q. 1.

sanctifying grace; for, in the supposition that this were so, the multiplication of venial sins would bring about its total destruction in time, which is denied by all. Nevertheless the fervour of charity suffers. Venial sins interfere largely with those perfect acts of love of God, and with that thorough detestation of sin in which holy souls find their delights.

2. Again, it is admitted by all as certain enough that temporal punishments are inflicted by God in this life for venial faults, in order that, through them, the elect may be purified and rendered worthy of an immediate entrance into His kingdom. Nay, what is more, that death itself has been the punishment, as appears to have happened to the prophet, who, being led away by another, eat bread in the land of Israel (3 Kings xiii.); the well-known cases of Oza and Moses occur to the mind also. But even in the absence of such examples who could doubt the divine power of inflicting such penalties?

3. Besides this God can, and often does, withhold in punishment of venial sin certain special and more abundant graces.

But what of those who depart this life in venial sin? These are to be classed in two different categories, viz., those who die in the Lord, and those who die in mortal sin. Concerning the first mentioned there can be no doubt as to the punishment due to venial sin being temporal. But as to the second class, viz., those who die in mortal sin, and are besides burdened with venial sins, opinions are divided.

Father Clarke, S.J.,¹ alludes to this diversity of opinion, but he does no more than mention the fact, as he said at the time its discussion would have led him too far afield. We shall, therefore, take up the thread of the question where he left it.

St. Thomas, St. Bonaventure, and others hold that the punishment due to venial sin, in the case of one who dies in mortal sin, will be eternal. The eternity of punishment, they say, is not due to venial sin *per se*, but *per accidens*,

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. xiv., No. 6.

owing to the presence of mortal sin. This is so well known, that it frees us from the necessity of bringing forward the proofs whereby they uphold their teaching. Scotus,¹ however, with the Scotists Henno,² Herincx,³ Montefortino,⁴ Maestrius, Poncius Navarrus, and Conineck, &c., maintain that in no case, in no supposition, whatsoever, will the punishment due to venial sin be eternal; the punishment is temporal, and, therefore, will have an end. We shall endeavour to condense their arguments; and, therefore, instead of quoting their *ipsissima verba*, or rendering the text literally into English, we shall extract the sense, stating it in the most appropriate language at hand. No elaborate network of subtle ratiocination is attempted. Their reasoning is based on a simple yet solid foundation, which may be thrown into the following syllogistic form.

No one, they say, is, or can be, justly punished above his deserts; in fact, everything goes to show that the contrary rule is followed in the ordinary course of divine Providence, which is ever prone to punish less than more severely. Now, they continue, it is granted that temporal punishment alone is due to venial sin; therefore, eternal punishment is, and ever will be, unproportionate to it. Their opponents have no fault to find with this *per se*; but they ask, does not this leave the case of those who die in mortal, as well as in venial sin untouched? No, certainly not; for the Scotists, in their turn, inquire, does the state of damnation increase the demerits or malice of venial sin (on which alone depends the increase of punishment)? If it be answered, as it must be answered, in the negative, then this particular sin remains in itself venial, to which only a temporal punishment is attached; which, therefore, in spite of its surroundings, will have an end.

Against this conclusion some will start another objection: how can the debt of punishment due to venial sin ever be paid, seeing that the lost souls suffer unwillingly? If this

¹4 Sent., chap. xxi., q., n. 6.

² *De peccatis Disp.*, 11, q. 6.

³ *Disp. VII. de peccatis mort. et ven.*, q. 12.

⁴ Tom. iii., par. ii., q. 87, art. 5.

objection were found to be valid, it would prove too much, which, as we know by experience, is as dangerous, if not more so, than proving too little. Let us suppose the very ordinary occurrence, that one is sentenced to a term of imprisonment. What is required of the culprit? Nothing more than the completion of the term, when the debt of punishment lapses of itself, at the least when the sentence imposed has to be fulfilled *per modum satisfassionis*; for Scotus admits that the question would bear another complexion had it to be fulfilled *per modum satisfactionis*. One is tempted to ask the rather embarrassing question, if the will enters as a necessary element, then the lost souls do not undergo or pay the punishment due to mortal sins; and yet is it not admitted by all Catholic theologians that they suffer as much as divine justice has decreed? Why not, therefore, apply the same principle to the punishment of venial sins?

Another will find fault with our conclusion, and endeavour to prove its infeasibility on account of the *guilt* of venial sins ever remaining on that soul. It cannot repent; therefore it must ever endure the punishment. This objection, like the foregoing, needs only to be carefully sifted, in order to show that sophistry rather than sound reason underlies it. It is true, that which postulates the punishment (*dignitas poenae*) which was due, but which now has been fully paid, remains; in other words, that still remains which is worthy of punishment, whether to be gone through or already accomplished, but not of any new punishment. But, this having been paid, the obligation of suffering for this particular *reatus*, or guilt, is taken away, although there remains the stain or habitual fault, in the supposition, of course, that this is separable from the *reatus poenae*. The subsequent example brings this out clearly. Let us suppose an inferior offends, either grievously or slightly, his superior, and is condemned to undergo a certain punishment proportionate to the offence. When this has been fulfilled he is acquitted, he is free from the debt of punishment, even supposing the superior does not receive him back into his favour and good graces. But others will urge, when the offender perseveres

in his sin, continues to show his bad will, as long as he does so, so long will he be liable to punishment. Now, they hold, this is the exact position of the lost; therefore they must suffer for ever, even for venial sin. If we draw the obvious distinction between those who are *in via* and those who are *in termino*, this objection falls to the ground of itself. The objection would hold good with regard to the first, but not with regard to the second. As the lost are no longer capable of merit or demerit, even supposing they could commit new and more grievous sins, they would not, therefore, have to undergo new punishment.

Some assert that in order to satisfy for sins we must be in the state of grace, of which the lost are deprived; but this is proved to be erroneous if we remember how many fulfil the penances imposed upon them in the state of mortal sin. Here then we have an instance of the non-necessity of the state of grace to satisfy for the punishment imposed. From what has been said it is, perhaps, superfluous to add that no grace or favour is extended to these souls, in this respect; for, although it will come to pass that afterwards they will be less severely tormented than at first, the reason is that they will have paid to the full the debt of punishment demanded of them. In justice this is due to them. Without enlarging on this conclusion, or dwelling on its far-reaching consequences, we would merely remark that we fail to understand how this opinion can be called by De Lugo¹ *sententia durissima*, as it must appeal to the un-biassed searcher after truth as the more humane of the two.

One advantage, we trust, will be gained by this *exposé* of Scotistic teaching: it will tend, in some measure, to destroy certain deep-rooted prejudices. Moreover, we hope, at some future period, with the permission of the Editor, to lay before our readers a short sketch of the life of Scotus, and to gauge his influence on Catholic thought, especially as Wadding's edition of his works is now being re-published in Paris by Louis Vivès.

F. ANDREW, O.S.F.

THE NEW NUT-BROWN MAID

A BALLAD OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

OF the history, authorship, and exact date of *The New Nut-Brown Maid*, little can be said positively, for little is definitely known. It has been republished in the present century, so far as the writer is aware, but thrice only. First, in the twenty-ninth number of the publications of the Roxburghe Club, in 1820, of which there are said to have been printed but eight-and-thirty copies, one of which may be consulted in the British Museum Library; next, for the Percy Society, in 1842, under the editorship of Edward F. Rimbault; and lastly, by another benefactor to English song, in his *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, by W. Carew Hazlitt, in the year 1866. In each case, it is believed, the editors either followed one another in the text they employed, or followed a copy common to all of them, with the exception of their several uses of commas, and capital letters; and all, in turn, practically are forced to acknowledge that the information which they possess, and can impart, on the question, is of very limited proportions. The common source to which each editor was indebted, says Mr. Rimbault, was a copy formerly in the library of the late Thomas Caldecott, whose collection of Early English poetry was well known to the lovers of this species of literature. Sir George Freeling, he adds, was favoured by the loan of it, when in that gentleman's custody; and from his accurate transcripts, the reprint of the Percy Society's edition has been made. The following version, however, it is believed, is the first effort, and it only pretends to be tentative and humble effort, to reproduce the ballad-verse in a form somewhat approximating to the language of the present day. As such, it is offered to the more learned in Early English literature with becoming and apologetic diffidence.

The New Nut-Brown Maid, writes Mr. Rimbault, is a moralization of the beautiful old ballad of the *Nut-Brown Maid*, which was introduced to popular notice, and according

to some authorities was spoilt in the process of being modernized, in the last century, by Prior, and was edited in 1760, by Capel, in his *Prolusions*. The only work in which the ballad has yet been discovered, is Richard Arnold's *Chronicle of the Customs of London*, supposed to have been printed about 1502. *The New Nut-Brown Maid*, in the opinion of Mr. Hazlitt, is by no means equal in merit or interest, to its original. It is, says Mr. Rimbault, an extremely close "parody" upon the elder poem, and exhibits one of the most curious specimens of a practice very common in the sixteenth century, that of turning popular songs into pious ballads. The production consists, Mr. Hazlitt adds, of a dialogue between Christ and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in which the latter intercedes with the Saviour for mankind; and contrives, after considerable importunity, to win pardon for the world on its repentance. It is a remarkable instance, he thinks, of the way in which a species of literature condemned by the saints as profane, and subversive of religious sentiment, was treated, in a special case, so as to satisfy the scruples and to answer the purpose of the godliest reader. The practice obtained, as it is well known, from the very earliest days of the Christian Church, in the Greek, and we believe in the Armenian hymnography; and in Scotland, Mr. Rimbault states, in common with the usage of England, France, and Germany, and probably of Italy, the practice obtained at an early period of writing new words to old and popular secular tunes.

The New Nut-Brown Maid can hardly be thoroughly appreciated, or its story fully understood, without a knowledge of and a reference to its great prototype, the old *Nut-Brown Maid*. Into an account or criticism of the latter, however, this is not the place to enter. It must suffice to say, that the origin of the elder ballad appears to be lost in the dim and distant past. In all probability, it was not a ballad of native growth. In any case, the leading idea which predominates it seems to have influenced the verse of more than one continental nation, whether as an original literary production, or as a translated ballad. In the advertisement to the reprint of Arnold's *Chronicle of London* in the beginning

of the present century, the author tells us that "there is preserved in the works of Bebelius, the Poet Laureate to Emperor Maximilian I., published in Paris, 1516, a Latin poem entitled *Vulgaris Cantio*, which is avowedly a translation from an old German ballad. This poem, the writer declares, in the form of a dialogue between a lady and her lover, contains such striking and repeated coincidences of thought and expression with the ballad under discussion, that this conclusion is irresistibly forced upon the student, viz., that the English scribe had seen the German original. Moreover, a translation of the Latin version appeared in France in the year 1546. The earliest discoverable date of issue of *The New Nut-Brown Maid* being at the opening of the sixteenth century, and the comparative slow process by which at that era, perhaps at all eras, any new ballad poetry becomes popularized in a country, and still more, by which such ballad poetry is subjected to parody, in the strict sense of the term, and becomes imitated—these considerations tend, in the writer's opinion, to make a critic ante-date both the original and travestie; and, perhaps, the actual date of creation may be placed a century earlier. And this opinion is further supported by internal evidence. *The New Nut-Brown Maid* contains a very large admixture of words of both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman origin, as if it were written at a time when both languages were fighting for the mastery, in the period before they became more generally fused in the common Early English tongue of the latter days of the Middle Ages. However this may be, it is clear that both languages supply the vocabulary of the poem; the Anglo-Saxon being represented by the short terse terms *Fere*, *Tene*, *Moch*, *Glede*; and the Anglo-Norman introducing more of the Latin element into the compound words, *Reprefre*, *Supply*, *Apaged*, and *Abrazed*.

It has been avowed that the following reprint aims only at a low mark in literary criticism, viz., to give the average reader a more or less readable version of this beautiful, curious, and edifying ballad. In attempting to fulfil his intention, the writer has been forced to take certain liberties with the text of the ballad. He does not pretend to defend

himself on critical grounds. He rather would take his stand upon utilitarian arguments. If anyone feel himself to be offended by the perusal of this imperfect and conditional gloss, he may easily satisfy his literary conscience by turning to a more exact text in any one of the three editions named above. But, the object of the writer is not critical. It is devotional first, and edifying secondly, in order. And he is disposed to think that, although the critical faculty may be excited, and perhaps a higher gratification may be granted to the reader who spells, weighs, and explains the language of the original; yet, that a more devout and a not less instructive lesson may be learned by those who condescend to peruse the simulation. In any case, each student may please himself; and, if the critical intellect prefers to see the final letter "e" affixed to some words and the "y" used for the "i," or "u" for "v" used in others; or, if it cares to interpret for itself, and as it proceeds the simpler quaintnesses of "to lere," "than," "lief," "wold," and "shold," or "persever;" yet, it may still think that such lines as "By longes the blynde," the Roxburghe black-letter edition dignifies Longes with a capital; or, "What tyme poure reason is;" or, "Neuer tontente His highness for to allow," demand a scholiast's aid. And, it may be added, if an interpretation can be offered by the reader, where the writer is too ignorant, in company with more than one expert, to cast light upon these words, the average reader will be benefitted. But, both classes may join in appreciating the piety of the old poem; and one, at least, may take an object-lesson from a study of the ballad, in the manner in which our common mother-tongue grew, developed, and was enriched; and the way in which different terms and expressions came to lend themselves to fresh, if not to different, and even to opposite ideas. Of the latter feature in *The New Nut-Brown Maid* it may suffice, parenthetically, to refer to a few figures of speech: "If he were put to bliss," in Stanza xvi., seems to mean "If he were put from, or deprived of bliss:" "Sathan, the deceivable," indicates, not as we should understand, one who could be deceived (or the victim), but one capable to deceive another (or the tempter): and,

“What is offended,” apparently is intended to convey “What gives offence.” It is only needful to say further, on this topic, that the writer has endeavoured to make the fewest possible changes in the text, compatible with making the sense clear to the reader; that he has with a light heart and good conscience altered the spelling to meet the requirements of the time, although he has adopted the old form where the exigencies of rhyme, as required by the eye, demanded this concession; that he has printed the two shorter and consecutive lines which rhyme, in each stanza, in one longer one, reserving, however, the initial capital letter of the second line in each case; and that he has entirely failed to grasp the meaning of a few lines, which he has reproduced *literatim*, and which he commends for their interpretation to readers more learned than himself.

It is not often that a reader is enabled to compare in literature the type with the prototype, the new religious colloquy with the old secular ballad. In the case of the new and old versions of *The Nut-Brown Maid*, Mr. Carew Hazlitt has rendered this comparison feasible and easy, as he has reprinted both versions—the one at the end of his second, and the other at the opening of his third volume. It will not, it is hoped, be considered beneath the dignity of the I. E. RECORD, if the privilege granted to Mr. Hazlitt’s readers may be shared, at least to an extent, by those of the *Journal*. The comparison, indeed, has a scientific, as well as a pious side; and it will not be amiss to trace the mode by which a religious, devotional conference between Archetypal Manhood, and she who has been termed the “Eternal Feminine,” if one may be allowed reverently to use the phrase, became evolved from the secular duet between Man and Woman. Two stanzas only need be quoted. Here is the opening one:—

Be it right or wrong, These men among On women do
complain;
Affirming this, How that it is, A labour spent in vain
To love them well, For never a dell They love a man again;
For let a man Do what he can, Their favour to attain,
Yet if a new Do them pursue, Their first true lover than
Labours for nought, And from her thought He is a banished
man.

The concluding stanza reads thus :—

Here may ye see, That women be In love meek, kind, and
stable,
Let never man Reprove them than, Or call them variable ;
But rather pray God that we may To them be comfortable :
Which sometime prov'th, Such as loveth, If they be charit-
able ;
For since men would That women should, Be meek to them
each one,
Much more ought they To God obey, And serve but Him
alone.

THE BALLAD.

I.

JESUS CHRIST.

Right and no wrong, It is among
That I of man complain,
Affirming this, How that it is
A labour spent in vain
To love him well, For never a dell
He will Me love again :
For though that I Me sore apply
His favour to attain,
Yet if that shrew Do him pursue,
That callèd is Sathan,
Him to convert, Soon from his heart,
I am a banished Man.

II.

MARIA THE MAID.

I say not nay, Both night and day,
Sweet Son, as ye have said,
Man is un-kind, His faithful mind
In manner is half decayed ;
But nevertheless, Through right wiseness
Therewith be not apayed ;
Yet mercy true Must continue
And not apart be laid ;
Since ye for love Came from above
From off your Father's throne,
Of loving mind Toward mankind,
To die for him alone.

III.

JESUS.

Then I and ye, Mother Marie,
 Let us dispute in fere ;
 Right heartily I you supply,
 Your reason let me hear :
 With man un-kind Hath never mind
 Of me that bought him dear ;
 If his folly Should have mercy
 Against all right it were :
 I am by right The King of Light,
 For man my blood outran ;
 Ye know apart, Yet from his heart
 I am a banished Man.

IV.

MARIA.

Herein your will For to fulfil,
 I will not soon refuse ;
 To say the truth, More is it ruth,
 I cannot man excuse ;
 To his own shame He is to blame
 His life so to misuse :
 Yet though rigour, Without favour,
 Would him therefore accuse,
 Mercy I pleat, That is more great
 Than rigour ten to one ;
 Since of good mind Toward mankind
 Ye died for him alone.

V.

JESUS.

The cause stood so, Such deeds were do,
 Wherefore much harm did grow
 To man, and I Came for to die
 A shameful death, ye know,
 Upon a tree, To make him free,
 This love I did him show ;
 Yet to my law, For love, nor awe,
 He will not bend, nor bow :
 Thus, my dear Mother, For man my brother,
 Let me do what I can
 Him to convert ; yet from his heart
 I am a banished Man.

VI.

MARIA.

O Lord of Bliss, Remember this,
Man's mind is like the moon ;
Is variable, Frail and unstable,
At morrow, night and noon :
Though he un-kind Have not in mind
What ye for him have done ;
Yet have compassion Of our salvation
Forsake not man so soon ;
A while him spare, He shall prepare
Himself to you anon ;
With heart and mind, Loving and kind,
To serve but you alone.

VII.

JESUS.

I can believe He shall remove
His sin a day, or twain ;
But little space That God of grace
Will in his heart remain ;
It shall aslake, And he will take
His old usage again :
So from his thought I, That him bought,
Shall be expulsèd plain :
This will he do, Sweet Mother, lo,
Hold ye all that ye can ;
Upon his part, Yet from his heart,
I am a banished Man.

VIII.

MARIA.

Sweet Son, since ye, To make him free,
Would die of your good mind ;
Your heart sovrain, Cloven in twain,
By longes the blynde :
And all was done That man alone
Should not be left behind ;
Your goodness ever Doth still persever,
Though he have been un-kind ;
What is offended Shall be amended,
Ye shall perceive anon ;
He shall be kind, Yielding his mind
And love to you alone.

IX.

JESUS.

Mother, indeed, My sides did bleed
 For man, right as ye say,
 Yet, young and old, He never wold
 Unto my laws obey ;
 But to fulfil His wanton will,
 Wrenching from me alway :
 From his delight, By day or night,
 He will make no delay :
 Lo, Mother, he Refuseth me
 And turneth him to Sathan ;
 Thus from his thought I, him that bought,
 Am made a banished Man.

X.

MARIA.

Both old and young, He hath done wrong,
 I grant, Son, to the same ;
 Knowing at large In Sathan's barge,
 Impairing his good name :
 Since we him love, A great reprove
 It is to him and shame ;
 I do confess, Thy right witness
 He greatly is to blame :
 But I commence Afore clemence ;
 For man mine action ;
 Let rigour rest, Mercy can best
 Determine this above.

XI.

JESUS.

Consider now, Sweet Mother, how
 Man is a wild outlaw ;
 Rusheth about, In every rout
 Working against my law :
 And if the devil Tempt him to evil
 Thereto soon will he draw,
 And all mischief Is to him lief,
 Withouten love or awe :
 To me or you, Though for his prou
 Ye do to all ye can,
 When all is sought, Quite from his thought
 I am a banished Man.

XII.

MARIA.

Though, as ye say, He disobey
Your commandment and love,
Yet if love make Him to forsake
His sin and weep therefore ;
With full contrition, For his transgression,
His heart oppressing sore :
Contrite and meek, As David speak,
What ask ye of Him more ?
My Son, my Lord, Your prophet's word
Pray you think upon ;
And ye shall find Man meek and kind,
To serve but you alone.

XIII.

JESUS.

My heart and maw To read and draw,
And me with oaths to bind,
Chooseth not he ? Grace or pity
In him can I none find :
The cruel Jews Were to me shrews,
But he is more un-kind ;
Since for his prow, He knows well how
I died of loving mind :
Of me each member He doth remember,
With oaths all that he can ;
Thus oft I find Me in his mind,
But else a banished Man.

XIV.

MARIA.

Full well know ye Against these three
Man feeble is to fight,
The devil, his flesh, The world all fresh,
Provoke him day and night
To sue their trace Which, in each case,
Is wrong and never right ;
That thy stability, Of his fragility,
Against them hath no might :
Though man that frail is, Swears by Arms, Nailles,
Brains, Blood, Sides and Passion ;
Sweet Son, regard Your paines hard,
Ye died for him alone.

The New Nut-Brown Maid.

XV.

JESUS.

Now for man's need Since I would bleed,
 And great anguish sustain,
 In stony ways, Both nights and days,
 Walking in frost and rain,
 In cloud and heat, In dry and wet
 My feet were bare both twain ;
 Though I for love To man's behove
 Endured all this pain :
 That I therefore Should spare the more,
 No reason find ye can ;
 Rather I should More straight him hold,
 And as a banished Man.

XVI.

MARIA.

Yet, my Son dear, I pray you hear,
 What time poor reason is ;
 Man's soul to cure, Ye did endure
 Much pain, I know well this :
 To man all vain Should be your pain,
 If he were put to bliss ;
 For plain remission Is my petition,
 Where man hath wrought amiss :
 Ye be his Leech ; I you beseech
 To salve his sores each one,
 That he un-kind May change his mind,
 And serve but you alone.

XVII.

JESUS.

Hither or thither, He careth not whither,
 He go him to incline
 To wickedness ; From all goodness
 He daily doth decline :
 In cards and dice He counts no vice,
 Nor sitting at the wine ;
 To fight and swear, To rend and tear
 Asunder me and mine :
 Lo, thus he doth, To make me wroth,
 The worst he may or can ;
 And I am twind Out of his mind,
 Right as a banished Man.

XVIII.

MARIA.

My dear Son dear, Since ye the clear
Fountain of Mercy be,
Though man be frail, He may not fail
To find in you pity :
He will, I trust, From worldly lust
Turn his sweet soul to me ;
And in short space So stand in grace,
That I his soul shall see
To bliss ascend That hath none end,
There to remain as one
That hath been kind, And set his mind
To serve but you alone.

XIX.

JESUS.

Man grieves me sore : For less nor more
Will he once do for me ;
Once in a year A good prayèr
He saith not on his knee :
The poor may stand With empty hand
For alms there will none be :
Both day and night He flies the right,
But folly he will not flee :
His proper will For to fulfil
He doeth all he can ;
But from his thought I, him that bought,
Am even a banished Man.

XX.

MARIA.

If man for you, Nor his own prou,
Will to no grace proceed,
Mercy or grace, Afore your face,
He none deserves indeed :
But I, your Mother, For man your brother,
Make instance in his need :
Though he deserve To burn and starve
In the infernal glede ;
Spare him for me, And ye shall see,
That he shall turn anon
From his folly Incessantly
So serve but you alone.

XXI.

JESUS.

Why should I so? Nay, let him go,
 My dear Mother, Mary ;
 Since his delight Is to be light,
 And deal so un-kindly :
 For you nor me He will not flee .
 From vice ; nor him apply
 My words to hear, That bought him dear,
 On cross most painfully :
 Both young and old, He hath been bold
 To grieve me that he can ;
 But my precept Was e'er unkept,
 And I a banished Man.

XXII.

MARIA.

For ruth and dread, Mine heart doth bleed,
 Man in nowise will be
 By reason said, Nor yet apayed
 From his offence to flee :
 For though that I, For remedy,
 Do all that lies in me
 To have him cured, Yet so endured
 With sin and vice is he,
 That, to be short, What I exhort,
 Not heard is ; yet anon
 I trust he shall Make well his thrall,
 And serve but you alone.

XXIII.

JESUS.

So rude and wild, And so defiled
 Is he, past shame and dread,
 That to what law He should him draw,
 He scarcely knows indeed :
 Yet better were For him to lere
 Some virtue and proceed
 To grace, than say Another day,
 " Alas, my wicked deed
 Hath me betrayed " : Lo, thus, good Maid,
 The Daughter of Saint Anna,
 Man hath exiled From him your Child,
 Right as a banished Man.

XXIV.

MARIA.

When all to all Shall come, he shall,
I trust, from vice abrayed ;
And flee therefro, Which hath him so
Encumbered and arrayed :
He shall repel Sathan's counsel
That oft hath him betrayed ;
With full compunction, Take thy injunction,
That to him shall be laid :
Of hard penance, And him advance
To such remission,
Full reconciled To you, my Child.
To serve but you alone.

XXV.

JESUS.

My commandment, Never content
His highness for to allow,
His angry braid Will not be laid
For me, nor yet for you :
Mine heart to tear He hath no fear,
But dare it well avow ;
Pride with him goth, In heart and cloth,
How say ye, Mother, now ?
He thinks great ease Me to displease
By all the means he can ;
But when my will He should fulfil,
I am a banished Man.

XXVI.

MARIA.

Son, though man's blood Be wild and wode,
Frail as a fading flower,
Regarding nought How ye him bought,
Out of the fiendes power ;
With heartless mind Ever inclined
To be a transgressor.
Against your law ; And though he draw
Himself to sin each hour ;
Ye may not so His soul forgo,
Since ye sitting on throne
Would for his love Come from above,
To die for him alone.

XXVII.

JESUS.

Mother, your love—I see thee prove,
 To man is kind and true ;
 To have his life Brought out of strife
 Kindly for him ye sue :
 And if he wold, His vices old
 Forsake and take virtue ;
 I would for ruth, Seeing the truth
 And love that ye him shew,
 Grant him remission, Upon condition
 That he forsake Sathan ;
 That I may find Me in his mind,
 And as no banished Man.

XXVIII.

MARIA.

Son, your pity And charity
 Was well perceived and seen ;
 When your pleasure Was to endure
 To lie my sides between
 Nine months, and than Be born as Man :
 And to bring him from tene,
 In grave be laid, And me your Maid
 To make of Heaven Queen ;
 And condescend Thus at the end
 To grant man your pardon
 At my request, Wherefore should rest
 Great laud to you alone.

XXIX.

JESUS.

The poor at need To clothe and feed,
 Part of his rent and wage
 He must bestow, Remembering how
 All came of one linage.
 Forsaking sin, He may me win ;
 And to mine heritage
 I shall him take, His soul to make
 My spouse in marriage :
 For to persèver With me for ever ;
 With joy she may say than,
 That she hath won A king his Son,
 And not a banished Man.

XXX.

THE TRANSLATOR.

Regard and see, O Man, to thee
 God is most favourable ;
 Eschew thou than, Reprove no man,
 Beware of deeds damnable ;
 In any wise, Eyer despise
 Sathan, the deceivable ;
 Thy soul beware, Out of his snare
 Never be found unstable :
 Perseveringly, Reason apply,
 Justly let all be done ;
 Endless solace Shall he purchase
 That serves but God alone.

“ Thus endeth the book of *The New Nut-Brown Maid upon the Passion of Christ*. Imprinted at London, by John Skot (Scott), dwelling at Foster Lane, within Saint Leonard's Parish.”

NOTES.

- I. 5. Never a dell ; never a bit.
 II. 4. In manner ; in essence or substance.
 6. Apayed ; content, satisfied.
 III. 2. Dispute in fere ; argue together, in company.
 3. I you supply ; I suppli-cate, or pray you.
 11. Apart ; *a part*, alone, of yourself.
 IV. 9. Mercy I pleat ; I plead.
 V. 1. Such deeds were do ; were done.
 VII. 1. He shall remeve ; remove.
 5. Aslake ; slacken, mitigate.
 VIII. 4. Belongs the blind ; the original reads,
 By longes the blynde,
 the meaning of which is obscure.
 7. Persever ; persevere.
 9. What is offended ; what gives offence.
 IX. 3. Wold ; would.
 X. 5. A great reprove ; reproof, disgrace.
 XI. 3. Rout ; route, way.
 7. Lief ; pleasant, agreeable.
 9. Prou ; in the original “*prowe*,” advantage, benefit.
 XIV. 3. The world all fresh ; beautiful, attractive.
 XV. 7. Behove ; behoof.
 11. Shold ; should.
 XVI. 2. What time poor reason is ; another obscure line.
 6. If he were put to bliss ; put from, deprived of bliss.
 XX. 6. Instance ; pressing, urgent request.
 8. Infernal glede ; glow—as of an ash.
 XXII. 3. Apayed ; content, satisfied.
 7. Endured ; hardened.

- XXIII. 5. To lere; to learn.
 XXIV. 2. Abrayed; wakened, startled.
 XXV. 2. His highness for to allow; perhaps, allow him to seek the commandments.
 3. Angry braid; angry reproach, outburst of temper, &c.
 7. In heart and cloth; inwardly and outwardly.
 XXVI. 1. Wode; mad.
 XXVII. 5. Wold; would.
 XXVIII. 1. Than; then.
 6. To bring him from tene; from grief, injury, or trouble.
 XXIX. 4. Linage; lineage.
 XXX. 6. The deceivable; the deceiver.

ORBY SHIPLEY.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

"PROPRIUM SANCTORUM"

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF MAY

WE have hitherto been treating of the Church's year in which she sets before us the life and death of our Divine Head, Jesus the Anointed, who is the King of saints and the pattern and author of all holiness. He is the Alpha and the Omega, the very soul of liturgical worship; and it is sometimes in one way, sometimes in another, that we have seen and loved Him in the many-sided beauties of His mortal and glorious life. He is the same yesterday, to-day, and for evermore: and we have been contemplating Him as our Holy Mother the Church reveals Him to us in those two books she puts into our hands as containing the full expression of all the praise and prayer, worship and adoration, which she offers to the Divine Majesty. "For we would not have you ignorant, brethren" (1 Cor. x. 1) that we priests do not need any other devotional books besides our Breviary and our Missal, for in them we can find all the means of our sanctification and instruction; and time is not long enough to exhaust the teachings and beauties of these two books which are the Church's very own work, and her own official and authorized manner of addressing her Divine Head and of treating with Him about the salvation of the world. What other *unauthorized* and

private book of prayer can venture for a moment to compare with these two books? Why do we waste our time in using books like those when we have the incomparable Liturgical books which contain the words of the Holy Ghost and of His Spouse the Church? Would that we priests had a real love for these books, and studied them more fully, for they are our life companions and are the means whereby we enter into our official relations with the Most High. Would that the time we give to private vocal prayer were given to the prayers of the Church; would that we prayed as she prays, in the simple, direct, sober and reverential manner which marks all her dealings with God, in whose presence she knows the creature is utterly abased, and should have no place for mere emotion and passion. Would that our prayers were after the model our Divine Master gave us when He said: “Thus shalt ye pray: Our Father,” &c. (St. Matthew vi. 9). Our modern prayers run riot through the whole gamut of artificial feelings, and if we use them we cannot help feeling the force of the too-frequent false sentimentality which runs through them, and we seem to base our hopes of being heard upon our much speaking. Whereas the prayers of Holy Church are like echoes of the Pater Noster, and draw out in language measured and sober the meaning of these divine petitions. There is a dignity and a simplicity about them which is eminently befitting a creature, and in them we can find all our possible wants supplied.¹

We now come to the study of our Divine Master in His saints as we have it day by day in the *Proprium Sanctorum*, and we hope month by month to give notes, brief and scanty perhaps, of some of the thoughts these Masses suggest to us when viewed in the light of our Breviary. We will find that each saint teaches some lesson which closely concerns our priestly life, and the lesson coming to us in

¹ We have been led on to make this digression from the main point of this paper on account of the bearing it really has with the subject in hand, and because its importance is often overlooked. These “*Horæ Liturgicæ*” do not profess to be anything more than outlines of such devotional studies on the teaching of the Missal as any priest, with the aid of his Breviary, can work out for himself.

connection with the Sacrifice of the Mass points out to us that our Lord would have us consider and practise these particular virtues which He practised and exercised in the person of His saints. For we must remember that the good works of the saints are the good works of Jesus. It is He who doth great things in His saints, and their good works only exist and have any value as being done by members of that Body Mystical of which He is the Head. *Per Ipsum, cum Ipso et in Ipso.*

May 1. *SS. Philip and James the Less, Apostles.* The chief lesson we gain from this Mass is faith in our Blessed Lord. Coming as this feast always does in Paschal Time, we are called upon to rejoice in the triumph of two of the witnesses of the Resurrection of the Christ, of two of those who saw Him, as St. John says (1 i. 1), touched Him and conversed with Him. So come we with joyful alleluia to adore the King of Apostles. The Introit recalls what we have learnt in our II. Nocturn about the labours and tribulations of the Apostles who bore testimony of their Master before kings and princes, and suffered much for His name-sake. In much tribulation did they sow the seed of the Gospel, St. Philip in Scythia, and St. James in Jerusalem. Bitter was their cup of suffering, one being cast from the highest point of the Temple, and killed by a fuller's club, and the other crucified and then stoned to death. But their faith sustained them, they knew their Master would not forsake them. They cried unto Him, and He from heaven heard them, and now in the number of the Just do they rejoice in the Lord, and eternal songs of praise becometh them for their witnessing unto righteousness. So, in union with them, rejoicing in the eternal love, “that never-fading Paschal Joy” (*Hym. ad Mat.*) with which the Christ, most clement King, possesses their hearts, let us pour forth to His name the thanks we owe (cf. *Hym. ad laud.*) by praising the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

The Collect calls upon us to rejoice in faith on this feast day, and thereby to renew our fervour. We rejoice because they have come out of much tribulation, and we renew our fervour by following their example of faith in our Blessed

Lord. As they have walked so must we, if we would gain the *æterna Christi munera*. The Epistle paints a vivid picture of the life and death of those whose souls are filled with a holy faith. The fragrance, as of balsam, of their lives, and the days of their affliction here below are the proofs that they were *testes fideles*, and preached what they had seen (cf. *Hym. ad laud*). In the last words of the Lesson we get an echo of the Antiphons at Lauds when we think of the eternal rewards of the never-ending Alleluia the saints now enjoy as the reward of their faith. The same thought runs through the Gradual, and now all heaven unites in proclaiming the wonders of their happiness, which is the reward of their faithful and true witness to Jesus the Anointed. With this thought of heaven, what a deeper meaning now have the words our Lord spoke to St. Philip. The faithful apostle sees Him now, and in Him the Father and the Father’s love, and is united for ever with that Master the God-man whom he has so truly served.

The Gospel (St. John xiv.) are words full of encouragement to us who are called to tread the way of the Apostles, and they stir up our faith in the Good Master we serve. Why should our heart be made afraid when we know what manner-of God ours is? We know who the Master is we serve: we know that He has lovingly prepared a place for us in His Church by our holy vocation; and that He is in our midst, and that where we are in our poverty and misery He also is; we know He has prepared another place for us, a kingdom which has no end; that where He is in glory we also may be; for He has called us here below to the higher way, only that we may have the higher reward in heaven. We know where He has gone; and we know, none better, the way that leads to Him; and we cannot, like St. Thomas, plead ignorance; for, morning after morning, He Himself takes us by the hand, and points out the day’s journey for us, and sets along the route the Seven Hours as halting-places, where He cheers us up with a visit to the Jerusalem which is above, and refreshes us with the food of prayer, and unites us together with Himself, so that, as members of His Body Mystical, we can reach the Father. Seeing Jesus is enough

for us, and we want nothing more, for having Him we have the Father; for loving Him, the Father comes, and, together with Jesus and the Holy Ghost, He takes up His abode in our heart. What marvellous force and power we get from faith in the abiding presence of God in our heart. This alone is enough to make us men of God, and speak no longer our own poor words, but the words which come to our lips from our Divine Guests; no longer to do our own works, but to let God do His works in us and by us. If we have faith in Jesus the Anointed, and abandon ourself wholly and utterly to the influence and working of the Blessed Trinity abiding in us, what mighty things shall we not do; what conquests of souls, what a spreading of God's kingdom upon earth, what a true apostolate, for we shall be living in Jesus, asking in His name, and existing simply as the willing instruments of His gracious designs. Well, what is this all but saying that by means of this true faith in our good Master we shall at last be living "as becometh the ministers of the Christ and the dispensers of the mysteries of God?" (1 Cor. iv. 1). To the soul that lives by faith, heaven and the eternal assembly of the holy ones, show forth the wonders of our priesthood, of a priesthood which will be fruitful and adorned by every good work. We are about to begin the Great Sacrifice, and are going to show forth *the* great wonder of the Lord, and prove the truth of God in the assembly of the saints by doing what our Lord did, and saying what He said: "This is My Body. This is My Blood." The reference to "the assembly of the holy ones" reminds us of the adoring angels, who are awaiting the Mass, and it will help to increase our faith in Him with whose priesthood we are clothed. Our sins deserve all manner of evil, so we are reminded in the Secret; but the Mass, which is the great mercy of God towards man, is a means of turning away punishment, and propitiating our Maker. What would the world be without the Mass? What should we be, careless, cold, and negligent, as we now are, if we had not the Mass to keep up, at any rate, a little glimmer of faith in our heart? *Misericordia Domini quia non sumus consumpti* (Jer. iii. 22).

The Communion has now a more personal meaning, that Jesus is in our heart. How long has He not been with us, and still we have neither known nor heeded Him ! But now, love has opened our eyes to the light of faith ; we hold Him in our heart, reigning there as Lord and Master ; and we know Him to be the Son of the Everlasting Father, for none other than God can fill our heart as Jesus does. So do we know that He is in the Father, and the Father is in Him ; and, oh ! thought of thoughts, this very same Jesus, who abides in the Father, and in whose created soul there dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, is now living in us, and of His fulness we are at this moment receiving with lavish generosity, unless we are ourselves putting hindrances in His way, and are checking the current of His loving-kindness. As we are filled, so says the Post-Communion, with heart-giving mysteries, so may we, by the prayers of the holy Apostles, profit by the wonders wrought in us, and lead a life of faith, as they did. In our humility, we ask this boon of the Father, *per Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum* ; knowing that this same Jesus, our Priest and Victim, will Himself work in us, and be the instrument of the works the Father, who abides in Him, will work in us by the Holy Ghost.

May 2. *St. Athanasius, C.P.D.*, shows us the effects of a living faith : calmness, light, readiness to suffer everything ; all of which are virtues which our priesthood demands in an eminent way, for we are all called, in our measure, to be as the great Athanasius was, champions of the Word made flesh, and like him to stand against the whole power of the world and the kings thereof, who rise up against the Lord and against His Christ. Our saint's voice still rings through the midst of the Church, and is embedded in the Creed we say at Mass, *Consubstantialem Patri*. The spirit of wisdom and understanding with which the Lord filled him, helped him to expose and defeat all the subtle attacks of heresy upon the faith. The glorious title of Doctor of the Church, as a robe of glory, clothes him who was eminently pious and prudent, continent, and humble. (*Hymn ad Mat.*) To confess before men his Lord was indeed a good thing for *St. Athanasius* ; for not only was it his salvation, but also

the salvation of the whole Church ; and for centuries has he enabled millions of souls to sing the new song to the name of the Most High, the song of truth and of faith.

The Collect reminds us that he was in very truth the confessor of the Lord (*Hymn ad Mat.*), and the faithful bishop of the flock ; no hireling who flieth when the wolf approacheth, but a true shepherd, ready to lay down his life, if need be ; ready to spend and be spent in resisting the attempts to ravage the fold. He, as the Epistle tells us (2 Cor. iv.), preached not himself, but Jesus the anointed, the God of God, begotten of the Father before all worlds. He was the means chosen by God by which the splendour of eternal truth should shine out amidst the darkness of error, to the enlightenment of the knowledge of the clearness of God in the face of the anointed Jesus. Faith is the treasure we have in a frail vessel which is our will : for we can, if we will, break the vessel and lose the treasure. Faith is a direct work of divine grace, the *sublimitas virtutis Dei*, and is not of our own doing ; though, of course, we have to co-operate with the workings of grace. So having this great treasure, whether we, like St. Athanasius, suffer all manner of tribulations, we are not straightened ; whether we, like him, are stripped of all our worldly goods, and are driven out of home and country, we are not needy ; whether persecuted and flying away, we are not deserted by God ; if cast down to the lowest depths, we do not perish, for by holding steadfastly to the rock of faith we possess our souls in calmness and peace, because we see God and His adorable and loving will in all that befalls us. In the light of faith we see that our priesthood demands that we should be victims along with the sacred Victim of our sacrifices ; therefore, like this holy doctor, we always carry about in our bodies the image of the dying Jesus by the spirit of holy mortification, that His blessed life may be made manifest in us. Oh ! that all priests were truly men of faith, and set themselves deliberately to practise this virtue, and prayed ever with the Apostles : " Lord, increase our faith." (Luke xvii. 5.)

Then, indeed, would the whole course of our life be cleansed ; then would we be really men of prayer ; then would

our Office be a garden of delights, our Mass rich in fruit, the measure thereof heaped up and overflowing into the bosom of the Church. Let us ask St. Athanasius, by his glorious defence of the divinity of our Risen Lord, to obtain for us that we may rise again to the new life of faith in Him who is “the author and finisher of our faith” (Heb. xii. 2). The glorious song of the eternal priesthood comes as the Gradual to remind us that we above all others must be men of faith, ever ready to suffer anything for God’s sake, for we know with certainty that the crown of life is awaiting us.

The Gospel (St. Matthew xviii.) tells us that persecution awaits the man of faith. If our life, like that of St. Athanasius has to be a hunted one, well what matters it, for our faith tells us that God our only good is to be found in one city as well as in another; we may go through the whole of Israel, and wherever we are we shall be brought face to face with Him. So this practical lesson of faith, the sense of being ever in the presence of God; nay, more, the having the presence of God ever *in us*, will be our stay and comfort in any trial that may befall us. We, the servants, cannot expect to be treated better than our Master; and by our very ordination we have bound our own bodies, built up the altar, and have laid ourselves thereupon as a victim ready for sacrifice. We are obliged to say, unless we are faithless priests: “With Christ am I nailed to the cross” (Gal. ii. 19). So to us who are so closely united to our great High Priest it is given to know the hidden things of God; things which the eyes of others see not, we see if we are faithful to our call.¹ The choicest delights of the soul are meant to be ours, and we possess them when we abandon ourself unreservedly to the perfection our calling requires; then do we go into the inner cellars of divine love, into the true spirit of our priesthood, and there become inebriated with the goodly wine which the King has laid up in store for His friends. This is the

¹ Father Baker, the great Benedictine contemplative writer used to say—

“Mind your call,
It’s all in all;”

meaning that our whole sanctification is according to God’s will bound up in our vocation.

wine which bringeth forth virgins, and maketh glad the heart of God and man ; this is the chalice of salvation, which is so goodly, and which strengthens us, so that we fear not them who can kill the body, but only fear Him who can kill the soul.

Full of the same thought of our priesthood comes the Offertory, and the thought of our utter need of God’s hand to help us and His arm to strengthen us is suggested. What would St. Athanasius have been without the grace of faith, and what are *we* unless the Lord builds the house of our soul on this foundation, that He is the Anointed, the Son of God ? How can we enter upon the Mass and perform our priestly office unless we are full of faith ? Holy Athanasius help us by thy prayers to get a lively faith in the tremendous mystery we are about to celebrate. What God says to us, now that He is within us, in the darkness of our heart, let us put forth in the light of day, and live according to His gracious inspirations ; the secrets of His love for creatures of which He now whispers in our ear, and gives us such a striking proof, let us proclaim to all the world that they too may taste and see how sweet the Lord is. St. Athanasius’ burning faith is not a dead, spent force. He speaks still in the Church, and the truth he saw in the darkness of surrounding error, now in the midst of an unbelieving generation shines out clear as a beacon of safety to a world distracted by false teachers. In clear and unfailling tones his voice rings out, and tells us that Jesus the Anointed is the Son of God, consubstantial with the Father. So we may note that faith, as regards others, ends not with the grave. When we pass the gates of life eternal, faith is, of course, changed into vision ; but the effects thereof still remain below, and still are capable of leading on and helping other souls “amidst th’ encircling gloom.” The voice of the teacher is never stilled ; “being dead he yet speaketh,” and by his faith he gives life and healing to countless millions yet unborn. Such then is the effects of the life of a priest full of faith, a never-ending work for the spreading of God’s kingdom.

May 3. *The Finding of the Holy Cross*. “Holy Church celebrates a glorious day when there is found the triumphal

wood in which our Redeemer, breaking the bonds of death, overcame the crafty serpent” (1 *respon. ad Mat.*), It is fitting during these Paschal days we should celebrate the glory of that *dulce lignum* which is above all cedars, the most worthy of all trees planted in the midst of Paradise, at the sight of which all hostile hands flee away. It is not difficult to see the lesson our Lord would have us to learn in this Mass: the glory of the Cross, the honour of the Sacrifice in which we are called to take our share as co-victims with the great Victim Himself.

The Introit at once strikes the note of exultation at the thought that *our* glory is that of being victims. In the cross we can find health, life, and resurrection, and through it we are saved and set free. Our ordination obliges us to travel along the road to Calvary, and to present our bodies as well-pleasing holocausts to the Divine Majesty. What a merciful God He is who gives us this wonderful gift and honour! When we enter heart and soul into the interior dispositions which animate our great High Priest at the moment when He offers Himself through our ministry, then is the countenance of the Most High turned towards us, and the light thereof shines upon us, and we are made acquainted with the joys of His mercy.

The salutary effects of a crucified life, such as ours must be, are referred to in the Collect, and we are reminded that it is along this way that we have to travel towards eternal life. Would that we were really lovers of the Cross, nailed to it together with Jesus the Anointed, and finding our glory in its shame! Then would we be other men to what we are, real heroes instead of the cowards we are in our Master's army. See the wonders the love of the Cross worked in the holy martyrs and the holy bishop whose feast we commemorate. The martyrs died for love of Him who hung on the Cross, and the holy bishop spent his life in bearing the Cross in humble imitation of Him who bore it along the road to Calvary. May their prayers save us from the evil of fearing or shirking the Cross!

Not content with putting the example of the saints before us, Holy Church again gives us the example of the Eternal

Priest, and charges us who share in His priesthood to have the same mind as was in the Christ Jesus, who emptied Himself and humbled Himself even to the death on the cross. Oh, wondrous love to call us to share in His glorious work! Oh, folly to refuse to imitate Him with Whom we are so closely united! If our priesthood be one with His, surely it is but little to ask of us to have the same mind that is in the Anointed Jesus, to unite ourself entirely to His intentions, to seek the things which he seeks, to desire and love what He desires and loves. To do otherwise, to separate our will by a hair's breath from His most holy will, is a woeful wrong, and an injury to His boundless mercy, which chooses us, without any merit on our part, as fellow-workers with Him in the glorious office of worshipping the Father by the most perfect, supreme, and adequate form of worship which His adorable holiness can demand: *omnis honor et gloria per omnia sæcula sæculorum.* This oneness of mind between the great High Priest and ourself is known when we realize that we are victims together with Him; when we are filled with the spirit of self-sacrifice, and obedient to our call, even unto death. A true priest can tell what is the glory of the Lord Jesus, the Anointed in God the Father, for he knows by experience, through the overwhelming sense of the infinite majesty of our Lord, which takes possession of his soul when he resolutely abandons himself to the most perfect harmony with the Divine Will, and offers himself *in spiritu humilitatis et animo contrito* in sacrifice along with the Divine Victim. Then, indeed, as in Abraham's mystic sacrifice (Gen. xv. 17) between the two parts of the sacrifice, that is to say, between the essential Victim, Jesus the Anointed, and the integral victim, the priest, the glory of the Lord passes as the splendour of a lamp which enlightens the gloom of earth, and makes visible the hidden things of God.

So as the spirit of sacrifice is an integral part of an office, so let us proclaim it aloud in the Gradual, that the kingly priesthood to which we are called is that of the Cross, which means the way of suffering. Our Lord, our Head, reigneth from the tree. Naught else could bear the King of heaven and of earth save the *dulce lignum*; neither can earth bear

us, but we must needs be raised up above it by the same sweet wand, and together with Him be fastened thereunto. Alleluia. Praise to God for calling us to the likeness of His Son.

The Gospel (St. John iii.) tells us of the new life given to us. When we came from the altar that day we were marked with the priestly character, we came from before the bishop's feet clad in the mystic robes of sacrifice, wearing the various marks of the Sacred Passion and Death, which we are consecrated to show forth. Then we were new-born in the Holy Ghost, and our ears are made open to His voice, and we were set as masters in Israel to teach men the King's highway of the Cross. Do we know by experience what we teach to others? Are our eyes continually fixed upon that to which we bear witness? Do we speak to our people of the heavenly things of the Cross, and teach them, by our own example, how to lead the life of sacrifice? Are we, like the Son of Man, lifted up on the cross, that so by us, men may escape perishing, and have life everlasting? We are about to renew the Great Sacrifice by the might of the right hand of the Lord, which worketh wonders; so the Offertory reminds us that we have been lifted up out of our own nothingness, by God's right hand, to the sublime dignity we hold, and are gifted with an eternal priesthood, which dieth not, but abideth for ever, and will be the cause of our eternal happiness in heaven. But the enemy will attack us, and will set snares to trip us up, in order to rob us of the grace we have received. Well, in the hour of combat, the cross will be the standard of our victory, and will remind us that our best protection is the spirit of sacrifice and mortification. By this spirit the holy martyrs and bishop we commemorate in the Secret, overcame and issued triumphantly from the strife with the most wicked one.

When we have our Lord within us in Holy Communion, we ask Him to give us the fulness of the love of the Cross. We do not ask for any cross, but for *the* cross which He, in His love and wisdom, sees is the best for us. How often do we rebel against this cross, and, instead of generously abandoning ourself to His will, and taking lovingly and cheerfully from His hands the cross He chooses, we throw away the

treasure, and fret and complain, and pretend that any other cross than the one He has chosen we would, indeed, have loved and borne ; but this precise one is too heavy, and is not suited to our wants. What folly, as though He does not know better than we what is the best and safest way of becoming conformed to His likeness. Let us, then, ask the Crucified, whilst He is in our heart, to give us a generous abandonment to His will, and the same mind that was in Him when He prayed to His Father : " Not My will, but Thine be done." This is the true spirit of the Christian priesthood ; and, if we cultivate it, it will be a very armour of justice, by which we may, as the Post-Communion says, be delivered from the malignant devices of the enemy.

May 4. *St. Monica, Wid.* The lesson of this Mass is that of confidence and perseverance in prayer, and also of the duty of prayer for sinners. The lessons in the second Nocturn tell us how St. Monica steadfastly continued in prayer for her erring son ; and we know that it is to her perseverance the Church owes one of her most glorious doctors. Why is it that in our flocks so many sinners remain in the filth of their sins, and by their lives scandalize the little ones of the Christ ? Without looking into other reasons, we may content ourselves with this one, which concerns ourselves : the cause, in great measure, lies in ourselves ; we do not pray enough for our people ; we do not intercede enough, and specially for the sinners of the flock the Holy Ghost has committed to our care ; yet to do so is the very nature of our priesthood. We are appointed to stand between the outer court and the altar ; to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead ; to be in the midst of the plague-stricken, and cure them by the ministry of reconciliation. Alas ! exterior works so press down upon a priest nowadays, that he is sorely tempted to abandon the interior life ; for he is so choked up with the cares of the things of this world, that it is with difficulty that prayer finds room. To overload a man with exterior work, to set him in a bustle of ceaseless activity, and to make him take part in the fierce battle for existence, is a favourite wile of the devil, who knows that we often waste our real strength in the struggle,

and neglect to turn our eyes to the hills whence cometh help. “In quietness and peace shall your strength be,” says the Holy Ghost ; and it is just this very supernatural quietness and peace which comes from prayer that the devil fears the most, and strives to destroy by setting us amongst a whirl of work and labour. What does the history of the Church tell us, but that all her triumphs have been achieved by men who found the secret of success in the exterior works they undertook for the love of God ; not in a senseless, dogged spirit of plodding, not in absorbing their whole being into a feverish activity which the world worships as the new God-Work, but in the spirit of prayer, calm and peaceful, in which they spent many hours each day ; so many hours which would seem to us to be out of proportion to the task which lay before them. And yet it was in this lengthened prayer that they found their strength. We are apt to consider ourselves as the chief workers in anything we do, and fancy that all depends upon our exertions. God alone is the chief worker ; we are only His instruments, and too often but bad and clumsy instruments, who will not let ourselves be guided by the hand of the Artificer, but try to do the work in our own way. The saints never made this mistake ; but in the practice of prayer recognised their Master as the great Agent, and left themselves in His hands to work as He willed, and in His strength ; hence their great success. Pre-eminently among the works of God is that of the conversion of sinners, and it is one which we are bound, as priests, to advance ; and those of us who are in the ranks of the pastoral clergy, and have souls committed to our care, are specially directed to pray for the conversion of the sinners of the flock. Do we do so ? Do we say an Office for this purpose ; do we offer the Holy Sacrifice ; do we speak to God about the various sinners we have to deal with ; do we take up individual cases, and pray without ceasing for them, and tire not until we bring back the wandering sheep to the Sacred Heart ? Do we pray : *Da mihi animam pro qua rogo, et populum pro quo postulo ?* St. Monica, in this Mass, teaches us the duty of persevering prayer ? If we imitate her in this, we shall get the same reward that she did ; and

we will see the reward of our efforts in children brought back to their loving Father's house. Oh, would that we realized this more, and set ourselves earnestly to the work of saving souls in the way that God wills! Surely prayers for the conversion of souls *must* be heard, and God must surely send us the answer to our prayer—grace to change the heart. If we do not see the result in this world, still one can feel sure that our prayers have, at least, rendered the ultimate salvation more hopeful.

The beautiful Collect of this Mass is most consoling to our heart, and fills us with trust that God, who is called "the comforter of mourners and the salvation of them that hope in Him," will hear the prayers we pour forth for those sinners for whom we are responsible. The Epistle bids us learn to rule over our house, and how to reduce to obedience the unruly. Cut off as we are from family ties, we can put all our trust in God, and be instant in prayer, and petition day and night for our sinful children, otherwise we deny the faith, and are worse than the infidel. The Gradual refers to the spiritual beauty our souls gain in the sight of God if we are constant in this necessary work of prayer for sinners, and it tells us of the success we shall achieve; we shall set out prosperously, and shall reign by God's grace over all our flock "on account of truth, meekness, and justice." To stir us up to this work the Gospel brings before us, on one hand, the thought of God's great love for the sinner; and, on the other, His readiness to compassionate the tears of the Pastor who bemoans his son dead in sin. Interceding for sinners spreads grace upon our lips, for never are our words so pleasing to the Most High as when we pray for sinners; and great will be our reward for thus praying; it will be, the Offertory says, for ever and for ever. Surely, we, who in Holy Communion have received so much, should be set on fire with the love of justice and hatred of iniquity, and be, therefore, zealous for the better gifts, souls who are above gold and the topaz stone. Let us, like Him whose own special work it is to seek and save sinners, pray God to give us this truly pastoral solicitude for the souls of our brethren, whose keepers we are, and for whom we shall have to render an account.

May 6. *St. John before the Latin Gate.* Courage and patience in the trials which beset the priestly life, are the lessons to be learnt from this Mass. As the blessed disciple had to drink of His Master’s cup, and be ready to be a martyr in will, at least, so must every true priest make the perfect sacrifice of himself along with the Sacred Victim, and be ready to do or suffer as his Lord appoints; for he knows that as long as his Divine Master deigns to make use of his services, he will not be left without grace to bear with courage and patience any trial that may befall him. The final triumph is certain if he keeps humbly to his Lord’s side, and is generous in making any sacrifice that is asked of him. As we are told in the Epistle, the path of the just is marked by constancy and patience under suffering, and the reward they get is to be counted among the sons of God, and to have their lot together with His saints. They will flourish as the lily, and will be multiplied as the cedar, and will bear the flowers of an eternal bloom in the garden of the King; for they, as the Gospel tells us, have drunk of the chalice of their Saviour—that chalice, of which we drink morning by morning, and in which we pledge ourselves to follow our Master along the way of sacrifice. Oh, blessed promise! “Ye shall indeed drink of My chalice;” and our reward for so doing will be no earthly one, but one which the Father Himself will give—the reward of sitting down to the banquet with the Eternal High-Priest in heaven. Let heaven and earth confess this wonder and this truth in the assembly of the saints, now at this moment when we are going to prepare the great sacrifice, and drink afresh of this cup. After we have so drunk, shall we not rejoice and hope in the Lord, who has taken up His abode in us? Shall we not draw courage and patience from Him who says: “Fear not, for I am with you”? Will He not be ready to give us generous hearts in dealing with Him who has dealt with us so generously? Surely, He is waiting at this very moment to give us all we ask, if we but only take the trouble to make our requests.

May 8. *The Apparition of St. Michael.* An important fact, often forgotten, is that we offer the sacrifice *cum angelis*

et archangelis, and in their sight we praise God by the Eucharistic Offering. So the perpetual presence of the angelic host around the altar whereon Jesus the Anointed is offered, is brought before us in this Mass, that our heart may be stirred up to emulate the burning love of the holy angels who bend in rapt adoration, while we, who are made a little lower than they, exercise an office far greater than any allotted to their most pure ministry. We have only space to gather a few flowers from this Mass. *Potentis virtute qui facitis verbum ejus*: we, as God's messengers to mankind, are powerful in the might of His strength, and to *do* His work is the very end of our priesthood. We *do* His work by using the very word of our Lord, the ineffable words of consecration, which bring about that wondrous act, and give to the Eternal Majesty all honour and glory. Therefore, in gratitude for the priceless gift of the priesthood, our whole being: *omnia que intra me sunt*, should be a sacrifice of praise to the Most High. Grace and peace come to us from our Lord, through these blessed spirits who stand ever in sight of the Father's face, and they help us by their gracious assistance to be witnesses faithful and true to the Anointed One Himself. Were we not so engrossed in worldly things, we should experience, as many holy men have felt in a sensible manner, the help of these ministering spirits, especially at the time when we stand surrounded by them at the altar, and they are hanging upon our words, to adore their King. A beautiful lesson of humility is shown to us in the Gospel. We are called to an office far above the angelic nature, and so we need greater holiness if we would keep our place in the kingdom of heaven—we need a purity equal to theirs—nay, greater, for we have to do close at hand with what they, at a distance, bend down in awe before and worship. Therefore, our calling being so holy, nothing should be allowed to interfere with the paramount claims of our priesthood, for it is more precious than even an eye, a hand, or a foot. At the Offertory, we are reminded of the incense of prayer, which the angel of the Mass, St. Michael, offers, the *incensa multa*, and also of the perfume of virtue and good dispositions which should

now ascend in the sight of God ; for we offer to the Eternal the sweet savour of the prayers and good work of the whole Church in whose name we stand before the altar. In the Communion, we call upon these loving spirits to aid us to thank our Divine Guest, and to help us to realize His gracious designs in our regard.

May 17. *St. Paschal Baylon, C.*, gives us a lesson of deep devotion to the Most Holy Sacrament ; and the Collect of the Mass should be often upon our lips, and we should pray that the sweetness he experienced in this heavenly banquet may also be ours. We need pray for this, alas ! for custom and habit tend unfortunately to lessen our taste for this heavenly food, and unless we take care to keep ever fresh this princely spirit, given to us in ordination, we may even descend to so great a depth as to loathe this Bread of Angels which contains in itself all sweetness ; and then how awful our state !

May 18. *St. Venantius, M.*, comes, a boy-saint, to encourage us again along the way of sacrifice, and to renew in us, by his wonderful combats, the spirit of generosity and heroism. If he, a mere lad, could be such a glorious witness to our Lord, with only the grace of his ordinary state, what great saints should we not be were we only faithful to the abundant and lavish outpouring of grace which is given to us with our priesthood and renewed in each Mass.

May 19. *St. Peter Celestine, C.P.*, gives us a practical lesson in humility and love of prayer. He found that the cares of his high office told against the spirit of devotion ; he was oppressed, and could not pray with his usual fervour ; so he gave up all, even the Papal dignity, to regain what was far dearer to him than all the world could offer. What do we do ? Do we give up *anything* we find hindering our fervour ; or do we vainly try to serve two masters by giving half a heart to God, who demands the whole, and the other half heart to the world, which knows in gaining a part it gains the entire man ? May the saint’s example teach us not to cling to anything—position, study, work, friends, money, or any occupation which we find hinders our attention and devotion to our Mass. Our other work will be of no value unless it finds all its force and strength in prayer. If we seek

first the kingdom of God and His justice (and His kingdom is *within* us), all else He promises will be added unto us.

May 20. *St. Bernardine of Sienna, C.*, renews in us the love of the holy name of Jesus; and in the Collect we ask that, by the saint's pleading, we may have the spirit of the love of Jesus poured forth in our hearts. Our Lord came to cast fire on the earth; and where will He look to find this fire kindled, if not in the heart of those He so graciously calls His friends? May we be consumed with the desire of showing forth the praise of His glorious name by our godly life and obedience to the spirit of our priesthood!

May 26. *St. Philip Neri, C.*, the dear Apostle of Rome, the pattern of priestly perfection, and the glory of the pastoral clergy, gives us many lessons in his beautiful Mass. One especially is that of holy joy in the thought of God's love. The love of God is poured forth in our hearts by the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, and joy is one of His fruits which must needs be where He is in all the fulness of His presence. It was this joy in the love of God which was St. Philip's great characteristic; it was in this joy that he ran on in the way of God when his heart was enlarged. Too often do we neglect to cultivate this fruit of the Holy Ghost, and yet it is the very sunshine of God's love; for how can gloom and sadness exist when we realize who our God is, and what a dear, dear Father He is whom we serve. St. Philip's life was one great transport of love, and in his Mass the joy which inundated his soul used to make his very body thrill with exultation in the living God. How is it that we, priests of the Victim of Love, so often repel the little ones of His flock by harshness of manner and sharpness of speech, and, perhaps, by uncalled-for rebukes which break the broken reed and quench the flax which has just begun, maybe, to burn with divine love? It is because we have forgotten the virtue of holy joy, because we do not give ourselves up to the love of God. Did we do so we would seek to communicate that joy to others, and would be unceasing in giving thanks in all joy in the Holy Ghost. This love of God, this well-spring of joy, is that true wisdom which the Epistle speaks of, and which St. Philip set above

kingdoms, seats, and riches, and which he laid above health and beauty, for its light cannot be put out. It is an infinite treasure to mankind, and makes us sharers in the friendship of God. Let us, therefore, approach by love to our God, and be illuminated with the light which maketh joyful our heart. The fire of love will come from on high, and will enter into our very being, and teach us in all joy what a God ours is, and what a delight it is to serve Him. The Offertory gives us an important lesson. If we do not cultivate the fruit of joy our spiritual growth is stunted, and we crawl along the way, and make but little progress. But if we allow our hearts to be widened with loving joy we shall be lifted up above the dust that defiles us in the way, and, like a giant who rejoices to run his course, we shall make vast strides along the road, and the dust of life will never rise up to our heart, but will remain beneath our feet, where it does us but little harm, for our good Master will wash our feet and make us wholly clean. The lesson of joy is again repeated in the Communion, where we have Him the joy of the Father, the jubilee of the Holy Ghost, a joy all ours, and one no man can take from us.

May 27. *St. Augustine, C.P.*, teaches us the true spirit of Apostolic Charity, and reminds us that the gifts we receive in our ordination are not to be hidden away, but are to be used for the spreading of God's kingdom on earth. There is also another lesson which is greatly needed, so it seems to us, in these days when we are engaged in rebuilding the walls of our Sion and renewing the work of *St. Augustine*: obedience to authority and a loving care to be in the mind of the Church. *St. Augustine* did the Church's work of evangelization in the Church's way, and won England to the faith on the lines of the Sacred Liturgy. Now-a-days men's minds are full of craving after novelty, and are impatient of what is old. The solemn offices sufficed for all the wants of the people, and brought up a flock joyful in the Lord and trained in all virtue. The greatest number of our saints were brought up on the liturgical services of the Church, and found therein all the spiritual food they needed. But now, alas! the mysteriousness of worship, which is a

craving of human nature, must give place to a morbid desire of emulating the false worship of Protestantism with its Book of Common Prayer. Some, alas! among us are willing to despoil the Bride of her vesture of gold, and huddle upon her the rags of the sects which try and expose to the vulgar gaze the beauty of the King's daughter which is all within. Do they not remember that the true idea of worship, of sacrifice, is bound up with the liturgical services, and that the immediate result of taking away the old services of the Church has been to destroy all idea of sacrifice as the highest act of worship? Let us pray to St. Augustine to teach us in all humility to carry out the Church's work in the Church's way, a way which has always been successful, and been blessed by God, because it is done in obedience. But of this new way we know nothing of it. Where are its fruits? what saints has it made, what nation brought to the fold? It is time, surely, that this truckling with the heretical spirit comes to an end, and that we no longer forget the rich heritage of the liturgical services of Holy Church for the meretricious and vulgar services of the sects "who cut themselves with their knives after their own manner" (3 Kings xviii. 28).

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

Liturgical Notes

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS

I. THE USE OF THE COPE

II. THE ORNAMENTS OF THE ALTAR DURING A REQUIEM MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Having read with pleasure, in the July number of the I. E. RECORD, your decision *re* use of *amice*, *surplice*, and *alb* at Benediction of the Most Blessed Sacrament, I am prompted to request your opinion also with regard to the use of the *cope*.

I have reason to believe that some priests wear the cope when blessing a *marriage*, whether the ceremony takes place immediately before Mass (followed, of course, with Mass and nuptial blessing), or whether it be performed *extra missam*, without nuptial blessing. It seems to me that I have heard of priests to wear the *cope* even at baptisms performed solemnly in the church. I have seen priests wear the cope on the occasion of the *blessing of statues, reception of sodalists*, when they also wore the *cope* whilst *preaching*. Can this be done?

Some priests say that only *surplice* and *stole* are to be worn on such occasions, and at marriages *extra missam*. In the ritual mention is made only of surplice and stole. Indeed, Wapelhorst says that if the marriage takes place immediately before Mass, the priest ought to wear the chasuble. “Induere debet etiam planitiam.” Now, can the cope be used instead? In referring to the article *de vestibus Sacris*, I find that Wapelhorst says: “Pluviale adhibetur a presbytero . . . et in benedictionibus quae fiunt in altari.” Can marriages be considered as such, and, therefore, can the officiating priest wear the cope? A blessing is given; the ring is blessed. Bishops frequently wear the cope whilst preaching; why cannot priests do so?

Also will you kindly say if the rubric which forbids flowers on the altar during a Requiem Mass is really obligatory; and when a Requiem Mass is to be celebrated at the high altar, decorated with flowers, which could not conveniently be removed, would it be against or beside the rubric to place a small violet curtain or veil on stands, on the lowest step of the altar table, at each side of the tabernacle, and thus shade off the flowers? Would not this

suffice to satisfy the spirit of the rubric, or is it always obligatory to carry out the preceptive rubrics to the very letter?

Trusting to find in an early issue of the I. E. RECORD your esteemed decisions on these points, I am, rev. sir,

SACERDOS WELLINGTONENSIS.

New Zealand.

1. The cope should not be used unless in ceremonies and on occasions of great solemnity. Hence the rubrics relating to the sacred vestments prescribe the use of the cope only in processions, in solemn blessings, such as the blessing of candles, ashes, and palm, which take place at the altar; in Lauds and Vespers, when solemnly recited; by the assistant priest at a Pontifical Mass; and in giving the Absolution after a Requiem Mass. From other parts of the rubrics, and from the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*, we learn that the cope is also to be used when giving the *Asperges* before Mass on Sundays, and by the assistants of the officiant at Solemn Vespers. But the obligation of using the cope on these occasions is not the same as that of using chasuble, or any other of the sacred vestments, in celebrating Mass; for whereas the latter obligation—as far, at least, as regards any of the principal vestments—is of the gravest kind, the former is only very slight, unless in a few cases. Among these are, a solemn procession of the Most Holy Sacrament; and Solemn Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, given with the monstrance. In both these cases the officiant is bound to wear a cope; but in the other cases the use of the cope is prescribed only *si habeatur*.

It is clear, therefore, that the Church is not so strict about the use or non-use of the cope as of the chasuble, or even of the stole; and it would, consequently, seem a not unwarranted inference, that she might permit its use in other solemn ceremonies besides those of which mention is made in the liturgy. But we have not been able to find any authority to support this inference; nor, we may add, any to condemn or overthrow it. It is true, as was shown some time ago in these pages,¹ that a preacher, though of the

¹ I. E. RECORD, Third Series, vol. xiii., p. 935.

rank of a canon, and though preaching in the presence of a bishop, is forbidden to wear a cope while preaching. It is also true that chanters *as such* are forbidden to wear a cope. But except in these two cases we cannot find that the use of the cope has been forbidden. Consequently, though not prepared to approve of the use of the cope unless in those cases for which it is prescribed by the Rubrics, we are still less prepared to condemn its use by a priest, who, for some special and worthy reason, wishes to add solemnity to the baptismal or nuptial rite, or even to the foundation of a sodality or confraternity—provided, of course, that in no case does he wear the cope while preaching.

2. In replying to this question it is necessary for us to distinguish between a solemn and a Requiem Mass. With regard to the ornaments of the altar at a solemn Requiem Mass, we have the following directions in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* :

“Si velit Episcopus celebrare die anniversaria omnium defunctorum, vel alias quandocumque pro defunctis haec praeparantur et fiant: videlicet. Altare nullo ornatu festivo, sed simpliciter, et nullis imaginibus, sed sola cruce et sex candelabris paratur.”¹

Though these directions seem to require the absence from the altar of ornaments of every kind during the celebration of a solemn Requiem Mass, we believe that all that is really required is that the ornaments should not be visible. Hence when flowers, &c., placed on the altar for the purpose of ornamenting it, cannot be conveniently removed, we are of opinion that the plan suggested by our correspondent may be adopted even in a solemn Mass.

But, with regard to private Requiem Masses, the case is very different. Nothing is here prescribed, nothing forbidden, so far as the ornaments of the altar are concerned. No doubt, it would be becoming if in private Requiem Masses, *praesente cadavere* the altar were denuded of its ornaments; but there is no law requiring this. Hence a priest celebrating a private Mass at a funeral, need have no

¹ Lib. ii., c. ii., n 1.

scruple in celebrating at an altar adorned in the usual festive way. And if this be true when there is question of a Mass *praesente cadavere*, surely it is still truer when there is question of the ordinary *Missa Quotidiana*. Indeed in this latter case we think, that that order and decorum on which the rubrics insist so strongly would forbid the altar to be denuded of its ornaments each time a priest wishes to celebrate an ordinary Requiem Mass. For in the first place such a Requiem Mass is merely a votive Mass, and according to Gavantus, and indeed to the common teaching of Rubricists, the ornaments of the altar should correspond in colour and in quality to the *Office* of the day, not to the Mass which a priest may select to say on a semi-double or simple feast, or on a feria. Who ever heard, for instance, of its being required to change the white or red antependium and tabernacle veil on the semi-double feast of a confessor or martyr, because a certain priest celebrating at the altar wished to celebrate in black vestments? In many churches several priests celebrate at the same altar on the same day; and on a semi-double each priest is free to use whatever colour of vestments suits the particular Mass he wishes to say. Now, would it not be utterly unreasonable to require the antependium and tabernacle veil to be made to correspond with the colour which each celebrant choose to use? But the flowers and other ornaments of the altar are precisely on the same footing as the antependium, &c. For either the *Office* of the day permits the altar to be adorned with flowers, or it does not. If it does not, of course they should be removed, not merely during the celebration of a Requiem Mass, but also during the celebration of the Mass of the day, or of any other Mass which the day permits, unless a solemn Votive Mass. But if the *Office* of the day permits the use of flowers, &c., on the altar, then, according to the best authorities, the altar should be permitted to retain its usual ornaments, even during the celebration of a private Requiem Mass. We have already, it will be remembered, excluded from this conclusion a private Requiem Mass celebrated at a funeral; for in reality this Mass takes the place of a solemn Requiem Mass. Hence, though there is

no strict obligation to remove the flowers, &c., from the altar, we believe that a priest would be justified in so doing, and would even act laudably.

DIRECTIONS FOR THE CELEBRANT OF TWO MASSES ON THE
SAME DAY.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly answer in your next issue of the I. E. RECORD the following *quaeritur*, which has been causing trouble to many *sacerdotes* in these parts recently?—

Q. A curate, celebrating in two different chapels, has to consume the Sacred Species after his first Mass; at what particular time is he to do so? will it be immediately after the Last Gospel, or will it be after the *De Profundis* and papal prayers? In an old *Ordo*, of perhaps fifteen years ago, a decree is given that he must absorb the contents of the chalice, *post ultimam evangelium*. Does recent legislation of our Holy Father Leo XIII. alter this law? Or, in fine, must a priest saying two Masses absorb the contents of the chalice immediately after the Last Gospel; or must he wait till the end of the prayers after Mass to do so? A reply in the May issue of the I. E. RECORD will oblige.

CLOYNSIS.

In replying to our correspondent, we think it better not to confine ourselves within the strict limits of his question, but to place before our readers the directions which a priest should observe in his first Mass, as well when he celebrates twice on the same day in the same church, as when he celebrates twice on the same day in different churches.

In the first case the celebrant consumes the Precious Blood, as usual, but takes more than usual care to completely exhaust the chalice; and, in particular, to leave none of the consecrated species adhering to the lip of the chalice. He then places the chalice on the corporal, saying meantime the prayer *Quod ore sumpsimus*, &c., and covers it first with the paten, then with the pall. While saying the prayer *Corpus tuum*, &c., he washes his fingers either in a vessel placed on the altar, or in one brought to the Epistle corner of the altar by the Mass-server. Some writers¹ state that wine as

¹ *e.g.*, De Herdt, vol. i., n. 284, 3. Bouvry, pars. iii., sect. vii., art. i., n. 2.

well as water should be used for this ablution of the fingers.

Consequently, according to these writers, in case the celebrant washes his fingers in a vessel prepared on the altar, this vessel should contain a mixture of wine and water; and in case the vessel is brought to the altar by the Mass-server, he should bring along with it the cruets, and pour both wine and water on the celebrant's fingers. There seems, however, to be no ground for stating that wine should be used. The words of the rubric referring to this matter certainly contain nothing to support this statement. . . . *abluat (celebrans) digitos in aliquo vase mundo*, is the only direction bearing on this point. Besides the argument derived from the silence of the rubrics, which of itself is conclusive, we have the positive statements of many writers, including Martinucci,¹ to the effect that the celebrant is to wash his fingers *in vasculo aquae*. In this country the prevailing and perfectly legitimate practice is for the celebrant to wash his fingers in a covered vessel of water placed on the altar. Usually a second covered vessel containing a purificator for wiping the fingers is placed beside the first. But manifestly this one can be dispensed with, as the purificator used in the Mass will suit the purpose. The second vessel is required only when Communion is administered at other times than during Mass.

Having washed his fingers, and wiped them in the purificator, the celebrant turns back the first fold of the corporal; replaces the chalice, still covered with the paten and pall; folds the purificator, and places it in some convenient place; and, finally, covers the chalice with the veil. He then joins his hands, bows to the crucifix, and goes to the missal.

The chalice being unpurified should be treated with the greatest reverence. No one is allowed to touch it who is not in Holy Orders, and it should not be placed anywhere without there being a corporal or a pall beneath it. Never-

¹ Lib. ii., cap. xiv., n. 19.

theless, the celebrant is not required to make any special reverences on account of the presence on the altar of the unpurified chalice.

The second case—that, namely, in which a priest celebrates two Masses on the same day in different churches—is the one to which our correspondent's question refers.

With regard to this case, it is interesting to know that as late as the year 1815, the Congregation of Rites issued a decree forbidding the use of two chalices by a priest celebrating two Masses on the same day in different churches, and ordaining that the chalice used in the first Mass should be left unpurified, and be carefully and reverently carried by the priest to the place where he was to celebrate the second Mass. This legislation remained in force up to 1857, when the decree, of which we purpose giving here a summary, was issued.

According to this decree the celebrant consumes the Precious Blood at the usual time, and in this as in the former case takes particular care to exhaust the chalice as completely as possible. He then places the chalice on the corporal, covers it with the pall, and joining his hands says the prayer, *Quod ore sumpsimus*, &c. Having finished this prayer he washes his fingers in the vessel of water prepared for that purpose, and wipes them with the purificator, saying meantime the prayer, *Corpus tuum*, &c. After this he removes the pall from the chalice, which he immediately covers in the ordinary way—that is, with purificator, paten, pall, and veil—and then proceeds with the Mass. Having finished the last Gospel, and before descending from the predella, he again uncovers the chalice; and if on examination he finds, as he usually will, that the remains of the Precious Blood, which had during the consumption adhered to the sides of the chalice, have now collected in the bottom of the chalice, he absorbs them with great care. The words of the Congregation with regard to this second absorption of the remains of the Precious Blood are very strong, and seem to impose a very grave obligation. We give them here for the satisfaction of our readers, and to enable each one to

convince himself by their perusal of what grave import they are :—

“ Si itaque divini Sanguinis gutta quaedam supersit adhuc, ea rursus ac diligenter sorbeatur et quidem ex eadem parte, qua ille primum est sumptus. *Quod nullimode omittendum est quia sacrificium moraliter durat, et superexistantibus adhuc vini speciebus ex divino praecepto compleri debet.*”

When the celebrant has satisfied himself that he has absorbed all that it is morally possible to absorb of the remains of the Precious Blood, he receives the water-cruet from the Mass-server, and pours into the chalice at least as much water as there had been wine. He then turns the chalice gently round, so that the water may certainly touch every part that had been in contact with the Precious Blood, and pours it into a vessel prepared for the purpose. He should take care to pour the water from the same part of the chalice, from which he had previously consumed the Precious Blood. He then covers the chalice, says the usual prayers, and returns to the sacristy.

Such is the practice rendered obligatory by the decree of 1857. But our correspondent wants to know whether owing to still more recent legislation this practice should not be slightly modified. Briefly, he wants to know whether, the absorption of the remains of the Precious Blood is to take place immediately after the last Gospel, before the celebrant descends from the predella, or whether it should not be deferred until after the prayers which the Holy Father has ordered to be recited after Low Mass.

Though we have not seen this question discussed anywhere, we have no hesitation in saying that recent legislation has made no change on the practice ordained by the decree of 1857 ; and, consequently, that the chalice is to be purified immediately after the last Gospel, and not after the prayers. For these prayers, though ordered by the Pope, were never intended as an addition to the Mass, as is clear from the fact that they are ordered to be said *after* Mass. Consequently, all the ceremonies connected with the celebration of the Mass must precede these prayers. And this absorption of the remains of the Precious Blood, is, according to the

decree of 1857, essentially connected with the sacrifice. Hence, this is to be done, and the chalice is to be purified before the priest goes to the foot of the altar to recite the *De Profundis* (in Ireland) and the prayers ordered by the Pope.

CHANTS AT BENEDICTION DURING THE OCTAVE OF CORPUS CHRISTI.

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer the following questions in your next issue of the I. E. RECORD:—In the book, *The Ceremonies of Ecclesiastical Functions*, in the note on the chapter devoted to Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament, it is said that, on the Feast of Corpus Christi, and during the Octave, only prayers in honour of the Blessed Sacrament should be sung at Benediction.

1. May the Litany of the B.V.M. be sung at Benediction during the Octave of Corpus Christi?

2. If so, what prayer should be said after the Litany?

VICE-CAPELEANUS.

1. The Litany of the B.V.M. should not be sung at Benediction on the Feast or during the Octave of Corpus Christi.

2. *Provisum in priore.*

D. O'LOAN.

Notices of Books

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND. Three Lectures by the Archbishop of Melbourne. Melbourne: Thomas Everga, 154, Little Collins-street.

IT appears there are some Protestant Churchmen in Australia, who still harbour the delusion that the present Anglican Church is the moral and legal representation of the ancient British Church, and that this old British Church had an Eastern and not a Roman origin. The Protestant Bishop of Melbourne some short time ago told his audience at a meeting of the Diocesan Festival of the Anglican Church, that "They [the Anglicans] belonged to the ancient Church of Christ, which, as long ago as A.D. 314 sent three bishops from England to France to represent them at the

council to be held there." Catholics have reason to be grateful to his Lordship. This attempt to pilfer our ancient graves and disrobe the dead, has called forth a protest from His Grace the Most Rev. Dr. Carr, which is a most seasonable contribution to the Catholic literature of the Colony. "I have not," writes the Archbishop in his preface, "entered into the controversy without sufficient reason. The repeated assertion made by distinguished speakers at representative gatherings as to the identity of the Anglican with the ancient British Church, left no choice between silent acquiescence or public protest." "The title of these lectures," His Grace adds "is not mine. Before the delivery of the first lecture the title had become so stereotyped in the public press that any change would lead to confusion."

In the first of these three lectures the author proves—(1) that British Christianity did not originally come from the East; and (2) that no matter from what source it came, it was not the parent of the present Church of England. In the second lecture, and in the first part of the third lecture, he shows what the ancient British Church really was, namely, that it was Roman in doctrine and discipline; and the remaining portion of the last lecture lifts the curtain on the edifying proceedings that have italicized the origin of the present Anglican Church on the page of history. With admirable judgment the Archbishop strings together in those lectures a series of quotations from Protestant historical works, which settles the points in dispute. They are, in fact, a Protestant refutation of the Anglican claim to apostolical succession through the ancient British Church.

Those who studied under Dr. Carr in Maynooth, will recognise in this, his latest work, the easy flowing style, the lucid order, and the logical sequence which characterized his theological lectures. Here and there gleams of imagination illumine the chain of argument. Towards the close of the third lecture he says: "I have not noticed the argument that the retention of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds, and of some collects taken from the ancient liturgy, proves the continuity of the Church of England. Those are only a few spiritual stones from the antique but immortal pile of the Roman Church; and I thought, with La Mennais, that the Arab who comes forth from the desert and steals some fragments from the base of the towering pyramid and then disappears into the wilderness from which he emerged, might with as much reason claim the

ownership of the mighty monuments of the Pharaohs." Those lectures are more than a crushing reply to a baseless and foolish assertion. They are a learned historical desideratum of permanent value on a most interesting subject, and we sincerely hope their circulation will not be confined to the Australian Colony. The Anglican Bishop of Melbourne and his supporters will hardly repeat the statement which occasioned the controversy. We think they will pause before they commit themselves to any other theories which can be tested by the witness of history.

T. P. G.

PURGATORY. Illustrated by the Lives and Legends of the Saints. By Rev. F. X. Schoupe, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

FROM the dim land beyond the grave, where numberless souls are satisfying God's justice in the cleansing fires of Purgatory for sins committed and forgiven, there comes to us unceasingly the cry "Have pity on me, have pity on me, at least you, my friends." Why is it that this cry is so often unheeded? Why is it we become forgetful so soon of friends "not lost, but gone before"? The principal causes of our forgetfulness, says Fr. Schoupe, "are ignorance and lack of faith; our notions on the subject of Purgatory are too vague; our faith is too feeble." To give the faithful a clearer idea of Purgatory, to show how the souls there may be aided by our efforts, and to excite in us a lively interest in those souls, is the object of Father Schoupe's work on Purgatory. The tender devotion to the suffering souls that induced the author to publish his book, led him also to request its translation into English, and the outcome of that request is the excellent volume now before us.

Where Purgatory is; what is the nature of its sufferings; the condition of the souls detained there; their certainty of beatitude; the duration of their sufferings; and what the faithful can do to alleviate these sufferings—such are the questions Father Schoupe undertakes to discuss. In clear, simple language, free from the hard phraseology of the schools, the author treats these questions, basing his conclusions on the opinions of the greatest theologians, and bringing forward in support of his views numerous well-authenticated revelations made by God to his favoured servants.

Writing with a practical end in view, Father Schouppe devotes several beautiful chapters to showing how the faithful, without sacrificing the merit of their good works, may effectually aid the souls in Purgatory. In the merciful designs of providence we can do great things for those holy souls. And yet "how many Christians do little or nothing for the departed! And those who forget them not, those who have sufficient charity to aid them by their suffrages, how often are they not lacking in zeal or fervour?"

By offering or assisting at the Holy Sacrifice, by the worthy reception of the Blessed Eucharist, by indulgenced prayers—many of which are indicated in this work—in various ways all of us may afford assistance to the suffering souls. Then the author adduces powerful motives why that assistance should be given. Those captive souls are dear to God; they are friends whom we perhaps loved in life; they will be our companions for eternity. Again the sufferings which they endure are terrible, while a little charity on our part will relieve these sufferings, and hasten their happy termination.

Solid, instructive, practical, and interesting as a romance, this book will go far to dispel the vague and erroneous ideas entertained among the faithful on the subject of Purgatory. Its careful perusal will repay the thoughtless Christian, the devout Catholic, and the zealous priest. The thoughtless Christian who thinks nothing of committing deliberate venial sin, it will warn of the terrible punishment that awaits him in the life to come; to the devout Catholic it will show that the Purgatory which awaits him, though it be a land of suffering, is also a land of hope and consolation; while it will afford invaluable assistance to the priest who wishes to teach his people how they may help their suffering brethren beyond the grave, and hasten their admittance into the presence of the Eternal God.

P. K.

A CATHOLIC LIBRARY. London: Burns & Oates.

NOT of ponderous tomes, but of five small unpretentious-looking volumes, is this library composed. Yet these five volumes are probably the best books any Catholic can have in his possession. Merely to give the titles of the works will sufficiently prove the truth of the assertion. *The New Testament* naturally comes first in the series; *The Book of Psalms*, translated from the Latin Vulgate, and revised by Cardinal Wiseman, comes next;

The Imitation of Christ and the Spiritual Combat are the third and fourth volumes; while *The Devout Life* of St. Francis, designed to show those who are living in the world that they may dwell in the busy haunts of men without imbibing a worldly spirit, even "as the phœnix hovers in the flames without burning its wings," completes the collection.

Each volume is neatly bound and well-printed: and will serve as an excellent *vade mecum* for priest or laymen.

AUGUSTE COMTE, FONDATEUR DE POSITIVISME, SA VIE—
SA DOCTRINE. R. P. Gruber, S.J. Traduit de l'Allemand
par M. l'Abbé P. L. Mazzyer. Paris: P. Lethielleux,
10, Rue Cassette.

THE present work of Father Gruber tells the life of Auguste Comte, the founder of Positivism, and explains his doctrines in their twofold period—the period of Positive Philosophy, and the period of Political Positivism.

Comte was born (1798), in Montpellier, in the department of Herault. He was of pious Catholic parents, yet in his early youth he forgot the ways of God. At the age of fourteen he had entirely lost the faith. At sixteen he entered the Polytechnique School of Paris. Compelled to leave because of his insubordination, he led for some time an adventurous life in Paris. While in this state he met Henri Saint-Simon, whose disciple and helper he became. Saint-Simon was a fanatic who undertook a "physico-political" reformation of France. Comte, attracted by the strange doctrines of this enthusiast, thought that he too had a mission to reform the social world. After this the story of his life is entwined with the history of his doctrines. He died in Paris, 1857.

The Positivism of Comte had two periods—the philosophical, and the political, or social as it should properly be called. In the first period he taught that all consideration of final causes, essences, and even God Himself, was to be excluded from philosophy, since without these the laws that guide the universe can be fully explained. The social period of his Positivism is characterized by his profession of a new religion, the object of whose worship is humanity composed of the great men of all ages. This religion was to teach men their duties towards the state and one another—hence its name, Political or Social Positivism.

Comte entertained a hope of winning from the Church its greatest defenders, the Jesuits. They and the Positivists were to set up a church whose chief was to be the General of the Jesuits, and whose spiritual metropolis was to be Paris. He was rudely awakened from these ambitious dreams by the reply which he received from the General of the Order, before whom Sabateer, a disciple of Comte, laid these plans.

Father Gruber relates the life and doctrines of Comte as a faithful historian. It was not his ambition to refute these doctrines; hence he devotes only a few pages of his work to a critique of Comte's system of Philosophy. We consider the best refutation of Positivism to be a clear exposition of its tenets. Hence, though, generally speaking, we cannot approve of the publication of modern errors, we can recommend to our readers the clear and interesting little book of Father Gruber.

J. M. H.

MANUALS OF PASTORAL THEOLOGY.—Vol. I. THE PRIEST IN THE PULPIT. Adapted from the German of Rev. Ignaz. Schench, O.S.B. By Rev. Boniface Luebbermann. London: Burns & Oates.

Pastoral Theology, as a distinct department of theological studies has not hitherto received in this country an amount of attention commensurate with its importance, whether from the more advanced ecclesiastical students in the colleges or from priests already labouring in the sacred ministry. To the characteristic zeal of our Irish priesthood, however, we owe it to say, that we do not wish to be understood as denying that pastoral subjects, and some even of the more important questions of Pastoral Theology, have been studied with the utmost care both in college and on the mission. Of this neglect, a partial cause, at least, has been the want of a complete and scientific manual on the subject in the English language. Here again we should not be misunderstood, for we do not forget that there have been published works, and works too of avowedly great merit, some dealing with special questions, and others covering nearly the whole range of a pastor's duties. As instances, we may cite, on the one hand, the works of Fathers Potter and M'Namara; and on the other, the *Allocutions and Pastorals* of Dr. Moriarty, Bishop of Kerry, and *The Priest on the Mission* of Canon Oakley. But with no work in the English language are we acquainted which can claim to be a complete and scientific manual on the subject.

The publication of such a work has been the aim of Father Luebberrmann in translating the handbook of the German Benedictine. Two facts may help to give some idea of the merits of the original: (1) the ninth edition has already left the press; (2) it is frequently referred to by Fr. Lehmkuhl, who says of it: "quod inter compendia theologiae pastoralis cum laude effertur." The work in its new form will be complete in three volumes—I. *The Priest in the Pulpit*; II. *The Priest at the Altar*; III. *The Priest in the Parish*, of which only the first has appeared and is now before us.

More than a fourth of the present volume is introductory, explaining, briefly, the nature and literature of pastoral theology, and at length, the qualifications of a pastor. These the author divides into natural—among which (what seems at first sight peculiar) he places divine vocation,—supernatural, and ecclesiastical. This part is exhaustive, and deserves the closest study, from clerical students. The remainder of the volume is divided into two books, which are again subdivided into chapters and articles.

The first book, dealing with homiletics, discusses the nature of the pastor's teaching office, and the obligation of preaching; sets down principles for selection of subject-matter, for its developement, with a view to conviction and persuasion, and for its arrangement in the sermon; explains the qualities of style and delivery, and the peculiarities of the different kinds of sermons. The treatment of the questions in this portion of the work is clear and sufficiently full, though, we may add, not so exhaustive or so elaborate as the treatment in Father Potter's books.

The second book, dealing with catechetics, discusses nearly the same questions *mutatis mutandis*, in reference to catechetical instructions. This portion of the volume is excellently treated, though the language is sometimes very technical.

To our zealous students and priests we can safely recommend *The Priest in the Pulpit*, which should be found to be a very useful manual; and while we congratulate Father Luebberrmann on the success of his first efforts in favour of pastoral theology, we express a hope that the forthcoming volumes will reach its high standard of excellence.

MARY QUEEN OF MAY. By Brother Azarias. The "Ave Maria." Notre Dame, Ind.

Mary Queen of May is a collection of essays that appeared in the *Ave Maria*. In it the author gives a short account of the Blessed Virgin in her relation to the faithful on earth, the blessed in heaven, and the holy souls in purgatory, on whose sufferings she looks with eyes of tender compassion, and for whose release she is ever praying. Brother Azarias writes in clear, forcible style, and shows great learning and accuracy of thought.

THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE DIVINE EXPIATION. By Rev. Kenelm Vaughan. Published in Chelsea, London.

THIS little book consists of a paper read recently by Father Vaughan before the International Eucharist Conference, held at Jerusalem. The writer explains the origin and object of this brotherhood, which is a union of secular priests who unite their lives with our Lord's Life of Expiation on the altar by sorrow for sin, by self-mortification, and by intercessory prayer for the world. Now, as in the days of Jeremias, the hearts of men are growing cold, the people are turning from their God, and wandering in the paths of sin and infidelity. As the great prophet of old devoted himself to works of penance, to lamenting over the sins of the people, and exhorting them to repent, so this union of priests in our own days is intended to satisfy the divine anger for the insults that are being offered to God unceasingly, and to avert from men the awful consequences of their evil deeds. Blessed by the Pope, commended by cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, this great and glorious work cannot fail to prosper; and we feel confident that Father Vaughan's appeal for fellow-workers who will live in intimate union with our Lord in the Tabernacle, and "lay open the iniquities of men to excite them to penance," will meet with a warm response.

P. K.

THE EPISTLES AND GOSPELS FOR PULPIT USE.
Fr. Pustet & Co. New York: Cincinnati.

THIS book will be welcomed by preachers who desire a handy edition of the Epistles and Gospels for the Sundays and principal feasts throughout the year, printed in large clear type.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

JUNE, 1894

FROM CATHOLICISM TO KANTISM, AND BACK¹

A WRITER in the *Revue Philosophique*, a French positivist periodical, in an article on the neo-Thomistic movement inaugurated by the encyclical *Aeterni Patris*, wrote a few months ago:—"Les deux faits plus importants au point de vue qui nous occupe, sont la condamnation de Rosmini et la conversion d'Ausonio Franchi." Those who have followed the history of scepticism in Europe during this half of the century will at once recognise Ausonio Franchi as the man who since 1852 has done more than any other writer to spread the philosophy of Kant in Italy. For some years the writer of this has been more or less acquainted with Franchi's teaching, but did not know his personal history till the publication of the first volume of his *Ultima Critica*, in August, 1889. One who, I believe, had a good deal to do with his conversion kindly gave me the volume just as it came from the press; and from him also I learned for the first time that "Ausonio Franchi" was a *nom-de-plume*, or rather a *nom-de-guerre*, assumed by Cristoforo Bonovino when he left the Church and became a champion of rationalism. Both as a professor and a writer he has been known to the public by that name only, for forty years. He has just completed the third and last volume of his *Ultima Critica*, as he

¹ *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*, Parte I^{ma}. *La filosofia delle scuole Italiane*; *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*, Parte II^{da}. *Del Sentimento*; *Ultima Critica di Ausonio Franchi*, Parte III^{za}. *Il Razionalismo del popolo*.

calls it, and has finally hidden himself from the world in a monastery at Genoa. Its scope is similar to that of the *Retractationes* of St. Augustine; it is Franchi the penitent taking to pieces the writings of Franchi the rationalist.

The three volumes form a singularly able contribution to Christian apologetics; and, when read in the light of the author's life, the publication of the work is an argument for grace and faith, as well as an object-lesson in the wanderings of a great mind under the light of unaided reason, and in the humility of a noble heart under the influence of supernatural grace. It is not an easy thing for a man of great name and following to draw his pen across his writings of forty years, and scribble over them—"all false;" to tell those who at his teaching had ceased to believe in the supernatural, and against the principles of his teaching to believe in himself, that he has been misleading himself and them all the while. That is, in short, what he has done in the work of over eighteen hundred closely-printed pages the title of which I have placed at the head. It is hardly necessary to say that many who used to glorify him in his apostacy have attributed all sorts of bad motives to the returned prodigal; but many also have taken the lesson, and searched their own hearts. Some Catholics too have said that silence would better become him, and have accused him of vanity. But he has made no complaint. The work has been written under the encouragement of the Holy Father, and under the conviction that a public reparation was due of him. Indeed, to lay open unsparingly the mistakes of a lifetime, must be more a penance than a pleasure to an old man. The purpose of this article is to trace the history of his wanderings away from faith, and of his return to it again. His life is an instructive lesson; in a sense, more convincing than direct argument.

He was born in Pegli, in 1820. At an early age he felt called to the ecclesiastical state, and in due course became a priest.¹ He passed the early years of his priesthood as

¹ It is a duty to state here that, during the apostacy, his personal conduct is known to have admitted no other stain on his character. It is a testimony in his favour that the *Civiltà Cattolica*, which gave no quarter to Gioberti and others, always referred to Franchi with respect.

professor in Genoa. But he gradually allowed himself to be carried along by the cry of nationalism which then rang through Italy, and, as a means of giving effect to that cry, adopted the rationalism which was then stealing fast across the Alps from Germany and France. In his early manhood he witnessed the proximate causes and immediate results of the first act in that drama called the *Risorgimento Italiano*; a time ranging from the public life of Gioberti to the ministry of Cavour. Two influences distinct and opposed, but equally efficacious, then combined to leave upon him a deep impression by which his life was formed and ruled. At first it was all hope and joy; then it was all fear and sorrow. Who or what was accountable for the ruin of Italy, he and his friends asked themselves. Some laid the blame on the princes, others on the people; some on the priests, others on the demagogues. He was persuaded that such a calamity could not have been caused by the errors or the wrongs of individuals; that it was due to causes more general, deep, and powerful; that it sprang from principles. He set himself to seek those causes, and he found them, as he thought, in two institutions of tyranny—the Church and the State; the former with its theological dogmatism, the latter with its political despotism. Therefore, he and his friends declared war against those two authorities, which, they imagined, conspired to hold the people in spiritual and temporal bondage; a war all the more relentless because of the blessings which those two powers took away, and of the evils they brought by keeping Italy from being a nation, and the Italians from having a common fatherland.

Henceforth they thought only of the combat. Each was to engage in battle with the weapons, material or mental, which his disposition or training enabled him to manage best. Franchi was one of those, and the mightiest of them, whose weapon was the pen. Now, books, written for such a purpose must, of their nature, contain a criticism negative and destructive; they are written to show that certain teachings are false, certain institutions evil, and to persuade the public to repudiate the one and abolish the other. With constructive criticism they had nothing to do.

As Franchi himself graphically expresses his own feelings at the time:—Who was to build up when the ruin was made, or how, was a question to be considered when the battle was fought and won; that is the work of masons, not of soldiers. Unfortunately, their's is not the only instance of similar statesmanship by which sanguine patriotism has been misled, and people have suffered. However, the disastrous result of the Pickwickian politics which has been shaping the destiny of Italy from Cavour to Crispi was one of the things which opened Franchi's eyes to his foolishness. It is by a special grace of God that he has recovered himself from that state of mind into which he allowed himself to slide. It is, as a rule, the desperate doom of such men

“To know the change and feel it,
When there is none to heal it,
Nor numbèd sense to steal it.”

At the age of thirty he wrote a series of private letters in reply to a work by a Turin professor called *Un'idea della filosofia della vita*. It was not his intention to publish them. They were written as a justification of his changed opinions before the tribunal of his conscience. Their purport was to compare Christian dogmatism with the criticism of Kant. At the request of a few friends with sympathies like his own he gave those letters to the public, in 1852, under the title of *La filosofia delle scuole Italiane*. He was now well on the warpath. He became at once the leading champion of rationalism in Italy, and for ten years books and pamphlets followed fast from his prolific brain in defence of the new philosophy of which he had become a prophet. He has got the credit of having founded the sceptical school in Italy. At any rate, from that time onwards, with an ability and a vigour worthy of a better cause, he assailed what he called “the absurd system of theological metaphysics.”

With the same intent he established a weekly critical review called *La Ragione*. Its aim was to form a new generation which would take rationalism for its religion, trust to socialism for the salvation of society, and acknowledge scepticism as the only philosophy worthy of human reason.

His ideal was, a pure democracy enlightened by science and comforted by a new religion, without external worship, without a priesthood, and without poor. For one thing he must get credit; he had the courage of his convictions. He never wore a mask. With uncompromising logic he passed from the speculative liberalism of Gioberti to the practical Jacobinism of Mazzini; and, casting aside the lingering sentiment which thinly veiled the position of those with the name of God, he proclaimed an "anti-theism," which consisted "in humanizing God and deifying man." His transition from Christian philosophy to rationalism affords an instructive object-lesson. The process by which he passed over shows how our will can influence our reason; that the wishes of our will, the longings of our heart, the desires of our passions, steal in upon the mind, and seduce it unawares into paths which if left to itself it might never enter, and into conclusions whose intrinsic value could never secure assent. Hence comes this psychological fact: we sometimes discuss with ourselves the merits of an action, and so indifferently sincere do we deem ourselves to be, that we feel it a duty to provide a fair plea for righteousness before our conscience gives the sanction we seek for. Yet, how often is there behind the veil, and but thinly screened away, a spring other than conscience, whence has come the first motion to undertake the process of justification. These ethical pleadings are too often but a mere puppet-show, and wilfulness is the conjuror hidden behind. If we would reflect on why we take so much pains to plead for the action we wish to justify, the self-deception would often disappear. "*Le cœur a ses raisons que la raison ne connaît point,*" is one of the sententious truths formulated by Pascal. But, let us hear from Franchi how this was verified in his case:—

"A psychological and moral analysis of the great complexity of sentiments and affections, thoughts and judgments, desires and wishes, which prepare and effect the abandonment of philosophical and religious doctrine, and the adhesion to its contrary, is of its nature most difficult, and very rarely does it turn out to be exact and complete in every part. But it becomes impossible when he who undertakes it is not sufficiently matured in study, is inexperienced in the secrets of the interior life, or in fathoming

the human heart, and is too near the terrible struggle from which he has come off conqueror and conquered at the same time, so that his mind is not yet in that state of dispassionateness which allows one to be an impartial judge in his own case. Then, in good faith, and with a good will, he deceives himself. He tells, it is true, all he knows, but he does not tell all that is. In inquiring the reasons of his change, those occur to him which help to justify it; those which would censure it escape. Hence, the account which he gives of it is truthful, but incomplete; and it can well happen, often does happen, that in those things omitted, because unnoticed, is concealed the principal cause of the things mentioned. If that cause were discovered, the reasons given would have another aspect, and they would be explained and judged differently."

By that criterion the reasons which he gave for abandoning Christianity must be corrected. The first assaults of doubt came to him from the contrast between the theological opinions of authors. Those opinions, of course, concerned dogmatic questions freely discussed, or the application of moral principles. They were opinions, not dogmas; and it was illogical to conclude that therefore anarchy of reason existed in the Church, or that they arose, as he said in his *Filosofia delle scuole Italiane*, "from a spirit of sectarianism rather than from the spirit of truth." It was not the design of the Divine Founder of the Church that men should know all things, or that the Church should teach all things. The gift of the Church was, not that it should teach all things, but that whatever it would teach should be infallibly true. As it was the design of Christ to set a limit to dogma, it follows that men should be free to use their own light beyond it. That is real free thought, not the counterfeit which is known by that name. If one allows himself to think apace in all things, and take up conclusions, true or false, as they come, he does not exercise free thought, but free will, or rather free wilfulness. Indeed, the true definition of "free thought" is the licence to think not so much what we *know* to be true, as what we *will* to maintain. Strictly speaking, the expression "free thought" has no meaning. If we are told that $2 + 2 = 4$, we are constrained to assent by the evidence of its truth. Does the constraint make us less free? Once we accept the fact of a divine revelation and of a divine institution on earth to

teach it, we are logically pinned to the fact that the world is in possession of truth just as it emanates from eternal Truth Itself. To assent to such teaching is not to dwarf the intellect, but to perfect it. Like everything else in nature, the mind was made for something. It was made for truth; and if made for truth, it is perfected according to the measure of truth it possesses, no matter how it gets it; and, of the two, it is a greater privilege to draw truth direct from the fountain than to wait till through risk and effort it blossoms on the brain. Those, therefore, who accept dogmatic teaching do not lose their freedom nor dwarf their intellect. "You shall know the truth, and the truth will make you free," is sound philosophy as well as good theology. Those who believe in dogma are free to think according to their light outside the circuit of its teaching, paying due regard, of course, to disciplinary laws of prudence, and provided they do not allow wilfulness to warp the real convictions of conscience. In other words, it must be the *bona fide* conclusion of the intellect, not an impulse of the will. With many who affect to be scared by dogma and are loud in asserting the sacredness of "free thought," much that is set forth as conviction is more the work of the latter than of the former. That precisely accounts for the curious inconsistency of such persons, that whilst they will be taught by nobody, they undertake to teach everybody. One who is in earnest in search of truth is naturally ready to acknowledge an error and to set it right. He who embraces a conclusion mainly because he wills it, is not so ready to let it go. That is in the nature of things. In the matter of theological opinion the same spirit of truth might well animate persons holding widely different views. They might freely embrace one opinion in preference to another, or through more mature study pass from one opinion to another without trenching on any vital principle of Christian philosophy or theology. And it was so with Franchi for a time. But after a while he passed on to test the truth of principles which lie at the very foundation of religion, science, society, and life. How he managed to get over the impassable chasm by any approved logical method, he at that time

stopped neither to ask nor answer. He reasoned on as if difference of opinion on open questions involved difference of fundamental principles in questions which are vital. But there was an extraneous element—*una nuova disposizione o circostanza*—which came into play, turned the disposition of his soul, and had transported him from faith and doubt to denial without his feeling how unnatural was the perilous step he had taken. What that *nuova disposizione o circostanza* was, let us hear from himself:—

“It was politics, that current of liberalistic ideas, more or less revolutionary, which in 1846 began to agitate Italy, and culminated in the insurrection of 1848 and the catastrophe of 1849 . . . At first, God, Christ, the Church, were spoken of with respect; after a time they were spoken of as vulgar superstitions. The only articles of the new creed were, Italy, independence, liberty, unity, reform, progress, rationalism, democracy. Nor were those articles mere thoughts that occupied the mind; they were passions that inflamed the heart, warped the conscience, bent the ethics of the Gospel to the politics of the revolution. Hence came a new life, to be conformed no longer to the rigour of Christian discipline, but to be accommodated to the elasticity of worldly convenience. With such dispositions I pursued my studies; but the new studies, being directed by the new dispositions, could have no other result than the substitution of a political for a Christian creed.”¹

And so it was. Under these influences he re-examined, he tells us, the ancient philosophical and theological doctrines, and not in the books of the masters of those sciences, but in the books of enemies.² The natural consequence came. He quickly drifted into the position which he formulated in this proposition: “The supreme criterion of all truth is in the reason;” that is, as he explains, in the individual reason; which in practice appears as the pleasure, passion, or caprice of each one. “*Così*,” he says, “*la mente*

¹ *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 258.

² In the battle between faith and science (more correctly, between faith and *certain* scientists), the same happens often. With a whitewash of philosophy, ignorant without knowing it, and conceited, how many there are who are ready to follow the newest theory of the hour, without being able to weigh its value for themselves! Not to the works of Christian apologists, but to the writings of rationalists, do they go, to find, forsooth, what faith has to say for itself. They make an act of faith in some philosopher of fashion, and call it “independent thinking.”

trovò quel che cercava, perchè cercava quel che l'animo voleva."¹ What he then called his "intellectual and moral emancipation" was now complete; but, as he says in his *Ultima Critica*, the "moral emancipation" came first, and then the "intellectual;" first, rebellion of the will against the divine law, and then rebellion of the reason against Christian faith. A real intellectual and moral emancipation should be, freedom of the will from the slavery of vice, and freedom of the intellect from the slavery of error:—

"But [he asks] is there a vice or an error, even one, to which a Christian is bound by his law or his faith? No, not one. Is there a virtue or a truth, even one, from which he is shut out by his law or his faith? No, not one. Therefore, to be emancipated from Christianity does not mean to have freed the will from vice and the intellect from error; it means rather to be freed from the obligation of cultivating those virtues and accepting those truths which can no longer be harmonized with the new dispositions and the new life. Then discipline becomes slavery for the will, faith becomes slavery for the intellect. The will gets the habit of taking vice for virtue, the intellect of taking error for truth. The one rebels against discipline to enjoy the liberty of vice, the other rebels against faith to enjoy the liberty of error. Behold the liberty which in the dictionary of modern science and civilization bears the high-sounding title of intellectual and moral emancipation! If it has brought material advantages to many, is there even one who can say before God it has made him morally better?"²

From this, his unbending logic bore him to "the denial of the supernatural order, of all positive theology, of every theocratic authority, of all divine revelation;"³ that is, to a "rationalism which is implicitly atheistic," as he himself translates it in his *Ultima Critica*; for, he says, "take away the sum of all these negatives, and nothing remains but the denial of God." "And it all comes to this;" he continues,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 258.

² *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 260.

³ *Filosofia delle scuole Italiane*, p. 91. I remember noticing a curious illustration of the religion of rationalists on the title-page of a work of Franchi's, which I saw a few years ago in a book-shop in Rome. The title of the book was, *La Religione del Secolo XIX. da Ausonio Franchi*. Some wag had crossed off the *da*, thus making it to mean—*Ausonio Franchi, the Religion of the Nineteenth Century*. It was really the logic of his position then.

“that to revive Italy it was necessary to destroy God! that the national life of Italy should be the death of all religious faith in the Italians!”¹

That is the system in which, as he wrote in 1852, he thought he should find “the harmony of the mind and heart, peace of soul, an imperturbable peace.” Thus he hoped, or rather dreamed. It was a long dream, but not “imperturbable.” The reality of life first woke him up. He had thought out theory to its last elements; he had come to its confines, and logic could take him no further. He should either see his dreams reduced to reality and enjoy them, or else retrace his steps—like Coleridge’s *Ancient Mariner*—“a sadder and a wiser man.” He saw the reality, in the manner of government and in the state of society which was the outcome of the theories of the patriots and social reformers with whom he worked. From what we have seen, we may take him as a witness prejudiced on its side. And what is his evidence? That their patriotism was parricidal—of God and country; that the system which promised to produce “disinterested love of goodness, spontaneous respect for the rights of others, and the voluntary observance of duty,”² resulted in the practical destruction of each and all the three; that true patriotism should bring us to that faith from which only false patriotism could disengage us. For the uncompromising logic that led him so far, such a state of things should not be. In the haven of “imperturbable peace,” which he had dreamed of, he found that duty meant expediency; that brotherhood was selfishness labelled with a false name; that instead of national prosperity and peace there came national disaster and disgrace. So he retraced his steps, from effects to causes; from calamity in practice to the falsehood of principles; and with this result:—

“The result of my second re-examination, made with a liberty much more real and complete than the first, could not be other than a return from rationalism to Christianity; and, consequently, to Catholicism, which is the only form of the Christian

¹ *Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 261.

² *Filosofia delle scuole*, p. 91.

religion theoretically perfect; and to the Catholic Church, which is the only form of the Catholic religion historically real, living, and perennial."¹

Men are not at once disabused of errors on which they have set their heart; they are not easily awakened from illusions on which their hopes have rested. And so it was with Franchi. It took him many years to see that liberalism was bringing Italy ruin instead of a millennium; that rationalism was shearing virtue and duty of every vestige of reality, was tearing from the hearts of its prophets every vestige of religion. We will now see how he first came to open his eyes to these things. In 1860, Count Terenzio Mamiani, who was Minister of Public Instruction, and a philosopher of the rationalistic school also, appointed him professor of the history of philosophy. The ability and earnestness with which since 1852 he had influenced the public through the press he now turned almost entirely to the training of his pupils in the University of Pavia and in the Academy of Milan. But with his new circumstances, his thoroughness of purpose and unflinching logic brought a new phase of duty before him. Would he make the subject-matter of his lectures the opportunity of indoctrinating his scholars with his own philosophical views? One would think that not to do so would be a finger-post pointing to the condemnation of his own convictions. But he thought otherwise, and he clearly tells us the reason why. More than that, this his best opportunity of successful propaganda in rationalism was the occasion of his first impulse homeward to the harbour of the Catholic faith again.

Till he became a professor he addressed the public through the press. But to write for the public is to write for everybody and nobody. Between the writer and the reader there is no special compact limiting the liberty of one or the other.² A writer puts on paper what his reason

¹*Ultima Critica*, vol. i., p. 263. Even in the works which he published as a rationalist he held that once a man denies that there is an infallible authority provided for the world by Christ to teach His faith, there is no honest medium where he might rest between it and rationalism, and *vice versa*.

²He adds a rider to that:—*Salve le convenienze generali che sono a tutti prescritte dalla morale e dalla galateo*.

dictates, as if he spoke to himself only. He gives full play to the enterprise of his reason; but the public are free to take his book and cast it into the fire, to praise or blame, to bless or curse itself and its author. But when he addressed his pupils from the professor's chair, he felt bound by the very office he was fulfilling to restrain his liberty of speech by special considerations. Between professor and pupil there is a relation analogous to that between father and son. They are bound by mutual duties—the pupils to learn what the professor teaches; the professor to teach, not his own opinions, but such truths of science as are received as certain. As to opinions more or less probable, but still disputed and disputable, his right is bounded by the limits of a historical and critical exposition, and he must not offer the hypotheses and conjectures of any school as the certain conclusions of science. Above all, he must rigorously guard against uttering a word which would hurt the moral conscience of those committed to his care:—

“Hence [he says] the duty appeared plain to me, not to teach from the chair that rationalism which I had sustained through the press. For, although my own persuasion of the truth was firm and full, it was not enough to assure me that it formed part of the common patrimony of science, or that it would in no way be a scandal to my pupils. Hence the resolution which I made at once, and always kept, to absolutely abstain from any religious criticism, and to scrupulously respect the Christian faith. And the motive which, more than any other, kept me firm in that resolution was the appearance of those dear youths who hung upon my lips, confided in my teaching, opened their minds to be enlightened by my thoughts, and their hearts to be warmed by my affection. The idea of sowing in those souls a doubt on the principles of theism or Christian spiritualism; and, therefore, on the groundwork of moral and social order, appeared to me like a snare and a betrayal. But a repugnance in practice ought to lead by a direct and inevitable consequence to a repugnance in theory. Can the reason at all approve a system which the conscience condemns? That simple question put the whole form of rationalism before me under a new form. The question naturally knit with the history of philosophy, which was the subject of my professorship, became thenceforth the centre of my studies, the most assiduous care of my life. For years and years I kept gathering, debating, sifting, and weighing the reasons for and against. The reasons against went on growing day by day,

the reasons for were equally losing force, until the latter counted for nothing, the former for everything. The question was then solved for me; and to the inquiry I had raised, no other answer remained but a distinct and definite—*No*. And that *no* which rejects rationalism seems to me much more valid and legitimate than the *yes* which had espoused it. For the *yes* was the conclusion of a conflict which lasted for five or six years (1846-1851) in the fervour of youth and amidst the storms of revolution which had distorted and upset minds and consciences more than cities and states; whereas the *no* is the conclusion of an inquiry which has lasted more than twenty years (1866-1887), in a riper age, in the calm of soul, and in the quiet of the study and the school."

When Franchi was about to begin his propaganda of rationalism, he and those who thought with him diagnosed their *patria*, and pronounced it suffering from a threefold malady—domination from without, political disunion within, and from mental and moral servitude. As against this threefold evil, they desired a threefold good—*independence, unity, and liberty*. They tried and triumphed. They have moved back the boundary line of Austrian dominion, and have brought the Lombardo-Venetian States within their own. The Kingdom of the Two Sicilies is no more. The States of the Church have been wrested from the Pope, and Rome has been made the capital of United Italy. As to liberty, if they are not satisfied with what they have secured of it, it can only be for the same reason that a glutton is not satisfied with his surfeit. But, what has that triple triumph gained for Italian prosperity and peace? Even for Italian independence, unity, and freedom? The despotic authority of the State has been crushed, and in the political order a liberalism obtains which, under forms more or less democratic, has revived the principles and is realizing the results of the French Revolution. The dogmatic authority of the Church has been ignored; if the bishops do not wish to get entangled in the meshes of the Penal Code, they must not write a pastoral to their people on doctrine and morals till Crispi, the atheist, revises and sanctions it as sound; and in the intellectual and moral order naturalism obtains. It is the triumph of liberalism which makes the soul the servant of the body—they call it modern civilization. It is the triumph of a naturalism which wants the world without its Maker—they

label it modern science. But have they secured the triple good they sought? We might find the answer in words which Edmund Burke wrote of their prototypes, the French Revolutionists:—

“Their liberty is not liberal. Their science is presumptuous ignorance. Their humanity is savage and brutal. In the groves of their academy, at the end of every vista, you see nothing but the gallows. They have placed sacrilege and proscription amongst the ways and means in their committee of supply.”

But, let Franchi answer. He ought to know it best, for he was one of those who worked and watched and hoped for it:—

“Independence, freedom from foreign domination was achieved, but to give place to a double dependence in some respects more injurious to the dignity of the nation—political dependence on France while the second empire lasted, literary and philosophical dependence on Germany which will last, nobody knows how long. Material unity was achieved; but as it was gained by force it has to be retained by force. Under the external unity there may be less real union than under the old divisions. Liberty has been won, but it is for the benefit of the few who represent legal Italy; as to real Italy, *i.e.*, the masses of the people, they feel much less free, much less masters of themselves, of their acts, under the present liberty than under the former slavery . . . Of those who had a part in the revolution of 1848 (I speak of those, and those *only*, who worked and suffered to honestly serve their country, not to serve themselves),¹ I have not found one whose memory of disappointed hopes did not deeply embitter the last years of his life. And how many I have heard exclaim in anger and sorrow:—Who could imagine that the independence, unity, and liberty, which promised so many blessings for our dear country, would come to bring it so many evils? to turn liberty of thought into a depravity of mind and heart? liberty of conscience into a satanic theophobia? liberty of worship into an insane hatred of Catholicism, of Christianity, of every religious principle and sentiment? liberty of the press into a poison of the moral sense and of common sense? liberty of teaching into a licence to poison the minds of children till the school has become an epicurean novitiate? political and social

¹ *Reflections on the French Revolution*, page 89.

² *Servire alla patria, non servirsi della patria*. Franchi would, of course, draw a wide distinction between men like Manzoni, Balbo, Silvio Pellico, Massimo D'Azeglio, and Mazzini, Saffi, &c. Gioberti, he treats perhaps more leniently than that splendid but erratic genius deserves.

liberty into a conspiracy to desecrate death and birth, to profane marriage, to break up the family, to debase justice, to corrupt morals, to defy the State, and brutalize man? So that to-day, more truly than in Dante's time, could Italy be called

“ ‘ Non donna di provincia, ma bordello.’ ”

Mr. Leslie Stephen wrote some years ago:—“ Men die of many diseases; creeds only of one—that of being found out.” Nevertheless, faith continues to live, and in the souls of many whose heads are quite as well balanced as Mr. Stephen's. In the case of Ausonio Franchi it is rationalism that died from being “ found out.” His faith has revived again; and the extraordinary logical keenness and philosophical depth shown in the three volumes of his *Ultima Critica* is evidence beyond exception that his reason is living also. In the seventh book of *Paradise Lost*, Milton describes the planets as going to the sun, each for its “ small peculiar ” of light. Some men seem to be quite satisfied that in the evolution “ struggle ” for a “ peculiar ” of reason around mother nature, they succeeded in running away with so much of it that little or nothing was left for anyone else.

The late M. Renan has, for instance, left the following as a sort of *donatio mortis causa* :—“ The future will not believe in the supernatural, for the supernatural is not true; and all that is not true is condemned to die. Nothing lasts like the truth. This poor truth seems pretty much abandoned, served as it is by a very inconsiderable minority. But be hopeful, Judaism and Christianity will disappear. But the groundwork, *i.e.*, reason and science, rational and experimental, civilisation without charlatans, without revelation, founded on reason and liberty, will go on for ever.” That his last will and testament, thrown into syllogistic form, comes to this:—The supernatural is not true. Now, whatever is not true must die. Therefore, the supernatural must die. If all the logic of rationalists is not so contemptible as that, it is all as rotten at the base, however artistically dressed to catch the witless and the wilful. It is with the rationalist as it is with the socialist. The logic of socialism is ultimately reducible, and is usually reduced, to

this—all equal in the same boat, with “my” will at the helm. The logic of rationalism is analogously reducible to this—free trade for all over the sea of knowledge, with “my” intellect as lighthouse. It is a curious fact, and it is a fact writ large in the history of rationalism, that those who scoff at Christianity, and would dethrone its pontiff, seem each to feel a special personal call to take the cathedra of infallible dogmatism instead. The Pope begins an anathema with a *si quis dixerit*; they begin and end with an “I say.” Christianity says, *ne laudes hominem in vita sua*; they, if men will not during their lifetime patent a cult made up of their name and an *ism*, die despairing, like M. Renan, of the majority in a world that is unworthy of them.

Prince Metternich used to say that most *isms* go by contraries, and rationalism is one of these; it is an abuse of reason. Its ultimate and practical issue is, that everyone should teach everyone else, and pity their stupidity if they cannot or will not learn of him—a kind of metaphysical beargarden. It seems irrational to so exclusively look to one’s own reason for the apprehension of truth as to take for granted that there is no light higher than itself. Since reason is a fact as well as a faculty, it should account to itself for its own origin before constituting itself the final appeal in matters of truth. If the individual intellect is the measure of truth, either truth can be inconsistent with itself, or else it is a mere subjective apprehension. Reason, like every created gift, can be carried to excess. The fact that it is so great a gift, very easily becomes the occasion of misleading us into the deception that it is sufficient for itself, especially in the case of truths of a practical bearing which are likely to irritate our wilfulness. Because it can teach us so much and enlighten us so far, we easily credit it with the finding of truths which originally shone upon it from a higher light. A rationalist is like a man finding the way for himself with a rushlight at mid-day, and ignoring the sun that shines in the heavens. When the sun which has really been lighting his way all day long disappears, his rushlight proves a poor safeguard from the risk of running over morasses and moors after every jack-o’-lantern that glimmers

through the darkness. A man who is so full of natural benevolence, that, in the impulse to give, he forgets to pay what he owes, is not a man of charity. His generosity should be tempered with justice. Reason likewise must be led by revelation; *i.e.*, it should follow revelation whenever it shines or wherever it leads the way; otherwise, like the frog in the fable, it will come to grief in striving after what it cannot reach unaided.

The leaders of the French Revolution told the people that everyone is equal to another; that they should yield to no man, be driven by no man, whilst all the while those who were telling them so were driving them as they willed. The people neglected to notice that dictatorship was cleverly concealed in the very action of the demagogues from whom they received the new gospel of equality. It was only when the strife was over, when the old order had been securely set aside, and they thought of peacefully resting on the blessings which were somehow to spring like mushrooms from the revolution, that they woke up to the fact that those who had levelled down men and things into disorder for the sake of equality, happened, in spite of all the equalizing confusion, to steadily keep at the top. But, once the people perceived the deceit, they levelled the leaders down with a logic more destructive than their own; more terrible, but more true. In the philosophy of the revolution human passion and expediency were the criterion of conduct and the guide of life. The people took it at their word; the guillotine became its sanction, and its apostles themselves were amongst the first to fall. We have here as a social reality a fair parallel to what happens in the individual when brought under the influence of the philosophy which Franchi had now embraced. And it happened so in Franchi. When he wandered away from Christian philosophy, and lost hold of the logic on which Catholic faith is based, he came under that delusion which underlies all the philosophy of Kant. He yielded everything to reason whilst he thought he was talking everything away. He made it absolute dictator in the very act by which he thought he was casting it off its throne as a useless figurehead. Frederick Schlegel rightly

says of it:—"This arbitrary faith, when closely reviewed, turned out to be the old reason which after being solemnly displaced from the front of the philosophical palace was now again slightly altered and disguised, set up behind it as a useful but humble postern."¹ When Kant came to the conclusion that pure reason could prove nothing, he forgot to reflect that it was pure reason told him so ; that it was at its bidding he denied its power of demonstration. But, it fell in turn by the force of its own logic, and the philosopher was left without even an axiom on which to hang a conclusion.

We have seen that Franchi placed mere differences of theological opinion on the same footing with fundamental theological truths, and applied the same criticism to both. Even here we can discern the first glimpse of rationalism. He might have seen that God may provide dogma in certain things, and to a certain extent, as a landmark to direct us, leaving us to our own reason for the rest. But, as he himself explains, he was already blind to every truth that did not appear to harmonize with his political prejudices. Political ends had taken a fast hold of him, and political plans to reach them disposed him to listen to no teaching that would thwart or delay them. The supernatural had evidently taken a second place ; already his faith was slipping fast away although he knew it not. In fact, strange as it may seem, it was the sake of saving his faith in the midst of scholastic disputes, that made him fly to German philosophy as to a harbour of security. His process of thought seems to have run thus:—I cannot prove the fundamental truths of Christianity in the midst of so many conflicting systems, yet my conscience constrains me to retain them. His mind was in a state of transition. He little reflected how far he had been carried away from Christian principles when he set about shaping his faith according to the measure of political ideas. He did not knowingly reject the gift of faith. As in all such cases, his disposition had been undergoing a gradual change such

¹ *Philosophy of Life*, Lecture I.

as never gives the sufferer a shock. He thought apace unconscious of his danger, and only woke up to find that his faith was gone.

What first drew him to the criticism of Kant was, that it did not deny doctrines as not true, but as not philosophical. If pure reason (*verstand*) rejected them as being impossible of demonstration, practical reason (*vernunft*), or, as Franchi would prefer to call it, “sentimento spontaneo,” retained them as psychologically and morally rooted in the mind and heart. Hence, if he denied the philosophical value of those doctrines, it was not to destroy, but to save their real and moral value. The object of his criticism was not, therefore, whether certain doctrines are true or false in themselves, but rather whether the proofs usually given to sustain them are equal to their purpose. He felt that those truths lost rather than gained by such defence; and he said:—*non tali auxilio!* If they are to be saved, he thought, they must be freed from the contradictory and shifting systems of the old philosophy, and firmly fixed instead, on the unchanging intuition of the human conscience. His persuasion at this time seems to have been not unlike that which has been set by Lord Tennyson in that curious couplet in *In Memoriam* :

“There is more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds.”

The absolute reality of God, the contingent reality of the world, the spiritual reality of the soul, become unsolvable, he said, when taken as a purely rational thesis, to be accepted only in so far as they are proved; but when they are taken as dictates of common sense, as inborn facts of the human mind, they are evident truths. Hence, he took as his motto words which Kant wrote in the Introduction to his *Critique of Pure Reason* : “*Das wissen aufheben um zum glauben platz zu bekommen* ;” which may be loosely rendered in English—Let metaphysics give way to faith! Did his new method realize the results he had hoped for? Quite the opposite. After thirty-seven years of incessant study of philosophy, and especially of its history, and with a wider experience of life, he says:—“Instead of confirming the

natural truth of the theses, by rejecting the rational value of their proofs, it brought me to reject, as false, both the one and the other. Instead of eliminating science to exalt faith, it ended by blotting out both. It did not raise religious sentiment from the tomb of metaphysical theories, but it buried it beneath them. It can make infidels, but not one believer." And how could it be otherwise? To affirm a truth, whilst denying the value of its proof, is to affirm and deny the same thing at once. Certainty is necessary for the affirmation of a truth; and certainty itself is the outcome of motives which determine assent. But the proofs of a truth are but the motives which beget its certainty, and which move the reason to assent. Therefore, to deny the value of a proof is to take away the right to affirm. That is the case even in what are called primitive truths. When Aristotle undertook to establish the principle of contradiction he did not make it the object of formal demonstration; but he proved it nevertheless. Formal demonstration is for the sake of evidence; the need of it is a mark of our intellectual weakness. If a truth is immediately evident it does not admit formal demonstration, because it does not want it. In its case the impossibility of proof means the impossibility of denial. To attempt formal demonstration of primary truths, would be like lighting a candle to see an object abroad in the daytime. They contain their own evidence.

But it is not so with such truths as the contingent reality of the world, and the spiritual reality of the soul. They are not self-evident: in their case either formal demonstration, or some other evidence, must be the condition of assent. Centuries before Kant's time, Christian philosophers, from Gilbert de la Porée to Scotus and Occam, discussed the relation of reason to those questions, and St. Thomas Aquinas¹ cleared up the difficulty by establishing the distinction between philosophical and theological theism. But, whilst Kant would admit nothing supernatural or super-rational, would make reason the measure of

¹ *Summa Theolog.*, i., *quaest.* i., *art.* 7; *Summa Philosoph.*, lib. i., *art.* 3.

everything, he tried to build a baseless faith as a bulwark against materialism. He let practical reason (*vernunft*) suppose to be true what pure reason (*verstand*) knows to be false. As he himself put it:—The reason knows that God, the world, the soul, are not things *in se*, but mere ideas—God, a theological idea; the world, a cosmological idea; the soul, a psychological idea: but it must consider them, nevertheless, as objective realities, just as in optics we make use of imaginary foci of mirrors and lenses, which we know do not exist outside our conception of them. The inconsistency of Kant's criticism is in this, that the same reason, call it pure or practical, postulates the truth of theses the proofs of which it rejects as false. The consistency of Christian philosophy is in this, that having established, by historical criticism, the fact of revelation, it has one system of criticism for the truths of metaphysics, and another for those truths which are super-rational and revealed. When, therefore, it is sought to subject these latter to the conditions of mere science, and to reject them as philosophically false, because they will not fit, the reply which Franchi suggests is curt and decisive—*concedo totum* and *nego suppositum*. It is true that they are not philosophical, but it is false that they ought to be so; and that makes all the difference. This does not at all mean that religious theism is intolerant of reason, or that it claims exemption from all criticism, as if faith were a mere blind assent without any rational foundation or motive of credibility. Revealed truths have their own proper criticism; and that is twofold; historical criticism, which is concerned with the fact of revelation, the examination of documents, and evidences of all kinds, which go to prove that God has spoken; and theological criticism, which is concerned with the harmony between revelation and reason.

I fear I have unduly overdrawn on the space allowed me. I have not touched at all the second or third volumes, nor other lessons contained in the author's career, such as the present state of philosophy, literature, and morals in Italy. In what I have written I have tried to weave into the narrative the warping influence which a misguided

patriotism had upon him; his going to Kantism for the panacea he dreamed of, the disillusion begotten of national disaster and moral ruin, and the motive of his final return from Königsberg to Rome. The lesson of such a life cannot but bring consolation to the good, and a warning to the wayward and those who are venturous of faith. It stirs one's pity to think of a man, arrived at that time of life, when one has to

“Calare le vele, e raccogliere le sarte,”

turn back on the mistakes of a lifetime for the purpose of undoing them. His own feeling he tells us in these pathetic words:—“It is a bitter remorse, but a salutary one. It is a repentance that grieves, but consoles; and I thank and bless, without ceasing, Him whom St. Paul has so well glorified with the most sweet name of *Pater misericordiarum et Deus totius consolationis.*”

M. O'RiORDAN.

VIVISECTION AND THEOLOGY

“There is in the whole world no cruelty more cruel than ignorance, and it is this cruel ignorance which we, by experiment, seek to dispel.”—(Sir WILLIAM GUIL.)

“The results of experiments on living animals have been of *inestimable service* to man, and to the lower animals, and the continuance and extension of such investigations is *essential* to the progress of knowledge, the relief of suffering, and the saving of life.”—(The recorded opinion of the General Meeting of the British Medical Association, 1892.)

“The law of sacrifice is the law of life, which no one can escape; and, provided it is conducted with reverence, of necessity, and under supervision, I regard *experimental research* not as a mere privilege, but as a moral duty.”—(Sir ANDREW CLARKE.)

“Experiments on living animals are as necessary to the further progress of medical science and the healing art, as are experiments in test-tubes to the advancement of chemistry, theoretical and applied.”—(Sir JAMES CRICHTON BROWNE.)

GOD alone is the alpha and omega, the beginning and the end of all things (Apoc. i. 8). He neither did nor could propose to Himself any supreme end in creating, but His own honour and glory. “The Lord hath made all things for Himself, the wicked also for the evil day” (Prov. xvi. 4.) Although God created whatever exists for His own glory,

yet He ordered all things "in measure and number and weight" (Wisd. xi. 21), and so disposed them, that the lower subserves the higher,¹ according to a regular and beautiful plan, in suchwise that the entire visible creation is linked together like a chain, culminating at last in man himself, whom God has set over all His works, and whose intellect and free will enable him, in obedience to the divine command, to rule over irrational nature.

Thus, the rude inorganic earth, the structureless rock and soil, and water and air, sustain, and indeed were made for the express purpose of sustaining, every form of vegetable life, from the most delicate filament of microscopic moss and lichen, invisible to the naked eye, to the vast primeval forests spreading over entire continents. The whole vegetable world, in its turn, is so ordered by the wisdom of God, as to support, nourish, shelter, and protect every variety of sentient being, from the mouse to the mammoth, and from the tiniest creeping or swimming animalcule to the most gigantic sea or land monster that the world contains. Finally, the whole earth,² organic and inorganic; vegetable and animal, is made for the rational use and benefit of man. "Thou hast made him a little less than the angels; thou hast crowned him with glory and honour, and hast set him over the works of Thy hands. Thou hast subjected all things under his feet, all sheep and oxen; moreover, also the beasts of the fields, the birds of the air, and the fishes of the sea, that pass through the paths of the sea" (Ps. viii. 8, 9).

Though all things were made for man, yet not all administer to his needs in the same way, or in the same degree. Some creatures serve him *directly*, as the air he

¹ "Creaturæ ignobiliores sunt propter nobiliores; sicut creaturæ quæ sunt infra hominem, sunt propter hominem. . . Uterius, autem, totum universum cum singulis suis partibus ordinatur in Deum, sicut in finem." (Pp. q. lxv., a. ii., ad c. *Sum.*; S. Thomas, p. 425, vol. i.)

² Some have objected that the whole earth cannot have been made for man, because he cannot utilize and put into requisition every part of it. But, as well say that a high-road is not made for man, because his feet do not cover every inch of its surface; or that a school feast is not made for the children, because they cannot eat *all* the cakes, nor drink *all* the tea and lemonade.

breathes ; the stones composing the walls of the house he dwells in, and protecting him from the wind and rain ; the cattle and sheep he feeds upon ; and the horse and mule that carry his burdens, and share his fatigues. Other creatures serve him *indirectly*, by serving those that serve him ; as the grass that nourishes his sheep and cattle ; or the deep sea that provides a home for the fish that furnish him with food, or that in other ways supply his wants. The umbrageous forests, where no human foot had ever trod ; which grew through unheeded centuries before man's creation, were, nevertheless, destined to serve him in due time. Their gradual growth and slow decay, repeated again and again, through unmeasured ages, have formed the vast mines of precious fuel, the great coal measures, from which we now extract material for our fires. Nor is this dominion of man over all the visible world around him, a usurpation. On the contrary, it is at God's express command that he lords it over the whole earth.

"Fill the earth," was the command of the Supreme and indisputable Lord of all things, "and *subdue* it, and *rule over* the fishes of the sea, and the fowls of the air, and *all living creatures* that move upon the earth" (Gen. i. 28). There is no disputing the force or meaning of this passage. Nor was this command intended to apply to man merely in his state of innocence ;¹ for, speaking somewhat later to Noe and his sons, when the Deluge had destroyed the rest of the human race, He repeats the command in a still more emphatic manner : "Let the fear and dread of you," spoke the Infinite God, "be upon all the beasts of the earth, and upon all the fowls of the air, and all that move upon the earth. *All the fishes of the sea are delivered into your hand. And everything that moveth and liveth shall be meat for you*" (Gen. ix. 2, 3). That God has absolute dominion over all the works of His hands, is as certain as that God exists.

¹ "Post peccatum mansit in homine integrum dominium in animalia quoad jus et potestatem ; convenit enim homini eo ipso quod est animal *ratione* praeditum ; sed quoad usum magna ex parte diminutum est, cum et paucis illud imponere possit et non nisi cum labore et difficultate." (1^a. q. xvi., a. i., ad. 4^{um}, St. Thomas.)

But it is equally certain from the above texts, not only that He might, but that He actually did, give man a right and an authority over every irrational creature that is to be found in this world. This is, of course, the simple truth, to which the inspired writer refers in Psalm cxiii. 16: "The heaven of heaven is the Lord's, but *the earth He has given to the children of men.*" The "earth" includes not merely the lifeless material that constitutes its chief bulk, but all that it contains, fruits, vegetables, beasts, birds, fish, insects, &c. It is put, in a word, in antithesis, and contrasted with the "heaven of heaven," which certainly does not mean the mere vacant place, irrespective of its celestial inhabitants. St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians (iii. 22), distinctly repeats and adds emphasis to the same truth, when he writes:—"All things are yours." St. Thomas thus interprets these words: "Id est, vestræ utilitati deservientia." In the lesson which he draws from this passage we find a further confirmation of this doctrine: "Sicut homo non gloriatur de rebus sibi subjectis, ita et vos gloriari non debetis de rebus hujus mundi, *quæ omnia sunt vobis data a Deo, secundum illud (Ps. viii.) 'omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus.'*"

That there may be no mistake as to the teaching of St. Thomas upon this point, we will quote the *Summa* itself. There it is laid down:—"Creaturis irrationalibus bonum vel malum dicitur contingere in ordine ad creaturam rationalem, *propter quam sunt.* Ordinantur ad eam multipliciter; uno quidem modo per modum subventionis, in quantum scilicet ex creaturis irrationalibus subvenitur humanæ necessitati," &c. (2. 2. q. lxxvi., a 2, ad c). He here states that the irrational creatures are made on account of man ("propter quam sunt;" *i.e.* , *for whose sake they exist*), and that they are intended to serve him in various ways.¹

¹ "The well-known Jesuit theologian, Lessius, makes an interesting observation in this connection:—"Homo naturaliter est dominus omnium rerum inferiorum; ergo potest eas in suum usum convertere. Confirmatur; quia non potest homo ali elementis simplicibus, ut terra, aqua, etc., ergo compositis, qualia sunt animalia et plantæ, quæ sine anima non possunt conservari, sed mox corrumpuntur: unde *anima est ipsis data instar salis conservantis a putredine* (ut recte dixit Philo) *ut homo possit illis uti, cum liberit.*"—(*De Jure*, etc., l. 2, ch. ix.)

When, therefore, man makes use of creatures, and exercises the dominion over them that God has given him, he is acting justly, honestly, and no one can find fault with him for so doing. Man may, consequently, rightly consult his own convenience and advantage rather than the well-being and comfort of the lower animals, over whom God Himself has set him. We may select an illustration of this fact from the inspired word of God. Turning to the book of Tobias, we find his God-appointed guide and instructor, who was no mere man, but the glorious Archangel Raphael, actually giving him an object-lesson in this very doctrine.

While standing with his feet in the river Tigris, the youth, Tobias, beheld a large fish approaching him, upon which he cried out to the Archangel, "Sir, he cometh upon me." His heavenly guide replied: "Take him by the gill, and draw him to thee. And when he had done so, he stretched him out upon the land, and he began to pant before his feet." Such is the Scriptural narrative. Here then we have a creature violently withdrawn by the gill, from his natural element, and panting on the ground in an agony of suffocation. And what says the Angel? Does he call it cruelty, and bid his pupil cast the suffering beast back into his native stream? Quite the contrary. "The angel said to him: Take out the entrails of this fish, and lay up his heart, and his gall and his liver for thee: for these are necessary for useful medicines" (Tob. vi. 5). In other words, the beast had to endure a very appreciable degree of suffering, and to surrender not merely his liberty, but even his life for the mere temporal advantage of man. The great principle underlying the above teaching of Scripture and theology may be thus formulated. God has given man dominion over the whole irrational creation. Therefore, in enforcing his rights he may, in so far as it is necessary, allow beasts to suffer pain and inconvenience. The preceding remarks refer, of course, to man's relations towards irrational though sensitive creatures in general. The special purpose of this paper, however, is to consider the much-debated question of

vivisection,¹ about which a vast deal of nonsense is written, and a vast deal of unnecessary acrimony and abuse expended.

We must begin, however, by answering a very common and specious objection. How is it possible that any verdict upon the point can be gathered—it is objected—from the great theologians, considering that vivisection is a thing of modern date, and could never have come under their notice, nor have commanded their attention. Now, as a matter of fact, vivisection, as it has been pointed out even by a strong antivivisectionist, “has been practised since the dawn of history,¹ and flourished extensively all through the Middle Ages.” This at once disposes of the objection. But, since we are quite ready to allow that it was never practised in the precise manner, nor on the same scale as obtains at the present day, we will, for the sake of argument, allow the objection to remain, and give our answer.

Vivisection, as such, is evidently nothing more than a mode of action. It can neither create nor can it evolve new principles of morality, for the simple reason that principles are eternal and rooted in the very nature of things. At most, vivisection can but present itself as a new case which falls under the application of moral principles already in existence. Now, all these principles have met with a full and exhaustive treatment at the hands of the schoolmen. Of course, it is as clear as noonday, that the ancient theologians could not have anticipated modern progress in *medicine* by treating explicitly of the actual case of vivisection, any more than

¹ Vivisection strictly includes only cutting operations; but the term is extended to any physiological experimentation upon living animals, as compression of parts by ligatures, subjection of the creature to special conditions of atmospheric pressure, temperature, and food, exhibition of poisons or other drugs, inoculation of disease, &c.—Vide *Century Dictionary*, in six huge volumes.

² A toutes les époques, on a pratiqué des vivisections. On raconte que les rois de Perse livraient les condamnés à mort aux médecins, afin qu'ils fissent sur eux des vivisections utiles à la médecine. Selon Galien, Attale III. Philométor, qui régna 137 ans av. J. C. à Pergame, expérimentait les poisons et les contre-poisons sur des criminels condamnés à mort . . . On peut considérer Galien comme le fondateur des vivisections sur les animaux.—Vide Pierre Larousse. Tome 15.

they could have anticipated the results of modern progress in *acoustics*, by discussing the validity of a confession heard, or of an absolution conferred, through the telephone. Such applications are, as they would have termed it *in infima specie*; and their solution, and that of others as well, is to be sought and found in the ordinary and acknowledged determining principles of which the schoolmen have bequeathed us a most searching and careful statement. It would, indeed, be difficult to discover any vital consideration which enters into the question of vivisection, of which the principles of solution are not to be found in the *Summa* of the great St. Thomas, either where he treats of the vice of cruelty, or where he speaks of animals and their place and use in the economy of creation.

The objection founded upon the modernness of the practice of vivisection—even supposing it to be quite modern, which we have seen it is not—is utterly baseless and imaginary. One might as well argue, that a newly-discovered metal would not fall under the ordinary rules of gravitation, as that a new case of conscience could not be disposed of by an application of the ordinary principles of morality.

In vivisection man inflicts a certain amount of pain upon the beasts, not indeed for the sake of causing pain, which *ex hypothesi* he regrets, but solely for the sake of some advantage or some gain to himself or to his fellow-man. Now the question arises—Is this lawful or not? Here, I take it, lies the whole kernel of the matter, so we must put the point as clearly as we can, and as logically. Thus, of two things, one. Either man may inflict pain upon beasts merely for his own advantage and profit, or he may not. To cause such an amount of pain as is unavoidable for the obtaining of the end he has in view, must be either a sin or not a sin. There is no middle term; it must necessarily be one or the other. Take the first alternative. Say it is a sin. Very well. Then it necessarily follows that to drive a horse in a cab; or to imprison a thrush in a cage; or to hunt the fox or the hare; or to put a worm on a fish-hook; or to add a butterfly to a collection, and thousands of similar common practices are all actual sins. And if sins, then not to be committed

for any consideration whatsoever—no! Not even to save a thousand worlds, could one dig one's spurs into a horse's flanks, or chain up a dog in one's back yard, or spit a worm upon a hook.

But let us assume the other, and only remaining alternative, and grant that none of the foregoing practices are sins. What then? To concede so much is to evacuate one's position altogether. It is to establish the important and far-reaching principle that beasts may be made to suffer, at least in so far as it may be necessary or conducive to the benefit of man, for whose use and rational service they have been made; or, as St. Thomas expresses it, "propter quam sunt."¹

Now, observe the *degree* of suffering inflicted does not enter into the essence of the matter at all. Whether the pain be greater or less cannot affect the principle one jot. The theological axiom, "magis et minus non variant speciem," is as true and as universally admitted among theologians as the geometrical axiom, "the part can never equal the whole," is among mathematicians. Thus the whole question at once reduces itself to a question of adjustment and proportion. For the sake of a trifling gain, but a moderate degree of pain may reasonably be inflicted. But, as the importance of the end to be obtained increases, so may the amount of pain that is inflicted increase.

Thus, merely for the pleasure and recreation of a spin through the open country, I may harness my horse, and compel him *nolens volens* to drag my carriage over hill and dale, and to turn now to the right, and now to the left, as fancy may suggest. If, however, I am anxious to catch a train, and can do so only by putting spurs to my

¹ Consult also:—"Omnia subjecisti sub pedibus ejus, scilicet hominis. Est homini rerum exteriorum aliqua naturalis possessio, quantum ad usum, quo ipsis secundum rationem et voluntatem uti potest ad suum commodum et utilitatem. . . . Hoc autem naturale dominium super coeteras creaturas, quod competit homini secundum rationem, in qua imago Dei consistit, manifestatur in ipsa hominis creatione (Gen. i. 26), ubi dicitur: Faciamus hominem ad imaginem et similitudinem nostram; et præsit piscibus maris, &c. (2^a 2^o q. lxxvi., a. 1., ad. c., p. 386.)" N.B.—Dominium, apud jurisconsultos definitur, jus vel facultas re propria utendi ad quemlibet usum lege permissum, idque in commodum proprium.

beast, and by pressing him, somewhat beyond his accustomed pace, there is a sufficient motive to justify my conduct. But if I am travelling among some hostile tribe of savages, and I find myself so situated that escape will be impossible unless I use much greater violence, and so urge on my mettlesome steed that he does himself serious damage, and finally falls exhausted and dying by my camp fire, I am still guilty of no sin whatever. For I may most justly save my own life at the sacrifice of my horse's, even though its death be accompanied with the greatest agony.

Cardinal Newman, with his customary accuracy, states the relation between man and beast thus:—

“You know *we have no duties towards the brute creation*; there is no relation of justice between them and us. Of course, we are bound not to treat them ill, for cruelty is an offence against that holy law which our Maker has written on our hearts, and it is displeasing to Him. But they can claim nothing at our hand; into our hands they are *absolutely* delivered. We may use them, we may destroy them at our pleasure, not our wanton pleasure, but still for our own ends, for our own benefit and satisfaction, *provided that we can give a rational account of what we do.*”¹

Such is the clear exposition of the doctrine by, perhaps, the profoundest and greatest thinker of the present century.

Is man then allowed to abuse and maltreat the dumb beasts *just as he pleases*? May he inflict the most hideous torture for any purpose, however trivial and insignificant? Most certainly not. And this brings us face to face with another important principle—a principle which corrects and controls and moderates the first, and keeps it within due bounds. This second principle is that “Man, being a rational creature, must act in a rational manner.” God alone is the absolute Master and Lord of the irrational creation, and though He has given man dominion over every living thing, He requires that this dominion should be exercised in accordance with the rational nature which man possesses, and which should hold all his lower and animal appetites in

¹Vide *Omnipotence in Bonds*, sermon preached before the Catholic University of Dublin.

subjection. Man has no right to act in an arbitrary and irresponsible way towards any creature whatsoever, not even towards himself. ("You are not your own," 1 Cor. vi. 19.) Hence, the authority over the beasts, communicated to him by God, though a very real authority—must be exercised in a reasonable manner. Reason, not passion, not cruelty, not lust, must guide his actions, and superintend his conduct. Hence St. Thomas teaches: "Ratio est primum principium omnium actuum humanorum, et omnia alia principia eorum obediunt rationi, sed diversimode."¹

Who orders his life and action according to sound reason, acts justly, uprightly, and in a virtuous manner, as all theologians agree. Thus, to select one among many, the Theologia Wirceburgensis, lays down the following proposition:—

"Quicumque deliberate agit, vel cognoscit id, quod hic et nunc facit, esse rectae rationi conforme, et sic elicit actum *moraliter bonum*: vel cognoscit esse rectae rationi difforme, et sic elicit actum *moraliter malum*: vel cognoscit, illud nec esse positive conforme vel difforme, *i. e.*, nec sibi esse praeceptum, nec prohibitum, sed permissum: et tunc agens *debet ulterius habere finem extrinsecum*, si ergo pro fine habeat honestum, actus erit bonus, etc."²

Hence it follows that before utilizing the beasts in any way that can cause them pain, reason must be consulted. Reason must assign the conditions and the degree of pain permissible under different circumstances. Now reason demands three conditions. Firstly, that there be a *motive*; secondly, that there be a *just* motive; and thirdly, that there be some *proportion* between the end to be gained and the means employed in reaching that end; thus, *e.g.*, in the matter of vivisection, the amount of suffering inflicted must bear some relation to the result to be obtained.

If important results are obtained by certain experiments on rabbits, cats, dogs, and other beasts, then such experiments are certainly not in themselves contrary to the law of God. Such experiments should, of course, be conducted with

¹ Consult 1. 2, q. 58, 2. o.; et q. 90, 2 c.; et 100, 1 c.; et q. 102, 1 ad 3.

² *De Actibus Humanis*, cap. iii., artic. 2.

all the gentleness and humanity that is possible ; anæsthetics should be used where they are applicable ; and no useless or unnecessary pain is to be tolerated. But under such conditions, vivisection has always been, and is, tolerated by the Church.

We must here point out that it is no part of the Church's duty to decide whether the practice of vivisection is necessary for the advance of medicine or not. She is not called upon to decide the medical disputes of medical men. How far vivisection has aided and helped on medical science ; how far it has enabled doctors and physicians to diminish the sufferings and agonies of thousands of human beings, and to reduce the violence of disease, and the paroxysms of fever all over the world, is an extremely interesting question, but a question wholly and entirely outside the province of theology as such. These are questions, not of morality, but of fact ; they concern past and contemporary history, not the sacred science. We may frankly admit that it is a vexed question, and one which is strongly debated. Though we are bound to confess that the overwhelming weight of evidence is in favour of the vivisectionists.

Some men declare that vivisection is utterly useless, and calculated to do more harm than good. But the great and leading physicians, the men of high position and authority (in spite of the obloquy to which the declaration exposes them), are most clear and decisive in asserting its immense use and advantages. In a letter to the *London Times*, for instance, signed by some of the most eminent members of the profession, occurs the following declaration :—

“ It is hardly possible for us to name any progress of importance in medicine, surgery, or midwifery, which has not been due to, or promoted by this method of inquiry.

“ (Sir) ANDREW CLARK.

“ (Sir) JAMES PAGET.

“ (Dr.) SAMUEL WILKS.

“ (Sir) GEORGE HUMPHREY.”

Or take the resolution unanimously passed in the General Assembly of the International Medical Congress in London, in 1881, under the presidency of Sir James Paget, when the

leaders of the profession in this and all civilized countries were assembled. The resolution runs as follows:—

“This Congress records its conviction that experiments on living animals have proved of the *utmost service to medicine in the past, and are indispensable to its future progress*. Accordingly, while strongly deprecating the infliction of unnecessary pain, it is of opinion, alike *in the interests of man and of animals*, that it is not desirable to restrict competent persons in the performance of such experiments.”

Again, H. Taine assures us that, “*les vivisections ont créé presque toutes la physiologie du système nerveux.*” “*Sans cela (i.e., vivisection) il n’y a ni physiologie ni vraie médecine possibles.*” And another authority says: “*Renoncer aux vivisections serait condamner la physiologie à un éternel statu quo.*” These are but specimens of the judgments of great authorities. We might fill a volume with others in the same sense.

Although the evidence in favour of the immense utility of vivisection seems to us simply overwhelming, yet, as has been already observed, this is not a point about which the Church is concerned in the slightest degree. So far as her position goes, it may or may not be useful. The part of the theologian is to define and to declare what is, and what is not, lawful, under each hypothesis. As to which hypothesis is the right one, and which the wrong, it is not her place to decide. To expect her to settle such matters of pure fact, is like expecting her to declare, not only that one man may not poison another, but to determine also what drugs are, and what are not, poisonous. If little or no good comes of it, it is, of course, wrong; for to inflict pain for no purpose, or for a wholly inadequate purpose, is sheer cruelty,¹ which is always wrong. If, however, very substantial good does come of it; if, as the great physician, the late Sir Andrew Clarke, writes, “it is hardly possible to name *any* progress of importance in medicine, surgery, or midwifery, which has not been due to or promoted by vivisection;” then, indeed, it is perfectly lawful,

¹ Lessius writes:—“*Abstinendum a crudelitate ne sine causa doloribus conficiantur.*”—*De Justitia*, etc., l. 2, c. ix., Dub. 1.

and may be practised with a safe conscience, so long as the conditions are observed, which have been pointed out above, and so long as no needless suffering is intentionally inflicted.

Some of the opinions expressed upon this subject are not only very singular, but also very silly. Thus men who freely indulge in such pastimes as hunting, shooting, and fishing without the smallest qualms of conscience, are, or pretend to be, horror-stricken at the very idea of vivisection; though if there be any choice in the matter, it must surely be in favour of science over sport. Many have no scruple in running down a hare and harassing it with hounds, until, after an hour or more, perhaps, the poor panting creature, trembling in every limb, and almost beside itself with terror, yields itself at last to the mercy of the dogs. In this case they allow an unfortunate beast to be tortured for hours by gentlemen and ladies in scarlet, merely for sport and idle pastime, which can lead to no practical result, while they turn up the whites of their eyes in virtuous indignation because the same animal is called upon to suffer—though it may be not half as long nor half as severely—for the sake of some really important and scientific end.

It is difficult, indeed, to understand the intellectual condition of such men; or to explain how they can maintain that it is right for the fisherman to torture an animal with a fish-hook while angling, but quite wrong for a doctor to torture it with a dissecting-knife while studying. To us, at least, to be cut with a sharp scalpel by the skilful hands of a conscientious physician for some really valuable end, would be far preferable to having a nasty steel hook fast locked in the extremity of one's throat, and being tugged and tugged about by a man pulling away at the other end by a string, which he now looses, and now tightens, according as the struggles grow more or less intense. Especially, when one remembers that after some hours of this treatment one must expect to be hauled in, utterly exhausted and worn out, to die panting and gasping on the bank.

Or, again, it is absurd to say that it is *just* to vivisect a horse with whip and spur, and to goad it on until it drops in an agony of exhaustion, on the mere chance of thereby

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Notice to Managers of National Schools.

At the end of the Session, early in July, a large number of trained students, who have completed a two years' course of training, will be ready to enter upon their duties as teachers. All these students will hold Second Class Certificates.

Managers who have vacancies in their schools, and who desire to obtain the services of trained teachers, either as Principals or Assistants, are requested to communicate during the present month with the Principal.

Communications should be accompanied with information as to the average attendance in the school and the average amount of school fees and results fees. It should also be mentioned whether there is a residence attached

1st June, 1894.

bringing succour to a drowning man—which no reasonable person would deny—and yet to say, in the same breath, that it is *unjust* to vivisect a rat or a rabbit, even though the result were to prolong the lives of thousands of our fellow-creatures? In a word, to condemn vivisection when *properly* performed by competent and humane men (which is the only form of vivisection we are contemplating), is hopelessly illogical, unless all sport and pain-giving pastimes be condemned likewise. If one is wrong, the other is wrong; if the former is to be condemned, so must the latter, and far more strongly, and far more vehemently, since the latter has not even the important results that are claimed, and claimed with much show of reason, for the first.

“Which [a writer in the *British Medical Journal* asks very pertinently] is the greater cruelty: to infect a herd of mice, to imprison thousands of rabbits for long hours with broken limbs in steel-jawed gins, to geld a herd of horses or of sheep, or to perform a physiological experiment in the laboratory *after giving proof that the object is one important to knowledge, and likely to benefit mankind?* Nay, the pain and suffering inflicted in any one county in this way is probably greater in a day than that inflicted in the whole physiological laboratories of Great Britain in a year. Moreover, in the one case anaesthetics are never administered; in the other, they are so in most cases, and if they are not so administered, a special declaration and a special licence is required.”

If we must not vivisect, then neither must we poison mice, nor entrap rats, nor geld cattle, nor perform any other action which involves suffering to bird or beast—which is a perfectly legitimate *reductio ad absurdum*. Q. E. D. Perhaps it will help us to realize the whole bearing of the question more clearly, if we state some among the common objections we have actually heard raised against the ordinary teaching of theology.

Objection No. 1. If scientific discovery, and the advance of medical knowledge can justify the infliction of pain on irrational animals, the same motives should justify the infliction of pain upon human beings. Even far more so, since the human subject provides a far more perfect object-lesson. Why not, therefore, vivisect our criminals instead of the inoffensive and sinless beasts?

Answer. There is no parallel. The beasts have been created for the use and benefit of man ; but there is no evidence to show that one set of men has been created for the use and benefit of another set, in the sense in which these words are applied to beasts : nor can it be proved that God has given one set of men that dominion over any other set of men, which He has undoubtedly given to all men over the beasts of the field. Besides, if, because you can vivisect a rabbit, you are therefore justified in vivisecting a man ; then it would also follow that, because you can kill a rabbit for food, you are also justified in killing a man for food, which is absurd.

Objection No. 2. To cut, or experiment upon, living and sensitive animals is cruel. Cruelty is a sin. But no advantage or gain, or advance in medical knowledge or surgical skill, can justify the commission of sin. Evil cannot be done that good may come of it. Therefore nothing can justify the painful experiments made upon living animals.

Answer. Now this very silly and utterly fallacious argument has been urged again and again, and is constantly cropping up in the papers, to the no small amusement of the intelligent reader. The answer is plain enough. The kind but simple soul that urges the objection is unconsciously begging the whole question. That "cruelty" is a sin, we most readily admit. Nay, more : we affirm, without any "if" or "but," that "cruelty" is always wrong ; and because always wrong nothing can ever justify it ; no conditions nor circumstances can make cruelty—while it really is cruelty—right or allowable. And this cannot be otherwise, because "cruelty" is "*malum in se.*" Where, however, the objector runs off the straight lines of reason, is where he attaches an altogether false meaning to the word. Is the mere infliction of pain, "cruelty"? No. Otherwise the force of gravity is cruel when it drags down the avalanche and smothers a village in a mountain of ice and snow : and the wind is cruel when it drives the battered barque against the precipitous cliff, and wrecks crew and passengers without remorse. Is it even "cruelty"—(a) to inflict pain and great pain, (b) on a perfectly innocent person ; and to do so (c) knowingly and deliberately? No. Certainly not ; otherwise the dentist

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The Rev. John Molyneux, P.P., says:—"Your remedy to many has proved a *certain and permanent* cure. In one case the effect was *simply marvellous*."

The Rev. W. Harpur (Methodist Minister), Arklow, Ireland:—"The young man had been for a considerable time under the treatment of a skilful Doctor without any good result. Since he began the 'Remedy' he has not had a single attack, his appetite improved, his strength increased, and he is now full of health and vigour. From what I have seen of it, it is indeed a wonderful Remedy."

The Ven. Archdeacon O'Sullivan, P.P., says:—"The girl got no return of the Epileptic Fits since she began to use your medicine, though previously she got them two and three times a week, for twenty years."

The Rev. J. Vance, M.A., Rector of Newcastle, Canon of Limerick Cathedral:—"Your Epileptic patient suffered from Fits for eight years. Since he began to use your Remedy he has not had a single attack. He considers himself completely cured. This should be widely known, as it deserves to be."

Captain J. Kearney White, Dublin (Secretary to the Scripture Readers' Society for Ireland):—"I have had several opportunities of personally inquiring into the remarkable results of your Remedy for Epileptic Fits. I have seen patients, and learned from their own lips the complete and wonderful cures that your Remedy has effected. May God bless you in your good work. You have already brought happiness to several homes, which have come within my own personal knowledge."

Captain Verschoyle, Castle Troy, Limerick:—"A man had long been given up by his medical advisers as incurable, and had been suffering for fifteen years, and often fell in the street and was almost reduced to beggary by the disease. As soon as he began to take your Remedy for Epilepsy the fits ceased and after having taken it for the appointed course, he has been *completely* cured."

The Rev. Ing'is G. Monckton, Coven Vicarage, Wolverhampton:—"The Epileptic patient has had no attacks since he began your medicine. Before he took it his attacks were of an awful character."

Ven. Archdeacon Bell-Cox says:—"The poor woman taking your Remedy for Epilepsy has been perfectly restored to health."

The Rev. Peter Barrett, P.P. (since deceased), wrote:—"Having suffered fearfully for three years, the patient began to use your bottles. The first week she got three fits, but since then she has not got a fit, and is *now perfectly* cured."

The Rev. Charles H.B. Tottenham, A.B., Kinsale:—"The patient had suffered for ten years. His nerves were completely shattered, and he was altogether in very miserable health. He has never had a Fit since taking the first dose of your Remedy. His nerves are steady, appetite good, and his whole appearance is wonderfully changed for the better."

The Rev. A. M'Ilwaine, Longford:—"The young man to whom I recommended your Remedy for Epilepsy is now quite well, and has had no return of the disease. His friends are very grateful to you as the means, under the divine blessing, of his complete recovery."

John Boyle, Esq. Poor Law Guardian of the Manchester Union:—"The man over fifty years of age has been entirely exempt from any symptoms of Epilepsy since he commenced taking your Remedy. He had for a period of thirty years been afflicted first with 'Petit Mal,' and later with 'Epilepsy' proper."



Rev J. F. Luther, Kilfinan Canon of Limerick Cathedral:—"Your Remedies have been of the most marked and *permanent* use to several under my personal observation."

Rev. J. Elliott, Moira, Ireland. Methodist Minister:—"I have recommended *your Remedy for Fits* in many cases with the *best results*. It is the *greatest Remedy on earth*."

The Rev. J. Boulton, Methodist Minister, Wusford, England:—"I have seen wonderful results follow the regular taking of your Remedy. I shall recommend it wherever I go, and try to persuade those afflicted with Epilepsy to give it a fair trial."

The Rev. Father Curry, P.P., writes:—"I have great pleasure in bearing testimony to the wonderful efficacy of your Remedy for the cure of Epileptic Fits."

Extracts from Opinions of the Press.

THE CHRISTIAN HERALD (London), 3rd November, 1892:—"Mr. Townsend Trench's *great cure* for Epilepsy has now earned a world-wide reputation, and is at the present moment finding its way into the remotest corners of the civilised world."

THE PALL MALL GAZETTE, 26th February, 1892:—"Mr. Trench appears to have wonderful success in the cure of Epilepsy. I have myself seen several, and heard of more, cures he has effected in Epileptic patients, who were pronounced incurable by their medical attendants."

THE IRISH DAILY INDEPENDENT, 14th November, 1892:—"Mr. Trench in his new pamphlet gives abundant proofs of the efficacy of his treatment, and shows that his efforts have generally been crowned with success. He now sends his Remedy to India, Australia, Canada, and America, as well as all over the continent of Europe."

THE FREEMAN'S JOURNAL, 24th September 1892:—"Mr. Townsend Trench's Remedy for Epilepsy seems to be a success, and he would appear to have discovered a valuable remedy for a most serious and terrible disease."

THE DAILY EXPRESS, 19th September, 1891:—"A genuine cure of Epilepsy will be hailed by the whole community as a great blessing, and we are glad to see that an Irishman has stepped forward with what certainly appears to be a genuine cure for that disease, its failure hitherto being almost unknown. Those who suffer from the disease could do no better than consult him, when they will get an honest opinion."

THE IRISH TIMES, Christmas Number, 1892:—"Mr. Trench has now become universally known as a specialist in curing that very distressing and unfortunately prevalent disease, Epilepsy. The numerous testimonials he gives in his pamphlet are not the usual anonymous ones published as from patients, but come from thoroughly independent people, who state they have seen cures effected by his treatment."

THE EVENING HERALD, 28th May, 1892 (Extract from a long interview with a special reporter):—"A *Herald* man has had the fortune to light on a man who not only professes to cure Epilepsy, but who can produce overwhelming testimony in support of his contention. The *Herald* man discovered abundant evidence of the accuracy of Mr. Trench's statement."

THE EVENING MAIL, 28th November, 1892:—"To judge by Mr. Trench's pamphlet, he has certainly discovered a most valuable cure for Epilepsy."

THE ENGLISH CHURCHMAN AND ST. JAMES'S CHRONICLE, 22nd October, 1891:—"Mr. Trench has brought out a cure for Epileptic Fits, which has been most successful."

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL GAZETTE, 12th February, 1892:—"Mr. Trench has secured a deservedly high reputation for successfully combating the terrible scourge of Epilepsy. It is a strange fact that, although entering on ground which has baffled the skill of our ablest men, no well-founded adverse criticism has assailed Mr. Trench's efforts."

THE CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE (Belfast), 21st September, 1887:—"Mr. Trench has a remarkable Remedy for Fits, and we have known a considerable number of persons cured thereby."

THE SOUTHAMPTON TIMES, 7th May, 1892:—"It has fallen to the lot of a distinguished Irishman, Mr. J. Townsend Trench, to discover a Remedy for Epilepsy, which appears to be almost unfailing in its operation. We have carefully examined and made personal inquiries, which have been entirely satisfactory. The great majority of cases yield to his effectual method of treatment."

THE EVENING ECHO, 10th February, 1893:—"Mr. Trench's success is the best proof of his ability and great medical skill."

THE WITNESS (Belfast):—"The most absolute confidence may be reposed in the efficacy of Mr. Trench's medicine."

LAND AND WATER, 4th July, 1891:—"In truth, so numerous and successful have been the cures worked by the Remedy, that medical men speak of it in terms of warmth as unqualified as those employed by laymen. Its success has been so pronounced and consistent that we make no apology for thus introducing it to our readers."

THE BULLETIN (Belfast), November, 1890:—"Mr. Trench is possessed of a thoroughly scientific mind, and his researches have resulted in the discovery of some valuable Remedies, which have already attracted considerable attention."

THE IRISH CATHOLIC, 11th February, 1893:—"Mr. Trench seems to have beyond all doubt discovered a cure for Epilepsy, which is effective in the great majority of cases where his instructions are carried out, and we offer Mr. Townsend Trench our hearty congratulation, both as an Irishman and as a great benefactor of suffering humanity."

THE DUBLIN FIGARO, 24th September, and 11th March, 1893:—"Mr. Trench has been before—let us say, the civilised world—as the patentee of a new medicine of his own for Epilepsy which is a veritable panacea in its way. He has made for himself a name, not only throughout Europe but throughout the world, as the leading Epileptic Specialist of the day, and his fame and position he only gained through long study and great perseverance. That he has succeeded, is proved beyond all question. Of him his fellow-countrymen may well be proud."

IRISH SOCIETY, 4th March, 1893:—"That Mr. Trench has discovered a cure for Epilepsy which is effective in the great majority of cases, is a fact that has now been established beyond all reasonable doubt."

THE TYRONE COURIER, 14th February, 1891:—"Trench's Remedy is a marvellous cure."

THE KILKENNY MODERATOR, 28th March, 1891:—"Persons who have been suffering from Fits for several years have been immediately benefited, and by continuance of the Remedy permanently cured."

and surgeon, especially in the days before the discovery of anæsthetics must be regarded as veritable demons of cruelty—instead of ministers of mercy.

Suffer us to explain. Some things are *indifferent in se*, and some things are *evil in se*. We call that *indifferent in se*, or, *in itself*, which may be sinful or not sinful, which may now be good and now be bad, according to circumstances. On the contrary, we call that *evil in itself*, which is, and remains evil, under every circumstance. As an example of the first—take the putting of a man to death. Is that a good or a bad action? It may be either. If we are dealing with an innocent and an innocuous man, it is a great crime—a foul murder. If we are dealing with a guilty man, justly condemned by the rightful authority, then it is not a sin at all, but quite the reverse—an act of laudable justice. The physical act *in se* is indifferent, and takes its moral complexion from the various circumstances attending it. As an example of the second, take blasphemy. Blasphemy is essentially evil. Its sinfulness does not arise from the circumstances attending it. It is *evil in se*. Hence though circumstances may arise which would justify our putting a man to death; no possible circumstances could ever arise under any hypothesis to justify our giving way to blasphemy.

Now it is abundantly clear that the infliction of pain, whether on man or beast, is something which, in this theological sense, is in itself wholly indifferent; which is only another way of saying, that under one set of circumstances it may be wrong, and under another set of circumstances it may be right. In other words, it lends itself to either possibility. To cut off a child's arm or leg is *in itself* neither a good nor a bad action; it is an indifferent one. In fact, we have no business whatever to condemn the act till we have all the circumstances before us. If it is done for the mere pleasure of causing pain, or indulging a cruel disposition—well, it is, of course, a horrible crime. If it is done by some skilled physician, simply because he knows that to save the child's life it is absolutely necessary to amputate the diseased member; it is, indeed, identically the

same act, but so far from being a "horrible crime," it has become an act of mercy and of loving kindness. Hence, those who are in such a violent hurry to condemn the vivisectionists, are allowing their zeal to run away with their reason, and may well be counselled to allay their skipping spirits with some cold drops of modesty.

Hence, if we are asked:—Is it allowable to cut off a dog's leg? Is it allowable to subject a rabbit to special conditions of atmospheric pressure, temperature, and food? Is it allowable to inoculate a guinea-pig with the germs of certain diseases? and so forth—the only answer we can make is, that we cannot decide till we know the circumstances. All these actions are, *in themselves*, *absolutely indifferent*, in the theological sense. As in the case of the decapitation of a man—the lawfulness or unlawfulness depends upon circumstances. If they are done in a spirit of cruelty; or for a wholly inadequate motive; or on some merely frivolous pretext, they are, of course, unlawful; but if they are done by competent and humane hands, under proper and reasonable restrictions, and for the express purpose of benefiting mankind, and administering to man's pressing needs in sickness, disease, and death, then such acts are lawful and good, and indeed to be commended and approved. Indeed, these skilled physicians are but exercising the dominion over the beasts that God has granted them; and enabling the irrational creatures to fulfil the end of their creation the more completely, in thus serving the interests and needs of the great human family. "*Creaturis irrationalibus bonum vel malum dicitur contingere in ordine ad creaturam rationalem, propter quam sunt,*" says the Angel of the Schools.

For sake of the weaker brethren, we may as well declare here, without the slightest fear of contradiction, that theologians permit no "*cruelty*" whatever, under any circumstances. They undoubtedly sanction the infliction of pain. True. But only under circumstances in which, not merely in the language of the Schools, but in the language of all educated persons, it has altogether ceased to be cruelty. The famous *Century Dictionary* (as all other reliable lexicons)

defines cruelty to be "an act inflicting severe pain, and done with *wilfulness* and *malice*." And we really cannot reconstruct the English (and, indeed, every other language also), and readjust the clear and obvious meaning of simple words to suit the fancies of a few extreme anti-vivisectionists. These anti-vivisectionists, who seem to think that a tenderness towards beasts justifies the greatest rancour and intolerance towards their human opponents, will, doubtless, continue to dub all "vivisection" cruelty. Like other persons, when they dislike a thing, they invent bad names for it, and thereby confuse thought, blacken the fairest reputations, misrepresent sound doctrine, and throw dust into the eyes of simple folk. "Give a dog a bad name and hang him," is a proverb upon which they feel they may safely rely. But, as far as calm reason and common sense go, they might just as well call a butcher a "bloody murderer of the innocent," or "an inhuman monster," because he slays oxen and sheep; or a surgeon an "ogre of cruelty," because he amputates limbs.

The following extreme case was proposed a few months ago. Dr. B. has a patient called X. who is dying of a certain disease. He is conscientiously convinced that if he could only discover certain information as to the use and effect of certain remedies he could save the life of X. But he also conscientiously believes—(1) that he can arrive at that knowledge, but (2) only by means of experiments made in vivisection, with all the suffering necessarily involved therein. Ought Dr. B., to save the life of X., and by adding his discovery to medical science, save the lives of countless numbers of others, even though he should have to torture his dog for the purpose? To a theologian, of course to state the case is to answer it. If pain upon a brute cannot be inflicted under such a condition, it can only be because the infliction of pain is an evil *in se*; but if an evil *in se*, then no pain whatever can ever be inflicted for any reason, which is absurd. *Ergo, etc.*

A worthy layman, whose acquaintance with theology seems to have been derived from his inner consciousness, hastens to answer this query in the pages of the *Tablet*. He

first begs the whole question by denying that any such case is possible. He then settles the case in that vigorous off-hand style so indicative of theological ignorance. In the first place he calls it a "a truly pagan argument," whereas it is nothing of the kind; he then goes on to say that, "even if the case were true, my answer from a moral standpoint would still be negative." He contends that those who answer "yes," would do so only in their anguish at losing a darling child, or some one else dear to them, &c. All that the admission proves, he says, is—

"That in such a supreme hour, the anguish of the parent would so outweigh all else, that the Christian would practically become pagan for the nonce. In short, the natural would overpower the moral law. Thus the Tempter would only at most elicit a favourable answer from the supposed Christian by first making a pagan of him; that is, by subjecting him to such a painful alternative as would probably constrain him to follow the dictates of natural passion to the exclusion of all other considerations."

This is ingenious, but somewhat startling, from one who will hunt the fox for hours for mere pastime, and who would probably feel little compunction should he, in shooting, "wing a bird," or wound a hare, and leave it to linger, perhaps for days, riddled with shot, and covered with wounds, with sinews torn and bones broken, till death slowly releases it from its agony. That men are to be found who would poison thousands of rats and mice with strychnine, inflicting great agony, in order to save a little grain in their granaries, and who would yet be so very squeamish about making one beast suffer to save a "darling daughter's" life, is a fair instance of the readiness of some people to swallow the camel, while straining at the gnat. In the foregoing case the only person that can be reproached with cruelty is the man that will stand by, and calmly see his daughter's life ebbing away, and her frame agitated with pain, rather than allow a dog or a rabbit to suffer.

If our divine Lord were living visibly upon earth in these days, even He would scarcely escape prosecution at the hands of the anti-vivisectionists' society. Indeed, the indignation of its more enthusiastic members, were they, in this year of

grace, 1894, to witness the scene described in St. Mark's Gospel, may be more easily imagined than described. "There was near the mountain a great herd of swine feeding. And the (evil) spirits besought Jesus, saying: Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And Jesus immediately gave them leave." Thereby inoculating, as it were, the beasts—the poor dear little innocent piggies—with the devilish virus, in order to save the obsessed human beings. What was the consequence? Well, St. Mark continues: "And the herd of swine, with great violence, were carried headlong into the sea, being about two thousand, and they were stifled in the sea." Not altogether a painless death.

Sometimes the objections of the anti-vivisectionists take a somewhat different form. A most horrible picture of a physician, or rather a demon in human shape, is drawn in glowing colours, and represented as inflicting unheard-of cruelties¹ upon some unfortunate beast, for no adequate purpose; and then we are asked defiantly, is vivisection lawful? They represent a series of the most exquisitely agonizing experiments upon a dog or a monkey, which make one's flesh creep even to read, performed for some wholly trivial and insufficient motive; and think to snatch from us an answer in contradiction to our principles. Of course, we condemn, in common with all theologians, such abominable abuses;² but "abusus non tollit usum." To experiment in the manner described above, is to use irrational creatures,

¹ "I am satisfied [writes Sir James Crichton Browne] that the pain caused by the floggings administered to school children in London on any one day—experiments on vertebrate, warm-blooded living animals, under the licence of the School Board, and with very problematical advantages—is vastly greater than that arising from all the vivisections performed in all the laboratories of the United Kingdom in the course of a year." That statement, from one of the leading medical authorities, will surely silence the cry about cruelty. It might be well to remember, too, for the sake of consistency, that rabbits are trapped, and allowed to break their limbs and torture themselves for a whole night, and that the suffering thus inflicted is a hundred times greater than can possibly occur under the present system of vivisection. It is well to look facts fairly in the face, especially in the domain of science."—*Ludgate Monthly*, May, 1894.

² "Patet primo, posse in hac re esse peccatum, saltem veniale; est enim abusus quidam potestatis herilis, et domini. Secundo, quanta sit suavitas divini spiritus, etiam in creaturas ratione carentes."—Lessius, *De Justitia*, l. 2, c. ix., Dub. 1.

not according to reason, but in direct violation of the natural dictates of reason, and in glaring contradiction to the canon already laid down, which demands a proportion between the end to be obtained, on the one hand, and the means to be employed, on the other. Such cases, whether true or false, possess no weight whatever against the practice of vivisection; they prove only that, like many other practices, vivisection may be abused, as well as used. The Church denounces the *abuse*; she sanctions the *use*. Is it sinful to take a glass of wine, because many a man gets beastly drunk? Will a highly-coloured picture of the fighting and quarrelling, the cursing and swearing, the debauchery and impurity, the squandered fortunes, the desolated homes, the impoverished families, the bloodshed and murder, and much else, traceable to excessive drinking, ever make it a sin *in se* to swallow a glass of whiskey, or to empty a tankard of beer? If not, then neither can the practice of vivisection become wrong in itself, because there are men who are cruel and heartless—aye, men who, under pretext of good, do harm. As well say that it is sinful to read the Scriptures, because hundreds of false sects abuse the practice to support their damnable heresies.

To approve of vivisection as something lawful in itself, when properly conducted, *juxta modum*, and for a good and useful and humane end, is not to approve of the excesses and the cruelties sometimes—perhaps often—perpetrated in its name.

Unfortunately there are a certain class of persons—almost exclusively ladies—who confound reason, violate logic, and obliterate the clearest guiding principles in one long incoherent and wild scream of horror at the violation of the supposed rights (?) of animals. They mix up sentiment with sense, imagination with fact, and so mingle the false with the true, and the sublime with the ridiculous, in one long tirade of indignant scorn and invective, that after reading such effusions, one is left marvelling how so much strength of feeling can co-exist with so little common sense. No one can read through the yards of closely-printed “gush,” balderdash, and flummery which are occasionally

met with in some of our contemporaries, on this subject without rejoicing that we are safeguarded from all narrowness, and protected from both extremes by the clear theology of the Church, which determines the position we are to hold with the greatest neatness and precision. Sympathy with every form of suffering is, of course, most admirable; but where are we to stop if we take sympathy as our sole and guiding star? Why, indeed, should sympathy, which begins by forbidding every form of vivisection, however carefully carried out, not go on to condemn all slaying of animals, even for food; all breaking-in of horses, even for riding or driving; all chaining up of dogs, even for defence of house or property? It is a question of mere degree. Though sympathy has an excellent work to do, it is not everything, and other considerations must also be allowed to exercise their due weight. As Carlyle so well observes—"It is grievous to think that this noble omnipotence of sympathy has been so rarely the Aaron's rod of truth and virtue, and so often the enchanter's rod of wickedness and folly. No solitary miscreant, scarcely any solitary maniac, would venture on such actions and imaginations as large communities of sane men have, in such circumstances, entertained as sound wisdom."

England seems specially subject to mental epidemics. A craze is started. A certain number are taken with it—some very badly. The temperature rises to fever heat. Delirium follows, and the symptoms become alarming. The intellectual fever or distemper that happens to be in possession at the present hour is anti-vivisectionism. Some form of distemper is of pretty regular occurrence. It may be reckoned on at intervals like other natural visitations. Indeed there must be some scores of persons in this country now passing through an acute stage of the anti-vivisection craze. What are we to do? In Carlyle's words: "We must deal with it as the Londoners do with their fogs—go cautiously out into the groping crowd, and patiently carry lanterns at noon; knowing, by a well-grounded faith, that the sun is still in existence, and will one day reappear."

JOHN S. VAUGHAN.

FRA PAOLO SARPI¹

THE latest canonization is that of Fra Paolo Sarpi: a canonization, however, that is quite independent of Pope or Congregation of Rites, promulgated to the world on the high authority of the Rev. Alexander Robertson. Who the Rev. Alexander Robertson is the reader may be curious to know, but the present writer can cast no light on that important question. It appears, however, that he is not altogether unknown to fame. In the title-page of his *Life of Fra Paolo* he modestly tells us that he is the "author of *Count Campello and the Catholic Reform in Italy*:" a statement which prepares us for the treat set before us in his panegyric of Paul Sarpi. Mr. Robertson (whoever he be) is clearly enthusiastic for his hero. "The work has been to me," he says, "a labour of love, and an unbroken source of interest and delight."² Indeed, he seems to be so intoxicated by the "interest and delight" as to have become oblivious of the sober facts of his hero's history, and quite indifferent to common sense in his treatment even of the facts which he records. Mr. Robertson makes all his assertions in the superlative degree. If we are to believe him, there was never such a prodigy of genius and virtue as Fra Paolo. His enumeration of Sarpi's acquirements reads more like the prospectus of some "Intermediate" grinder than like the statement of a sane man who expects to be believed. Here is a specimen:—

"Besides Hebrew, Greek, and mathematics, he mastered history, astronomy, the nutrition of life in animals, geometry, including conic sections, magnetism, botany, mineralogy, hydraulics, acoustics, animal statics, atmospheric pressure, the rising and falling of objects in air and water, the reflection of light from curved surfaces, spheres, mechanics, civil and military architecture, herbs, and anatomy."³

Nor was it merely "a gentleman's knowledge" of these subjects that Sarpi had acquired; for Mr. Robertson tells us

¹ *Fra Paolo Sarpi*. By Rev. Alexander Robinson. London, 1894.

² Pref., p. viii.

³ Page 24.

that "he sounded all their known waters," &c. As Sarpi was a priest it is a pity that Mr. Robinson should have omitted "theology" from the catalogue of his acquirements. He sums up Sarpi's virtues thus:—"He was supreme as a thinker, as a man of action, and as a transcript and pattern of every Christian principle."¹ But he reaches the climax when he says:—

"He is the only one I ever heard of who literally put in practice such precepts of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount as 'Do good and lend, hoping for nothing again.' And if he conspicuously obeyed this precept he realized as conspicuously the fulfilment of the promise, so doing 'your reward shall be great;' for no friar, I believe, ever received *such an income as he* . . . when the Republic put all its resources at his command, and doubled and doubled again the stipend assigned to him as its public servant."²

This sentence establishes beyond the reach of cavil the disinterested virtue of Fra Paolo, and shows also that Rev. Alexander Robertson has lucid intervals after all. But he seems to have Popes and Jesuits on the brain. His book is teeming with extravagant statements, and insinuations against them. He charges Paul V. with the alleged attempt to murder Sarpi; and, of course, considers his own word sufficient proof of so grave a charge. Again, he tells us that the Jesuits kept for political purposes a written record of confessions which was discovered by somebody, who gave it to somebody else, from whom, *per varios casus per tot discrimina rerum*, it made its way into the historical marsupium of the Rev. Alexander Robertson. These are merely a few specimens of Mr. Robertson's stock-in-trade.

Again, the author tells us that his book is the outcome of independent study of original documents and printed authorities. It is nothing of the kind. It is a badly executed plagiarism of the short Life of Sarpi, prefixed to Courayer's translation of the *History of the Council of Trent*. Sometimes whole sentences are verbally translated, and not a single fact recorded that has not been taken from Courayer. The only difference observable between the translation and the original

¹ Pref., page v.

² Page 26.

is, that Courayer's book is well written, and is not so grossly unfair as the clumsy plagiarism of Mr. Robertson. The falsehoods insinuated by Courayer are given by Mr. Robertson as indisputable facts, and are largely supplemented by his own inventions. Again, we are assured that "reference" to the authorities "will be found in the course of the narrative;" and yet there is not a single "reference" from the first page to the last that would enable one to determine whether any alleged quotation is genuine or a concoction. We find sentences without number within inverted commas, but *no page, no book, no author's name* is given even in one solitary instance; and, for all that Mr. Robertson tells us, we may seek the originals in the *Arabian Nights* or in the *Acta Sanctorum*. Bad as Sarpi undoubtedly was, Mr. Robertson makes him worse; and, in looking through his book, a feeling of pity for the unfortunate writer becomes mingled in the reader's mind with a feeling of amazement that any respectable firm should have published so ridiculous a book.

In promoting the *cause* of Fra Paolo, Mr. Robertson has had some exceptional advantages. No *Devil's Advocate* has been present to question his facts or to test his logic. He has called and examined his witnesses just as it pleased him; he has got from them just the information he required; and in order to avoid unpleasant cross-examination, he has concealed their names: Thus he has had it all his own way; and, as a consequence, he has made Fra Paolo just what he wished him to be—a model of every virtue. But this process has its risks, and disadvantages also. It induces a false sense of security which makes the advocate careless, often reckless in his statements, and thus tends to involve him in dilemmas and contradictions, from which a salutary fear of criticism would have saved him. And Mr. Robertson is a conspicuous instance of this. He intends to make Sarpi a saint and a hero; and yet he supplies abundant evidence to prove him a wretched *time-server*. He proves him a priest without a conscience, who continued to minister sacraments in which he disbelieved; a Protestant

without the courage to avow it, while he proclaimed himself a Catholic, in order the more effectually to wound and vilify the Catholic Church; a friar, who had vowed to renounce the world, and yet was its sordid slave, who sold himself soul and body to the state, and continued to do its work all the more energetically, because "it doubled and doubled again the stipend assigned to him as its public servant." Such is Fra Paolo's real character; and in supplying evidence to prove it (as he has done) Mr. Robertson has unwittingly done service to the cause of truth.

Pietro Sarpi, better known as Fra Paolo Sarpi, was born at Venice, on the 14th of August, 1552. His father, Francis Sarpi, appears to have been a thriftless, erratic person, who failed in business as a merchant, and died comparatively young, leaving his family without means, to the care of his wife, Isabella Morelli. She appears to have been a pious, excellent mother; and the talent which Fra Paolo undoubtedly possessed, he seems to have inherited from her. Young Sarpi was educated by his uncle, a Venetian priest, Ambrogio Morelli. At school, we are told, he gave unmistakable indications of great talent. He was studious, retiring, pious, and in every way gave promise of a better future than impartial history awards to him. At the age of thirteen he joined the Servite Order, and bore in religion the name of Paolo. He passed through his novitiate with credit to himself and satisfaction to his superiors; was remarkable for talents, his application, and his fidelity in the discharge of his duties. He was promoted to various posts of trust and honour in his Order, and was ordained a priest (by dispensation we presume) at the early age of twenty-two. Had Fra Paolo continued after his ordination as faithful to his religious duties, and as modest in their discharge, as he was during the period of his probation, the world would probably have heard very little about him; he would have lived and died in peace, and his biography would be written only in the Book of Life. But it is precisely because he did not do this, that Fra Paolo has become notorious; has become the hero of the enemies of the Catholic Church; and that his words and acts have been used as an argument

against her. The earliest, and almost the sole biography of Fra Paolo, is that by Fra Fulgenzio. This, however, is altogether unreliable. Fra Fulgenzio was the secretary and constant companion of Paolo, his accomplice or instrument in his rebellion against the Church. His work is the production of an interested flatterer, who, in defending, and extolling his hero, is pleading his own cause just as well. Then the book itself is teeming with most extravagant stories of the wonderful talents and achievements of Fra Paolo; so much so, that it reads more like the adventures of Baron Munchausen than like the biography of a reasonable man. Courayer's *Life* is a compendium of Fra Fulgenzio's; and, as already stated, Mr. Robertson's book is a bad plagiarism of Courayer's.

But Fra Paolo's own words and works remain to tell us what he was; and the testimony they give is fatal to the claim set up for him by his latest biographer. His *History of the Council of Trent* is the arsenal whence the enemies of the Catholic Church take their weapons; and his letters, addressed to his confidential friends, show the secret workings of his mind. These letters show, that to gratify his wounded pride and disappointed ambition, he was secretly plotting with the worst enemies of the Church for the introduction of Protestantism into Venice, and that he would have cast off the mask, and made open profession of heresy, did he not know that the Republic was not prepared to follow him thus far. To set up such a man as a Catholic, an authority with Catholics, much less as a model of virtue, is a forlorn hope while such damning evidence stands against him.

At the date of his ordination, A.D. 1574, Fra Paolo was Professor of Theology at Mantua; and if we are to believe Fra Fulgenzio, no such prodigy ever filled a theological chair before. St. Thomas, Scotus, and Suarez, with all their years and experience, pale into insignificance compared with Paul Sarpi at twenty-two. And this is fully borne out by the Rev. Alexander Robertson, no doubt a competent judge. He says: "No one had ever lectured on positive theology, and the Sacred Canons, with the accurate and comprehensive

grasp of these subjects that he showed.”¹ He was soon recalled by his superiors to Venice, and was made Professor of Philosophy in the house of his Order there. Here, of course, according to his biographers, he was a brilliant luminary penetrating into depths of philosophic thought hitherto unsounded. Mr. Robertson gives a long list of the *Ologies* of which he was master; and adds, that “he made himself complete master of all known truth in these departments of knowledge.”² Mr. Robertson’s mere assertion, of course, dispenses with the necessity of proof, even for such an assertion as the above.

But though Sarpi was not the prodigy that his partial biographers would make him, there can be no denying that he was a man of very considerable talent. His writings prove this. His *History of the Council of Trent*, displays an amount of ability and ingenuity which makes it clear that he would have been a powerful advocate if his cause were good. But, unfortunately, he was too well aware of his own ability, and his treatment by his own superiors stimulated his vanity, and set him on the road to ruin. Even while a mere stripling he was made their champion at public exhibitions; he was raised to positions of trust and dignity while yet too young; he was flattered by the rich and great as well as by the members of his own Order, and as a consequence he soon began to think that he was not like the rest of men. While at Mantua he was a constant visitor at the Ducal and Episcopal palaces, and thus probably contracted that liking for high society which largely contributed to make him what he subsequently became. On his return to Venice, Fra Paolo was already a confirmed worldling. He spent much more of his time in the palace of the Doge or in the mansions of the Senators than in his own cloisters. He made the acquaintance of several foreign ambassadors and other distinguished strangers, and corresponded with many learned men in distant countries. And it is remarkable as showing the tendency of his mind, that several of his new friends were well-known heretics,

¹ Page 13.

² Page 40.

while not even one of them was well-affected towards the Church. At a time when theological controversy ran high, it is no wonder that such society should have raised doubts as to Fra Paolo's orthodoxy; and accordingly we find, that early in his career, complaints against him were lodged before the local Inquisitor. On each occasion Sarpi appealed to Rome, and defeated his accusers. On a few occasions also he visited Rome on business connected with his Order, and each time was received there with kindness and consideration. Later on, however, we shall find him repudiating the authority of Rome when he had reason to apprehend an adverse decision.

His friendship with the Doge and principal senators gave Sarpi great political influence at Venice. He was let into all the secrets of the governing body; his counsel was sought and frequently followed, and soon the priest became completely merged in the politician. The Republic, to requite its servant, twice recommended him to the Holy See for promotion to the episcopate—first in 1601, for the see of Caorle, and afterwards in 1602, for that of Nona. In each case Clement VII. refused to make the appointment; and Fra Paolo was left to avenge his wounded pride and disappointed ambition in secret plottings, and, later on, in bitter invectives and open revolt against the Holy See. Hitherto he had artfully concealed his sentiments, but now that the hope of ecclesiastical promotion was cut off, vengeance on the authors of his disappointment became the ruling passion of his mind. The Jesuits shared with the Pope the honour of Sarpi's hatred; and he set himself, both secretly and openly, to inflame the popular mind against them. His influence with the Senate opened to him a ready path to vengeance. He was refused the bishopric in 1602, and it is very suggestive, that in less than three years the Senate, to which he was adviser, was involved in a bitter quarrel with the Pope. The Venetian Constitution provided three state counsellors to act as legal advisers to the Doge and Senate. But just at the time of Fra Paolo's greatest influence, it was discovered that a *theological* counsellor was necessary. Thus, a new office was created, to which, of

course, Fra Paolo was immediately appointed. Mr. Robertson says that the Senate "looked about for a proper person,"¹ and Sarpi only consented to fill the position from motives of "patriotism." There was no *looking about* at all. It was a foregone conclusion, as Mr. Robertson admits in the very next sentence. "Fra Paolo was perfectly alive," he says, "to all that was going on in the government; he had already given to its affairs such careful thought and study that his advice had frequently been sought by those in authority, and he had counselled the Senate how to act on many occasions." Yes; he had long been doing the work in secret, of course, "from motives of patriotism;" and now a new office was created to enable him to continue to do it openly, with an additional "motive of patriotism"—a handsome salary from the public treasury. And Fra Paolo soon found himself *sole* counsellor, legal as well as theological, to the Republic. For Mr. Robertson tells us that as the legal counsellors "died, the Senate appointed no successor, but handed over their duties to Fra Paolo, so that the whole of the affairs of the Republic were in his hands. . . . In every case Fra Paolo's advice was sought, in every case it was followed, and in every case it was right."² Mr. Robertson enumerates the several happy results to the Republic of the wisdom and prudence of its theological adviser. Plain prosaic facts, however, show but one result, namely, that the Republic was soon involved in a death struggle with the Pope, to gratify the spite of Sarpi, who, as his own letters show, would, if he dared, have carried his vengeance to the full length of subverting the Papal authority and the Catholic faith in Venice.

Sarpi's influence soon became manifest in the legislation of the Republic. In 1603, a law was passed forbidding the erection of religious houses or hospitals, or the establishment of new orders, without the permission of the civil authority. And this was followed, in A.D. 1605, by another law forbidding the transfer of property to the Church. About the same date, two priests, charged with grave immorality, were

¹ Page 68.

² Pages 69, 70.

arrested by order of the Senate, and imprisoned in violation of the acknowledged right of priests to be tried, in the first instance, by the Ecclesiastical Court. Paul V. became Pope in 1605, and immediately remonstrated with the Venetians on this unjust invasion of ecclesiastical rights and privileges. Sarpi prepared the reply of the Senate, which was simply an assertion of the supremacy of the civil authority within the Venetian territory. After a good deal of correspondence on both sides, the Pope threatened the Venetians with excommunication and interdict, unless the imprisoned priests were handed over to the Ecclesiastical Judges, and the obnoxious laws repealed. The Senate, or rather Sarpi, defied the Pope, and the excommunication and interdict were fulminated in April, 1607. The die was now cast, and the Senate, prompted by its theological adviser, resolved to fight it out to the bitter end. A circular was issued to all the bishops and clergy of the Venetian territory, commanding them under penalty of exile, and forfeiture of all their property, to disregard the Papal censures. Nor did Sarpi's dupes rest content with threats; the slightest suspicion of opposition to their designs brought dire vengeance on the suspected person.

A few specimens from the partial Mr. Robertson will show the sense in which liberty of conscience was understood by Sarpi and the Senate:—

“The Patriarch of Aquilia, and the Vicar of the Bishop of Vicenza, both proved disloyal [*i.e.*, obedient to God rather than to men]. They were immediately apprehended, brought to Venice, and lodged in prison. The priest of an influential parish let it be known that he would obey the Pope: on Sunday he would keep the church closed. On Saturday night an official was sent from the Doge's palace . . . to inform him that if he were to curtail in any way his services on the morning, they would infallibly hang him before mid-day at his church door. It is said that another recalcitrant priest felt all his *disloyalty* ooze from his finger tips by seeing a gibbet erected opposite his church.”¹

The same writer says that some priests resolved to leave Venice in secret, rather than remain victims of persecution

for not disobeying the interdict; "but instructions had been given to hang all such at the frontier."¹ And he says that the Jesuits "at the dead of night were turned out of their beds, bundled into boats, and packed off to Papal territory."² These are specimens of Republican freedom, specimens of the theological advice given by Sarpi.

Sir Henry Maine says,³ "that the Venetian Republic was a stern oligarchy, whose Doges were as much kings of the old type as the ancient Roman kings." To the service of this oligarchy Sarpi devoted himself. He served the Doge and Senate while they were trampling on popular liberty; while they were robbing citizens of their civil rights and trampling on the rights of conscience. For vengeance' sake and for lucre' sake he became the tool of a detestable tyranny. He, a priest of the Catholic Church, advised the plunder, the imprisonment, and banishment of bishops and priests, whose sole crime was their attachment to the doctrines of that Church, and their obedience to its divinely appointed head; and while doing all this he himself continued to say Mass and administer sacraments! And this is the man held up to admiration by Mr. Robertson as a Catholic and a patriot. Those hallowed words must reverse their meaning before they can be applied to such a venal hypocrite as Sarpi was.

Considering the reign of terror that prevailed at Venice, and considering the influence of Sarpi, it is no wonder that priests should be found to disobey the interdict. The Jesuits, with that fidelity to Rome which has always marked them, obeyed the Pope, closed their churches, and left Venice. So, too, did the Capuchins, Theatines, and many of the secular clergy. And now arose a bitter controversy on the excommunication and interdict. The action of the Pope was vindicated by Bellarmini, Baronius, and others, the foremost theologians of the day. In fact, the Pope needed no defence. He was contending for rights and privileges secured to the Church by centuries of wise legislation; privileges recognised since the time of Constantine,

¹ Page 88.² Page 89.³ *Pop. Gov.*, page 210.

confirmed by general and particular councils, and many of them based directly on the Divine law. The Republic was defended by Sarpi and a few others, who were merely echoes of him. It would be unfair to take the action of Sarpi and the Senate as fairly representing the feeling of the body of the Venetian people. They were simply a faction in the State, which happened to be the dominant faction just then. Professor Ranke calls "Leonardo Donato, the Doge, the leader of the anti-Roman party, who brought into power all the friends, by whose aid he had been successful in the struggle of parties."¹ And because there was a Roman party, and that a considerable one—or, at all events, a party that was not disposed to allow Sarpi and his friends to trample on the faith of their fathers—it was the interest of the dominant faction not to prolong the struggle. And, accordingly, when the Kings of France and Spain interfered in the interests of peace, the Senate, after some heroic declarations of independence, quietly yielded; the obnoxious laws were repealed; the imprisoned clerics were handed over to the ecclesiastical authorities, and the Papal censures were withdrawn. Mr. Robertson proclaims the settlement a complete triumph for the Republic. Ranke, however, who is an authority, says:—"On the whole, it is plain that the strife did not terminate so thoroughly to the advantage of the Venetians, as is commonly asserted."²

Sarpi was well known to be the prime mover in all the opposition to the Church; and he had, during the controversy, written treatises containing unsound and heretical doctrines. He was, moreover, known to be the intimate friend of many of the most pronounced heretics of the time, and was known to be intriguing with them for the introduction of Protestantism into Venice. He was, accordingly, summoned to Rome to answer for his actions and opinions. On former occasions, he had himself appealed to Rome, and Rome had vindicated him; but now, that he was clearly guilty, he refused to obey the summons, though bound by

¹ Ranke's *History of the Popes*, B. vi. ; ad. ar., 1606.

² Book vi., a. d., 1607.

duty as a Catholic, and still more by his vow as a religious, to obey the Pope. He was, for his disobedience, excommunicated as contumacious. As long, however, as the Senate continued to pay and protect him, he made little of Papal censures. Notwithstanding the excommunication, he continued to say Mass and administer sacraments, and persevered in this career of sacrilege, without remorse or scruple, till his death.

But, however well he might be sustained by the Doge and Senate, there was a danger that popular feeling, always inconstant, might set in strongly against him. His position was insecure, and his letters show that he was contemplating the possibility of being forced to leave Venice. An event, however, is said to have occurred, which was well calculated, and perhaps designed, to win him sympathy. It is said that on the night of the 5th of October, 1607, as he was returning to his monastery, he was attacked by a band of assassins, and so severely wounded that his life was, for a time, despaired of. And the Rev. Alexander Robertson, with his wonted good taste and love of truth, tells us that the author of the plot—the paymaster of the assassins, was Pope Paul V. It is needless to add, that there is not a shred of evidence adduced, or an atom of foundation for this monstrous statement. Fra Paolo was well known to have been the adviser of the Venetian Senate, in those tyrannical acts that caused so much misery to unoffending citizens. And, taking human nature as it is, it is no wonder that some of the victims of such despotism, should have recourse to “the wild justice of revenge” against the real author of their sufferings; or, it may be, that someone, prompted by mistaken zeal for religion, may have sought to remove one who was well known to be an enemy of the popular creed, and an intriguer for the establishment of heresy. Either supposition would give a probable explanation of the alleged attack, without having recourse to a monstrous hypothesis, involving men of high character and proved virtue, in an atrocious crime. But in reality it is extremely doubtful that such an attack was ever made at all. No respectable historian credits it; few of them even refer to it. It comes to us on the sole

authority of Fra Paolo himself, and on that of his echo Fra Fulgenzio. No one witnessed the attack, except two friends, who are prudently silent, who are said to have been "instantly overpowered," and yet to have "instantly got assistance," to remove Fra Paolo to the monastery, where no one is permitted to see him, except some member of the political faction to which he belonged. In the *Civiltà Cattolica* for December, 1867, there is an article which makes it highly probable that the alleged attack is a concoction, devised to create a revulsion of feeling in Sarpi's favour. And there certainly was a motive at the time for some such concoction. For about the time some letters, seriously compromising Fra Paolo, fell into the hands of the French King, Henry IV., who sent them to the Ambassador at Venice, by whom they were presented to the Senate, with a result, that Fra Fulgenzio was inhibited from preaching, and Fra Paolo's prestige even seriously threatened. The alleged attacks came very opportunely to divert public opinion from the grave suspicion caused by the intercepted letters; and it also enabled Sarpi's friends in the Senate to draw illegally on the public treasury, for his protection and maintenance. It may be truly said of the alleged attack: "*Se non e vero e ben trovato.*"

While Venice was at peace with the Pope, Fra Paolo, under ecclesiastical censure, and a rebel against Papal authority, could not continue openly to exercise his former political influence. The obsequious slave of the state, the implacable enemy of the Pope, he still continued to be, but he must now give vent to his animosity in secret plottings against the authority of the Church, and in secret intrigues with the Church's enemies. About two years before his excommunication, Sarpi made the acquaintance of the English ambassador to Venice, Sir Henry Watton, and also of Dr. William Bedell, chaplain to the embassy, who subsequently became Protestant bishop of Kilmore. His friendship with Bedell became very intimate, and there is evidence of considerable agreement in theological opinion between them. Under Fra Paolo's supervision, Bedell translated the Book of Common Prayer into Italian; and

this, with Diodati's Protestant Bible was freely circulated in Venice, with the full knowledge and connivance of the "Theological Counsellor." He had also for sometime kept up correspondence with Casaubon, at Geneva and at Paris, and with several other well-known heretics. And in all the correspondence there is clear evidence of sympathy with the so-called Reformers, and evidence equally clear that temporal considerations alone kept him from openly declaring his views. This long period of his involuntary retirement, Sarpi employed in writing a number of treatises, nearly all bearing on the controversy with the Pope, and all, without exception, written in a spirit of bitter hostility to the Catholic Church. And it illustrates the duplicity of his mind, that nearly all his works after the excommunication, were published anonymously, or with the pseudonym "Pietro Soave Polano;" a clever precaution, which would have enabled him to repudiate them in the event of a change of rulers at Venice. He was anxious to do the greatest possible injury to the Church with the least possible risk to himself. The *History of the Council of Trent* is the only work of his that has anything like a permanent interest. In it he has put forth all the virus of his soul against the Catholic Church. It is his supreme effort of vengeance on Pope and cardinals and bishops, and as such it was welcomed by the enemies of the Church, on its first appearance, and to the present time it has continued to enjoy the esteem of all such. In fact, it is to this precisely that it owes the interest it yet has for readers. It was first published in London, in A.D. 1619, by the apostate Antonio De Dominis, with a fulsome dedication to James I. A French translation of it was published by another apostate, Courayer, with an equally fulsome dedication to another heretical sovereign, Caroline of Brandenburgh. Written by a hypocrite, published by one apostate, and translated by another, prized by men in precise proportion to their hatred of Catholicity—such has been the history, and such is the character of this book. In the very opening chapter of it Sarpi reveals his bias, for he promises to "relate the vicissitudes and intrigues of an ecclesiastical assembly," &c.

And as the work proceeds he puts into the mouths of the prelates speeches which were never delivered by them, but such as Fra Paolo would have wished them to deliver in order to suit his theory.

In the introduction to Pallavicini's *History of the Council* the reader will find conclusive proof of Sarpi's unfitness to write such a history, and of his dishonesty in the attempt he has made. And Ranke, who is partial to Sarpi, is equally explicit in stating his unfavourable opinion of the *History*. He admits that Sarpi manipulates his facts to suit his purpose, and he gives several specimens of such dishonesty. He says:—

“ Sarpi does not always adhere to facts as he finds them . . . His remarks are everyone steeped in gall and vinegar . . . His narrative is coloured by his own cast of opinion—his systematic opposition, dislike, or hatred to the court of Rome . . . Sarpi, we see, is no common transcriber; the more we compare him with the originals, the more we are convinced of his skill in filling up and rounding a story, and enhancing the force of the expressions by a *slight turn*; at the same time his endeavour is to strengthen the impression unfavourable to the Council.”

This from a competent, but friendly critic, disposes of Fra Paolo as an authority on the Council of Trent.

Sarpi survived the publication of his *History* only a few years. He continued, we are told, to occupy his mind with Venetian politics to the last; and, if we are to credit Mr. Robertson, his last prayer was not for mercy for his own soul, but for prosperity to Venice, *esto perpetua*. He died on the 15th of January, 1624. What were Fra Paolo's sentiments, and what the state of his soul, at that last awful moment, only the Searcher of Hearts rightly knows. Let us in charity hope that he got grace to repent of his sacriligious career before the end came. But the character given of him by those who knew him best, and who shared his hatred of the Catholic Church, is anything but flattering to him. Bedell, his intimate friend, tells us that Sarpi had a strong leaning to the Reformers, and that he was prepared to adopt the *Book of Common Prayer* in the event of his bringing about a final rupture between Venice and the Holy

See. And Bedell further states, that in saying Mass Sarpi always omitted prayers addressed to the saints, and that he continued to hear confessions in order to poison the minds of Catholics against the Sacrament of Penance. And he adds that if Sarpi were permitted by the Senate he would have gone to England, and there would have openly professed Protestantism.¹

Bedell's statement is confirmed by Sarpi's own letter to Casaubon, in which he requests Casaubon to intercede with James I. to secure him an asylum in England should he be forced to leave Venice. The reply of King James also shows the estimate entertained by the Reformers of Sarpi's religious tenets. James "would be glad to receive him in England, but he believed the cause of Gospel truth (*i.e.*, of heresy) was better served by his remaining in Venice." In fact, Sarpi's own letters are the strongest evidence against him. In a letter written April 27th, 1610, he says: "If there be a war in Italy, it will be well for religion, and that is what Rome dreads. The Inquisition will disappear, and the Gospel will be free." On the 5th of July, 1611, he writes: "There is nothing so essential as to destroy the credit of the Jesuits. For, by destroying them you ruin Rome; and if Rome be destroyed religion will reform itself." In a letter of August 30th, 1611, he complains of the Venetian ambassador at Paris thus: "We have an ambassador at Paris who gives the worst possible account of the Reformers, *in order to discourage good men here*; and he extols the prospects of the *Papists*, which has a very bad effect here." Similar sentiments are expressed in several other of his letters. The slightest hope for the success of the "Reformation" is to him invariably a source of gratification, while the triumphs of the Catholic Church excite within him an indignation which he is unable to conceal. The man who held such sentiments, and yet continued to say Mass and administer sacraments, must be a hypocrite double-dyed. Hallam says of him:—

"Sarpi is not a fair, but he is for those times a tolerably exact, historian . . . Much has been disputed about the religious

¹ Burnet's *Life of Bedell*, pp. 15, 16.

tenets of Father Paul; it appears to me quite out of doubt, both by the tenor of his history, and still more unequivocally, if possible, by some of his letters, that he was entirely hostile to the Church, in the usual sense, as well as to the Court of Rome, sympathising in affection, and concurring generally in opinion with the reformed denominations."

And he adds in a note, "the history is, however, sufficient to demonstrate Sarpi's Protestantism."¹ Ranke says of him:—

"It has been said that he was in secret a Protestant, but his Protestantism could hardly have gone beyond the first simple propositions of the Augsburg Confession; at all events, Fra Paolo said Mass daily all his life. It is impossible to specify the form of religion to which he inwardly adhered; it was of a kind often embraced in those days, especially by men who devoted themselves to natural science—a mode of opinion shackled by none of the existing systems of doctrine; dissentient and speculative, but neither accurately defined nor fully worked out."²

In other words, Fra Paolo, who daily discharged the ordinary duty of a Catholic priest, disbelieved in all his own ministrations, and in reality had no religion at all! No wonder that he has been canonized by the Rev. Alexander Robertson, whose sole fundamental article of faith seems to be hatred of the Catholic Church. Mr. Robertson is enamoured of the present rulers of Italy. The present blissful state of that country is, he says, the fruit of Fra Paolo's teaching. He gives a glowing account of the unveiling of Sarpi's monument, and he tells pathetically how Italian Freemasons, and the "children of the Italian Protestant Orphanage," united to grace the occasion, and to do fitting honour to the illustrious dead. No doubt Freemasons and pervert children were in their proper place at such a ceremony, and Mr. Robertson is a worthy herald of the important event. The Catholic Church, however, has witnessed many such events undismayed. She has seen more dangerous enemies than Paul Sarpi, and she survives them; but she has had few, if any, more contemptible revilers than the Rev. Alexander Robertson; and such as he is, may her revilers for ever be.

J. MURPHY, C.C.

¹ *Hist. of Popes*, B. 6, vi., 1606.

² *Hist. Lit.*, vol. ii., page 398, 399.

"HORÆ LITURGICÆ:" OR STUDIES ON THE MISSAL

" PROPRIUM SANCTORUM "

SOME MASSES FOR THE MONTH OF JUNE

JUNE 4. *St. Francis Caracciolo, C.*, teaches us several lessons: the spirit of prayer, humility, and the penitential spirit of fervour in which all our work should be done; also the important fact that our life is to be measured not by the length of days, but by the fervour we show in God's service: *consummatus in brevi implevit tempora multa.* (Sap. iv. 13).

The Introit tells us how prayer softens the heart of those who think of the goodness of Israel's God to them that are righteous of heart. The house of God, for which St. Francis was so zealous, was not only the material temple wherein he used to pass so many hours in watching before His Eucharistic Lord; not only the souls of his neighbours for whom he laboured so zealously; but the house of the Lord "which holiness becometh for length of days" (Ps. xcii. 7) was His own soul, the house built not by hands, but the direct creation of God Himself. For this house of the Lord he was zealous *orandi studio et poenitentiae amore*, that it might become more fitting for the Divine Presence. Here we may notice the necessity of prayer being accompanied by penance. Why do not we pray well? Why is the time of prayer, instead of being a joy, a time of disgust and wearisomeness? It is because we forget penance; because the salt of mortification is wanting; because we, who are members of a Body whose Head is crowned with thorns, instead of living with the same spirit of sacrifice as He did, seek to live lives of ease and pleasure, and, flying from the cross as something to be avoided, we put our happiness in "the world which passeth away and the lust thereof" (1 John, ii. 7).

The Epistle reminds us that were we but men of prayer and men of the cross, then when death comes, whether it comes early, as it did to St. Francis, or whether it carries

a long while, we shall be at peace and rest, for our age will be ripened by the spotlessness of our life. The Gradual expresses the yearnings of a man of prayer after His God, who can alone quench the souls that thirst after good. In Paschal time we have a reference to the happiness of our vocation from which all our sanctification depends.

The Gospel points out the same lesson as did the Collect, but now we have it in our Divine Master's own words. We must gird our loins by the practice of mortification, which, as it were, gathers up the fleshly clothing of our souls, lest it trips us up in the way. We must have in our hands ever burning the lamp of prayer, which is fed by the oil of faith. This spirit of prayer and penance is most necessary, as the Secret reminds us, now that we are going to begin our great work of sacrifice. For although the essential worth of the sacrifice is independent of our having the same mind as is in Christ Jesus (cf. Phil. ii. 5), yet the adorable perfection thereof, its holiness and the intimate union which exists, in fact, between the Great High Priest and us who share in His Priesthood, demand a close, inward union of will between us; demand that we should share in the sacrifice by prayer, and immolating ourselves as victims, “bearing about in our body the mortification of Jesus” (2 Cor. iv. 10). Having tasted the Lord in Holy Communion, we can now see how great is the multitude of His sweetness, a sweetness which the world cannot offer anything like, neither can it understand. For the world does not fear God, and is in active opposition to Him. He hides this sweetness from those who do not fear Him, and He keeps it for those who have this holy fear. So, fools are we if we seek anywhere but in His fear, the sweetness for which our soul longeth. We have the very well-spring of sweetness in our hearts at this very moment. Let us drink deeply thereof, and allay the thirst which parches our souls. The Post-Communion reminds us that we should pass our day in one long act of thanksgiving after our Mass: *Grata semper in mentibus nostris memoria perseveret et fructus*.

June 5. *St. Boniface, B.M.* In this Mass we gather valuable lessons on the missionary life which every priest

can take to himself. For we are all obliged to extend the kingdom of God in our own souls first of all, and then in the souls of others. Our priesthood is not to be confined to ourselves ; we are chosen from among men, and are ordained for men (cf. Heb. v. 1) in the things which belong to God, that we may offer both gifts and sacrifices for sin. There is no priest, be he ever so retired in life, who has not in his Mass a world-wide scope for missionary labour ; and who is not under the obligation to labour that the kingdom of God may come and reign over the hearts of all men, each one in his measure, and according to God's appointment. Some have the exterior and visible work of tending souls, as in the pastoral charge ; others have to be content with the interior and invisible weapons of prayer and sacrifice ; for

“ They also serve who stand and wait.”

It is not always those who have the privilege of active work that reap the greatest harvest ; and even if they are sometimes so blest as to see abundant fruit from their labours, yet often they are only instruments God has used to reap a harvest they may have only planted, and, in part, watered. The greater part of the merit may be due to some poor priest hidden in the cloister, or in the obscurity of a private life, who has toiled and laboriously cultivated what the others may have planted. Hence on this day, as on all feasts of great missionary saints, it will be well for us to renew the missionary spirit which is so necessary a part of our vocation, and the glorious St. Boniface will teach us how to do so in his Mass.

The Introit is from that grand missionary prophecy of Isaias (chap. lxxv.), wherein he tells us that the spread of the faith, the increase of Jerusalem, which is the blessed vision of peace which shines out in the darkness of error, is a great subject of rejoicing to a priest ; for he is interested in his people, and rejoices with them when they are in God's grace, and sorrows for them when they lose it, and labours to bring them back to the joy they have forsaken, hushing the voice of weeping and stilling the voice of crying. Then we get the comfortable promise that we, God's elect, shall not

labour in vain, for we are the seed of the true Aaron whom He has blessed, and our spiritual offspring will share in our blessing. Surely our labours for the salvation of a soul are not wasted, even if that particular soul refuses to accept God's grace and come into the marriage feast. There will be others, the blind, the halt, the lame, who will be saved by our labours in place of the ungrateful; those who cannot help themselves, and yet are fit objects for the charity which arises in the communion of saints. What a consolation to us in times of disappointment! What God did in the days of our fathers, even as He has done by the hand of St. Boniface, so will He do now by our ministry; and the thought of Him, ever faithful and true to His promises, makes us pour forth our soul in adoration to the Most Blessed Trinity, whose servants we are.

The Lesson (Eccl. xlv.) is the glorious praise of men of renown, among whom stands illustrious St. Boniface. How God obtains his own dear glory through the magnificence of the gifts with which He decked the soul of His servant; and by no gift so great and more perfect than by the great gift of the priesthood, by which He set St. Boniface to rule in His Church, and made him a man of great power, filled with wisdom, and as a teacher showing forth the dignity of the pastoral office. In this great gift God gave him all that now redounds to His glory: the strength of wisdom by which he instructed the people in most holy words; the rich wealth of virtue which he accumulated *in diebus suis*; the love of the only true beauty which possessed his soul; the peace which reigned within the house of his heart, and which no man could take away; his mercy and his tender loving compassion towards those in darkness who knew not "the truth as it is in Jesus" (Eph. iv. 21). The fruit of His labours fails not, and still bestows good things upon His spiritual children, and makes of them a holy inheritance, and shows forth the glory of Him who has done all this through His servant Boniface, and who to-day receives the grateful thanks of the Church for the glory with which He has rewarded St. Boniface. We, too, who share in this same gift, would also show forth God's glory, were we, in the

words of the Gradual (1 Peter iv.) to rejoice in sharing in the suffering of the Christ, to enter fully into the Eternal Priesthood, and have the same mind of self-oblation as was in our great Head, Jesus. Then should we rejoice and be glad to suffer for His name, as St. Boniface did. “O thou that dwellest in the beautiful place covered with the shame” (Micheas i. 2) of a priesthood unfulfilled: “I will show thee, O man, what is good, and what the Lord requireth of thee. Verily to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God” (*ibid.* vi.). In Easter-tide the Gradual is a song of rejoicing at the glory of St. Boniface who receives the crown of his faithfulness to his vocation; and while we rejoice, Holy Mother Church bids us remember that it was the hand of God which wrought such wonders in His saint. We have the same claim to the sacramental grace of Holy Order as St. Boniface had. Would that we humbly walked hand in hand with it!

The Gospel is that of the Beatitudes, and reminds us that our desire of spreading God’s kingdom will make our delight to be in things very different to what the world thinks happiness, or means thereunto. To us poverty of spirit will be true riches; meekness, an inheritance; mourning, our comfort; hunger and thirst after justice, our meat and drink; mercifulness, our claim for asking it of God; purity of heart, our means of seeing Him; peace-making, our right to be called His children; persecution for His sake, our claim for a reward. These are the happiness of a true missionary, and these are invariably his lot. If we do not experience them, may not the reason be because we have not got the true spirit of our priesthood? Are the Beatitudes practical things to us, and do we seek to find our happiness on the lines our Lord lays down?

We are now beginning the immediate preparation for the sacrifice, and, in the words of the Psalmist (Ps. xv.), we praise God for giving us a knowledge of the awful act we are about to do. If we are negligent, cold, and distracted, can we plead that we know not what we do? For what have we said our Office, made our preparation, and read the instructions and prayers of the *Missa Catechumenorum*, unless we

have filled our heart with the understanding of the awful act of sacrifice we are going to accomplish? It is this thought of the nearness of God that makes us set Him ever before our eyes, lest we give way to sloth, and fail in the devotion and fervour our work demands. The Secret continues the same thought, and prays that an abundant blessing may come upon us from on high, and may mercifully work in us true holiness, and give us the right, therefore, to rejoice as fellow-citizens with the holy martyr. The Communion (Apoc. iii.) contains our Lord's most gracious promise of the reward of our missionary zeal: *to sit with Him on His throne.* He, as the great High Priest, sits on the throne with His Father; and we, too, if we conquer, if we overcome the world and spread His kingdom, will sit on *His* throne, and reign with Him, sharing, as we do, in His royal priesthood. We have been made holy and pleasing to Him by the life-giving mystery of His body and blood; so we ask in the Post-Communion that the great missionary St. Boniface may plead for us, that we may be imitators of him, and share his ardent apostolic zeal.

June 11. *St. Barnabas, Ap.*, teaches us as his lesson that we are in a particular relation to God the Holy Ghost, whom we have received in our ordination. In each day's Mass we in a special manner invoke the Holy Ghost to assist us in the dread act we are engaged upon: *Come, O Sanctifier, All-powerful, Eternal God, and bless this Sacrifice prepared in Thy Name* (Ord. Mis.). Devotion then to the Holy Ghost comes out of the very idea of the Priesthood itself, for He is the source of all sacerdotal holiness, and it is by Him we exercise our office, and have access through Jesus the Christ unto the Father (Eph. ii. 18).

In the Introit we are told He is the source of all holiness, because it is by Him we are the friends of God, and are loved by Him in return, according to the words of St. Paul: "The love of God is poured forth in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost who is given to us" (Rom. v. 5). This reminds us of those beautiful words addressed to us after we have received the sacerdotal character: "I will no longer call you servants, but *friends*; because all things whatsoever

I have heard of My Father, I have made known to you" (cf. John xv. 15) ; words which came to us with such a reality when we had just received the highest mark of God's love on earth ; words which even now thrill us through and through, although many years have gone by, and awaken old thoughts when we recall them. Hence we as priests must be, as we read in the Lesson that St. Barnabas was, " Good men, and full of the Holy Ghost and faith ;" then will we see wrought in ourselves, and in others through our means, the wonders of grace, and our joy will be made perfect. If we be sons of God, we shall be led by the voice of the Holy Ghost (cf. Rom. viii. 14), and His voice will become clear to our spiritual hearing if we fulfil the conditions of our priesthood in the spirit of penance and sacrifice to the Lord : for, " whilst they were ministering and fasting, the Holy Ghost said unto them, Separate Me Saul and Barnabas for the work whereunto I have taken them." Our very vocation is a separation from the world which we have made at the voice of the Holy Ghost ; and it is for the work of the Mass that He deigns to take us. And we depend upon Him in every step of our life, and especially when the sound of our words is to go forth and take effect.

The Gospel tells us what are the marks of a true priest whose life is guided by the Holy Ghost. Prudent in our dealings with God and men ; trusting more in that holy simplicity which comes from having " our eye single " (cf. Matt. vi. 22) ; putting not our trust in men, nor in the " arm of flesh " (2 Paral. xxxii. 8) ; ready to bear all for the sake of our Lord in the spirit of the Beatitudes ; speaking not our own words, but the words which the Holy Ghost puts upon our lips ; finding in Him alone that friendship, of which the world can only give a hollow and false imitation, and persevering to the end in our priestly life. These are the marks of a true servant of the Holy Ghost, such as a priest is bound to be, and the way by which we are to work out our salvation. As He has chosen us to be princes on the earth, let us, now that we are preparing the sacrifice, be mindful of His name, through whose power we exercise our office. Let us remember that St. Barnabas heard the voice of the

Holy Ghost whilst "they were ministering unto the Lord." During this Mass, He will speak to us, and tell us the deep things of God which no one knoweth save Himself (cf. 1 Cor. ii. 11). May we be mindful then of His name, and listen attentively for His voice. In the Communion, Jesus, through whom we get this "other Paraclete," tells us if we follow Him, and put into practice whatsoever He tells us, we shall share in the reward of St. Barnabas. That we may do so by the intercession of this holy apostle, we pray in the Post-Communion.

June 12. *St. John a St. Facundo* reminds us in the beautiful Collect, that we are representatives of the King of Peace, and are bound to "seek peace and pursue it" (Ps. xxxiii. 14). We are by our priesthood, peacemakers, not only between God and our people, but also between the members of our flocks who may be at variance. This is an important part of our duty, and one we often shirk, from a false sense of delicacy; which, in other words, means a lack of moral courage. The duty of peacemaking requires all the prudence and simplicity of men of God. If our brethren hate one another, how can the gift they offer at the altar be acceptable to God? and we who have charge of that altar, lest any profane and polluted offering be made, offer not only our, but their sacrifice: *meum et vestrum sacrificium* (Ord. Mis.). So we must, surely, have an obligation to help our people to participate in the sacrifice offered in their name, by being at peace one with another. Do we make ourselves a peacemaker; or, alas! do we stir up strife by our careless listening to gossip, and carrying tales to and fro, doing ourselves what we so strongly denounce in the pulpit?

June 19. *St. Juliana di Falconeri V.* The Collect reminds us of that most important part of our pastoral duties, the care of God's sick, either actively by refreshing and strengthening them in the agony of death with the sacraments of Holy Church, or by our prayers assisting those who are about to die, that they may die in the Lord. The care of God's sick is, in a way, one of our most important duties; for, as a well-known writer says: "Paradox as it may seem, the

Church is more concerned that her children should *die* well, than that they should live well.” The greatest saint may fail at the last, and the greatest sinner may yield to grace. Of course, a good life is the best security for a good death, and to live otherwise would be the height of folly, and a tempting of God’s mercy ; yet there is something in a Catholic’s last hour, badly even though he may have lived, which gives us hope beyond what we see. The royal gift of Baptism is still on his soul, the mark and grace of Confirmation is still there, ready to spring into action at the first movement of the dying man’s will ; the effects of his past communions and confessions, the power of the countless Masses in which he is not altogether cut off from a share ; the millions of millions of *Aves* that have gone up since Gabriel first broke the silence of that midnight hour at Nazareth ; the “ pray for us sinners,” so oft repeated, has been the prayer of the dying man ; he is, in a special way, Mary’s child, and, perchance, in former days was devout to her. Is she forgetful of past devotions ? Surely she is not—but will repay all and everything done for her. Then there are the angels and saints interested in particular about the dying man, for is he not their brother in Jesus. Not only is heaven and earth all moved on behalf of the dying sinner, but what shall we say of the unutterable yearning of the Sacred Heart for that creature of His who is so near making His Passion void ; of that deluge of light and help which came down streaming from the five wounds ; that passionate pleading of the Sacred Humanity ; that adorable tenderness of the Eternal Father, ready to welcome His poor prodigal ; the loving mercy of the Word, who would die over again to save this child of the Church ; and the sweet patience of the Holy Ghost still knocking at the heart, and luring the sinner on to repentance. When we think of all the interests that are concerned in a death-bed, especially in a Catholic’s, and that perhaps in God’s providence, it depends on us to set it all in motion, we can easily see how the devotion for the dying is an eminently priestly one, and is putting into practice the prayer : “ Thy kingdom come.” Many a soul owes its salvation, after a

careless life, to the prayers of unknown servants of God, who pray daily for those in the world about to die, that they may be refreshed and strengthened by Christ's sweet grace. May be, perhaps, through our carelessness, souls committed to our charge have passed away without these great sacraments which our Lord has specially instituted for that hour. Let us repair the wrong by a careful love of the dying and constant prayers for them. Daily in our Mass and Office should we make special prayer for those about to die; and, by thus showing them mercy, we shall obtain mercy likewise in our hour of need.

June 21. *St. Aloysius, C.* This saintly pattern of purity tells us how pure should he be who is crowned with the highest honour and glory that can be given to mortal man. If the ordinary service of God, such as St. Aloysius was called to, demanded of him a purity and a holiness a little less than the angels; how much more does our priesthood call for; for in it we are associated not with the person of any angel, but with their very Maker and King before whose throne they lie prostrate in humblest adoration? If we who ought to do so much more would even reach, or at any rate strive after, the closeness of union and purity which St. Aloysius had, we must follow the same road of penance that he trod. But, alas! which of us can say that he imitates St. Aloysius in the wonderful innocence of his life as pictured to us in the lesson: without spot, seeking not after worldly riches, nor putting his trust therein; proved and made perfect, transgressed not, nor fallen under temptation; but having his hope from youth upwards set upon God who took him away out of this sinful world for the sake of his innocence, and has confirmed him for ever. Does this not humble us that we who have received such gifts, and who have by the Sacraments of Holy Orders such a claim to help from God, should profit so little thereby, and make such little progress in the way of God. A special appeal for purity of heart is made to us in the Offertory now that we are going up to the Mount of the Lord, and are about to stand in His holy place.

The Secret, in a most beautiful prayer, prays that we

may take part in the heavenly banquet clothed in the garments meet for the celebration of the divine espousals between God and our heart. It is not enough for us to avoid evil ; we must also do good. We must actively seek after and practise holy purity in thought, word, and deed ; for so, we are told in the Post-Communion, it becometh us, who have been fed with the food of angels, to live in an altogether angelic manner. We may note also the reference to the life of perpetual thanksgiving, the “ always giving thanks ” (Eph. v. 20) for the gift we have received.

June 24. *The Nativity of St. John Baptist* recalls to us that our vocation is to go before the face of the Lord, and prepare His path. We have been called *de ventre matris* by our name, for from all eternity has our vocation been settled. We have been selected as a sharp sword and as a chosen arrow where by the Lord may do battle against His foes. How glorious our calling then to bear witness that the Lord God we serve is the one God of all, the most High, to whose name all worship is due. The Collect is a prayer that we may be faithful to our vocation, and be the willing instruments for God to direct the minds of the faithful into the way of peace and safety (cf. *Cant. Benedictus*). The Lesson continues the same thought which the Introit suggested. God tells us that we are in a special manner His servants ; and why ? “ Because I shall be glorified in thee.” Servants labour not for their own glory, but for the glory of their master, especially when they have a master who lavishes upon them so many marks of love as our good Master shows to us ; so we must labour as faithful servants, “ that in all things God may be glorified.” We are in the world as a light, and as the means of salvation to all men. The Gradual is a song of rejoicing on the divine election, which has been manifested in our vocation, and it reminds us that we are to be as the prophet of the Lord, the one who will teach the Word of God to His people, and prepare their hearts to receive Him. The Gospel tells us of the divine vocation of St. John, and we can readily apply it to our own vocation. The Offertory tells us what the life of one who is a forerunner of the great King should be. Unworldliness and mortification, as

they were the characteristics of the Baptist, so must they be ours. Let us now at least put away all worldly thought, and in the spirit of sacrifice offer ourself together with Jesus the Christ as victims to the worship of the Father; and thus, as the Secret says, not only show that He is to come, but that He is already present in us by the workings of His grace. In the Communion we are again reminded of our vocation. Surely in this moment when Jesus is opening the very treasures of His Godhead to us, we cannot refuse to be generous with Him, and to put away once and for all everything which keeps us back from following out all our vocation requires. He is the author of our new life, and as St. John knew the sound of the voice of Jesus speaking through His Blessed Mother, and leaped for joy thereat, so may we, prays the Post-Communion, know the voice of Jesus then speaking to us from within our heart, and rejoice too in His presence.

June 29. *SS. Peter and Paul*. The thought which this feast of the triumph of these two great saints at once suggests is that of profound gratitude to God for having made us members of that body mystical of which St. Peter or his successors is the visible head. How wonderful to think that we, so full of weakness and unfaithfulness, and all that is despicable, are yet members by many ties of that all-glorious body, the Church; and that by this bond of union all that concerns the Church touches us, too, in a most real and intimate manner. Hence to-day's feast, the triumph of the first Pope, is a particularly home-like sort of feast. The oneness of the Church is brought very near to us. St. Peter's glory is ours also, because we are one with him in the bond of unity, and what he has we have also; for the rule which obtains in the body mystical is that all things are in common: “all things are yours, and you are Christ's, and Christ is God's” (1 Cor. iii. 23). Not only are we men knit together into one, but, as the Introit tells us, the angels, as forming a part of the Church triumphant, care for us, for we are their fellow-citizens. In a special manner too we, as priests, have a share all our own in to-day's feast, for the great bond of union, the Mass,

unites St. Peter, the divinely-appointed head of the hierarchy, with the humblest priest; and through him flow our rights and powers over the real and the mystical body of our Lord.

The Lesson (Acts xii.) tells us how the whole Church suffered when its head suffered, and how prayers were sent up without ceasing to God for him. Then in prison one of our “fellow-servants” (Apoc. xix. 10) came to his relief, and took him forth to freedom. Hereby we are taught that the duty of praying for our spiritual chiefs is incumbent upon us, and arises out of the very nature of the oneness of the body mystical. There are many prisons in which superiors may be, material and spiritual, many in which doubt and darkness may for a time hold their wills and judgments in restraint—a captivity harder, perhaps, to escape from than through bolts and bars. Chains of many kinds may bind them; and with the head thus deprived of liberty all those committed to his care are affected. Our duty and our hope, then, lie in prayer made unceasing to God for them; and we know, in His own good way, He will send His angel to shake off the chain and open the prison door. For superiors have been appointed by Him as princes of the earth, holding their power for our sakes and from Him; they are rocks upon which He grounds His Church to-day. Hence, as they are stones of His own choice and placing, He is in a manner bound to hear our prayers, and send His angel to their aid.

The Gospel (St. Matthew xvi.) is that great charter of the Church by which it is founded upon St. Peter. We are in the strictest union with him; and flesh and blood have not revealed it, but faith alone tells us the great dogma, from which all others flow, that the Incarnation is still a living reality, and that the Christ is still upon the earth in the person of His Vicar. The glorious words, “Tu es Petrus,” stir our heart to its lowest depths, and makes us renew our vows of obedience to the Church, and adore Him who has so wonderfully guarded it, and given its leadership to St. Peter and his successors. This same thought is carried on in the Offertory, as we are about to offer the sacrifice which Holy Church, being mindful of the name of our Lord,

offers through the ministry of Peter’s children, and which is consecrated with apostolic prayers. In the Communion our Lord calls us each “Peter,” for we are all joint stones with the Prince of the Apostles; and now we make the same confession of faith as he did: “Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;” for we, indeed, know Him as such in this moment of Holy Communion. So on our faith our gracious Master seeks to build a church to Himself in our souls, a church which will be ever filled with His presence, and ever resound with His praise, a tabernacle of God with the rest of men. Our souls being thus built up by the heavenly Lord, we pray in the Post-Communion that by the prayers of the holy Apostles we may be screened from all that can turn God out of the dwelling-place He has chosen, or destroy or weaken the faith in Him which is the foundation of the spiritual edifice He seeks to build in our soul.

June 30. *Commemoration of St. Paul.* Yesterday’s feast was mainly taken up with St. Peter, and as the Church never puts asunder those whom God has joined together, we have to-day a special feast in honour of that vessel of election, that model of all priestly perfection, the great St. Paul. This Mass is full of spiritual teaching about the practical side of our vocation. The Introit tell us that we must be men of faith, hope, and charity; knowing, by faith, Him in whom we believe; hoping in Him, for He is all powerful; loving Him for Himself, as we know Him, and for His loving-kindness in keeping our deposit as a most just Judge. He has foreseen all our life, and if He allows us to fall, it is only that we may know our weakness and make use of His grace to rise again once more. What a patron St. Paul is for those who are working as the pastoral clergy. The multitude of the Gentiles God has taught by him are so many claims St. Paul has for being heard when he prays for us who are labouring as he laboured. So will it be with us; the more faithfully we labour; the more souls we save, the greater will be our power with God, for we will have their prayers joined to ours, and the good Master we serve has promised: “When two of you agree together about anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them by My Father,

who is in heaven” (St. Matt. xviii. 19). What will he not then do when there is a *multitudo gentium* praying with us? Like St. Paul, the Gospel we preach is not according to man, but is the revelation of Jesus to the world. But, alas! too often, instead of preaching the Gospel of God, we preach our own, and seek for the praise of men. Oh, did we but know how this shameful setting up of our own gospel instead of that we are sent to preach, persecutes the Church of God, and fights against her, and sides with her enemies, we would no longer confer with flesh and blood, we would retire to the Arabia of evangelical simplicity—the *simplicitas virilis* of St. Charles—which is far from the flattery of men; and by visiting Jerusalem, and drinking deeply of the faith from St. Peter’s fount, we would boldly “preach the Christ, and Him crucified” in all apostolical zeal and force, for to this end have we been called by His grace. The same call St. Paul had is also ours, each according to his appointment. Would that men could know the grace of God which is given to us! Would that they could see us use it and keep it always abiding in us! May St. Paul, the preacher of truth and teacher of nations, help us by his prayers to be preachers after God’s heart, and not after what he calls “the itching ears of men” (cf. 2 Tim. iv. 3).

The Gospel tells us, as we saw on the Feast of St. Barnabas, about the lot of those who preach God’s word. And to-day, whilst keeping the feast of the great preacher, we may fittingly examine ourselves how we perform this part of our duty. Some words which occur in this Gospel, *Nolite cogitare quomodo aut quid loquamini; dabitur enim vobis in illa hora quid loquamini*, are often quoted as a reason against preparing our sermons. But this is an idle and impertinent misquotation, for the context tells us that it is only when we stand before tribunals, and are betrayed into the hands of persecutors, that our Lord has promised that the Holy Ghost will put words of power on our lips, as we see He did in the case of St. Stephen, who was filled with the Holy Ghost, and spoke. Surely, if we have a message from the great God to deliver to His people, if we are ambassadors for the Christ” (2 Cor. v. 20), and it depends

upon us whether that message be delivered in such a way as to influence our hearers, common sense tells us that preparation is needed upon our part to give that message in a way its importance demands. We are sowers of the seed of the Word of God, and we must do what lies in our power to prevent the seed from being wasted. Then when we have done our share we can expect the Holy Ghost to aid us; but it is certainly the height of presumption for us to call upon Him to supply the defects of our idleness. That some preparation is required, then, stands to reason, from the very fact it is the Word of God we are preaching, and “the Word of God is a double-edged sword,” which requires careful handling lest we cut ourselves to our own hurt. “Cursed is he who doeth the work of the Lord negligently” (Jeremias xlvi.) says the Holy Ghost; and, may be, too often we have merited this malediction. So study, especially in that great Book of all Wisdom, that compendium of God’s law and love, the crucifix, is necessary. We come in the simplicity of speech to exercise the holy folly of preaching. Subtlety of words or majestic periods are not wanted, rather they hinder God’s Word; but love of God and a true zeal for the souls He has redeemed; prayer and meditation upon Gospel truths we must have, otherwise our people get from our sermons just what we put into it—“wind and vanity” (Is. xli. 29). If we labour in the true spirit at our sermons, then will the Holy Ghost help us, and give us a return for the bread we cast upon the running waters (Eccli. xi. 1).

In the Offertory we may, perhaps, carry on the same thought as far as it concerns our flock. They are the friends of God, heirs to His kingdom; therefore, should they be exceedingly honoured by us, and held in reverence as so many images of our Lord. Hence, we should practically show our respect for them by the care we take when we are exercising our ministry on their behalf, so that their principality in the world of grace may be strengthened exceedingly. We have so many motives, which come from our knowledge of what the priesthood is, to urge us to care and fervour in celebrating the sacred mysteries; and now we add one more, the reverence we owe to our flock, who

are quick to learn reverence or disrespect, according to what they see us animated with in the discharge of our duties. A reverent priest makes a reverent people. This the Secret recalls in speaking of our Sacrifice as the *dona plebis*. Our Lord calls upon us in the Communion to be heart-free from all worldly loves, and leave all, and follow Him. If, like St. Paul, we commit ourselves entirely to Him, and say in all simplicity, “Lord, what wilt Thou have me do?” (Acts ix. 6), counting all things as loss, so that we gain the Christ, then will He, our gracious Master, give us a hundred-fold even in this life, by the sweetness of His consolations; and in the next world more than a hundred times a hundred-fold by the happy possession of Him who is our “reward exceeding great.” The sacrifice we have offered to the Most High is the true and only remedy of our soul; and, if we use it properly, will cure us of all the ills which hinder us from using our priesthood for the spreading of God’s kingdom among men. One Mass is enough to fill us with the apostolical zeal and fervour of a St. Paul; and yet, after all our years of Masses, we are so far from being anything like what God has a claim to expect from us. May the great Apostle, the preacher of truth, who knew what the truth was in which he believed, pray for us that the grace of the priesthood, which is always at hand, may not be made void by our neglecting to stir it up, and walking unworthily of our vocation.

ETHELRED L. TAUNTON.

SOME OF OUR MARTYRS

PETER O'HIGGINS

THE next martyr is Father Peter O'Higgins, Prior of St. Eustace's, Naas. He was a renowned preacher, endowed in a high degree with all those qualities which give their possessor influence and power over the hearts of men; and, what was more, he was himself a man of God. Seldom, indeed, during the history of Ireland were such priests more needed than at the eventful time in which Father O'Higgins lived and laboured. Bad as Queen Elizabeth was, James I. was still worse;¹ the State papers of his reign convict him of even greater cruelty towards the Irish Catholics. The good intentions of his son, Charles I., were frustrated by the Puritans; and, year after year, the situation became less endurable. At last, as everyone knows, the people arose in defence of their faith and their rights. The war of 1641 was a struggle, *pro aris et focis*, one in which the people's religion and national existence were threatened by the deadly enemies of both.

At some time during its progress the eloquent and zealous priest was captured. He was then brought before the Lords Justices² (Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase), on the charge that he had preached against the religion of England, and had endeavoured to seduce the people from their allegiance. He was afterwards kept in prison for such time, and subjected to various torments. When at length his enemies failed to

¹ His dispositions towards the clergy may be gathered from a speech he delivered in the Star Chamber, A.D. 1616:—"I confess I am loth to hang a priest only for religion sake and for saying Mass; but if he refuse to take the oath of allegiance (which let the Pope and all the devils in hell say what they will, yet as you will find by my book is merely civil), these that so refuse the oath, and are polypragmatic recusants, I leave them to the law. It is no persecution, but good justice, and those priests also that out of my grace and mercy have been let go out of prison, and banished (*the edicts of banishment*, 1605-1614) upon condition not to return, ask me no questions touching these; quit me of them, and let me not hear of them. To these I join those that break prison, for such priests as the prison will not hold, it is a plain sign nothing will hold but the halter."

² They held the viceregal power conjointly; their office was the same as that of the Lord Lieutenant in modern times.

convict him of any crime against the laws of the realm, he was offered his life and liberty; and, in addition, many tempting rewards, if he would but renounce his faith. On the morning of the day on which he was to be executed a confidential messenger was despatched to Father O'Higgins with the proposal of the Lords Justices. His reply was:—"To-day I am to be led to the scaffold—no one can doubt that nature shrinks from it, for life is sweet—nor am I so weary of life as to long for my end. Tell your masters then to make me this offer in their own handwriting, leaving me free to choose life or death just as I please, so that if I do give up my religion, the death which otherwise awaited me may afford me an excuse." When the Lords Justices were informed of what had passed, as they felt sure that the priest's resolution was now shaken, while the preparations for his execution as a traitor were actually being made, they privately sent him as required the paper in their own handwriting. The holy confessor of the faith, according to the barbarous custom of the time, was then dragged on a hurdle through the city to the place of execution. The much-desired document was given to him just as he put his foot on the first step of the fatal ladder. A smile of satisfaction was seen to pass over his saintly countenance, and as a modern writer graphically describes it: "Loud was the shout of the heretic mob, who thought they were about to gain a 'convert.'" Father O'Higgins calmly ascended the scaffold for his last and best sermon; then standing above the breathless and eager crowd, with joy depicted on his every feature, he held up the paper signed and sealed by the Lords Justices, and thus addressed the Catholics that were present:—

"Dearly beloved, children like myself of the one true Church, ever since I fell into the hands of these cruel heretics who now surround me, I have suffered many insults, and endured hunger in a foetid dungeon. I was kept in ignorance of the real cause for which I was condemned, and this prevented me from expecting the martyr's crown, for not the punishment, but the cause, makes the martyr. But the all-seeing, all-powerful God, the protector of my innocence, who ordereth all things sweetly, has brought the truth to light. Though I was indicted as guilty of a treasonable

offence, namely, for seducing people from their allegiance to their lawful sovereign, King Charles I., to-day I am condemned to die, solely because I am a Catholic. Here is the proof of it—by authority, and in the very handwriting of the Lords Justices. This paper contains their acknowledgment of my innocence, and their promise of life, and of all that could make life happy, on *one* condition, that I renounce my religion. Now, I call God and man to witness, that of my own free will I spurn their offer, and that for the Catholic faith I gladly lay down my life.”

With these words he threw the paper to a friend whom he saw in the crowd, and bade the executioner do his duty. After the fatal drop, the hangman swung the body violently from side to side. When it had ceased to vibrate, and had remained for a time quite still, the martyr's lips uttered in a loud voice, what St. Augustine calls the most beautiful of all prayers, the signal of triumph over evil: “*Deo gratias.*”

We shall now compare with this account, which is taken from the Acts Gen. Chap. 1656, and O'Daly, the testimonies of other contemporary historians, two Catholic¹ and two Protestant. With regard to the latter, it must be remarked that their admissions are of the highest value as proofs of Father O'Higgins' innocence. Protestant histories of the war of 1641, and of events connected with it, for the most part teem with lies. The works of Temple, Clarendon, Borlase, &c., are one tissue of calumnies. All the crimes, all the cruelties, were committed by the Catholics. The priests instigated them. If writers of this sort have a good word to say of a priest, it ought to be estimated at its real worth. One of them, Borlase, the son of the persecuting Lord Justice, in his *History of the execrable Irish Rebellion*, London, 1680, thus describes Father O'Higgins. It may be observed that here he copies Clarendon almost *verbatim*.

A.D. 1641.—“In this expedition to the county of Kildare the soldiers found a priest, one Mr. Higgins, at Naas, who might, if he pleased, have easily fled, if he apprehended any danger in the stay. When he was brought before the Earl of Ormond, he voluntarily confessed that he was a Papist, and that his residence was in the town, from whence he refused to fly away with those that were guilty, because he not only knew himself very innocent,

¹ Bruodin has a notice of Father O'Higgins, but it contains no additional information.

but believed that he could not be without ample testimony of it, having, by his sole charity and power, preserved many of the English from the rage and fury of the Irish, and, therefore, he only besought his lordship to preserve him from the fury and violence of the soldiers, and put him securely into Dublin, though with so much hazard, that when it was spread abroad among the soldiers that he was a Papist, the officer in whose custody he was entrusted, was assaulted by them, and it was as much as the Earl could do to compose the meeting. When his lordship came to Dublin he informed the Lords-Justices of the prisoner he had brought with him, and of the good testimony he had received of his peaceable carriage, and of the pains he had taken to restrain those with whom he had credit, from entering into rebellion, and of many charitable offices he had performed, of all which there was not wanting evidence enough, there being then many in Dublin who owed their lives, and whatever of their fortunes was left, purely to him. Within a few days after, when the Earl did not suspect the poor man being in danger, he heard that Sir Charles Coote,¹ who was Provost-Master-General, had him taken out of prison, and caused him to be put to death in the morning, before, or as soon as it was light; of which barbarity the Earl complained to the Lords Justices; but was so far from bringing the other to be questioned, that he found himself upon some disadvantage for thinking the proceeding to be other than it ought to have been."

Carte, in his *Life of Ormonde*, takes great pains to exculpate him from complicity in the death of Father O'Higgins. It does indeed appear certain that the Earl (afterwards Duke) was kindly disposed towards the priest, at least that he was not so bloodthirsty as Coote. Our readers will at once observe, on reading the appended account, that Carte calls Father O'Higgins a Franciscan. In what regards the Catholic Church, as is well known, this writer is of little or no authority, so his *obiter dictum* need not detain us. He appears to have fallen into this mistake, because Pontius (Punch) against whom Bellings wrote the *Annotationes in Pontium*, was a Franciscan. Had Carte read Pontius's own work, or that of Bruodin, he would have seen that both these Franciscans state that Father O'Higgins

¹Borlase, in a note (fol. 324) excuses Coote thus:—"If he had not done it, his Provost-Marshal's Commission would have been violated, and he might have been brought to answer for his contempt at a Council of War." This shows that he thought Coote acted under orders from the Lords-Justices.

was a Dominican. In the glorious list of the Irish Franciscan martyrs (more than a hundred), now drawn up for the process of beatification, there is not a single Higgins or O'Higgins. And in a list of four hundred Irish martyrs (longer than that which is at present before the Archbishop's court), there are only three of the name—one a layman, a physician; the others, both Dominicans, Father Thomas O'Higgins of Clonmel, and Father Peter O'Higgins of Naas. It will be observed that Carte says Father O'Higgins had been about six weeks in prison when he was executed on March 24th (last day of the year 1641, *old style*); so he gave himself up about the middle of February

CARTE'S LIFE OF THE DUKE OF ORMONDE (A.D. 1642), Vol. I.
Book III., p. 278 (ed. London, 1736).

“There happened upon this occasion, an affair which gave the Earl of Ormonde a good deal of concern, and which he considered (as it was probably meant) to be an indignity offered to himself (*Annotiones in Pontium*, p. 139). There was one Father Higgins, a Franciscan, a very quiet, inoffensive, pious man, much respected by those who knew him, who officiated as a Roman Catholick priest, at the Naas, and in the neighbourhood. He had distinguished himself in saving the English, in those parts, from slaughter and plunder, and had relieved several that had been stripped and robbed. The Earl of Ormond found him at the Naas, took him under his protection (he never having been concerned in any act of rebellion, nor guilty of any crime, nor liable to any objection, but the matter of his religion), and brought him along with him to Dublin. About six weeks afterwards, when upon the Earl of Ormond's return from his expedition to Drogheda, it was thought politick to discourage the submission which the Gentry of the Pale and others, who had been drawn in, or forced to submit to the prevailing force of the Rebels were generally disposed to make, and to exasperate them by new cruelties, and when these executions by martial law were carrying on in Dublin, whereof Sir Charles Coote was still Governor (the Lords Justices having in his favour declined executing the order sent for putting Sir Simon Harcourt into that post), this man was seized on March 24th, and, without any formality or delay, immediately hanged. The Earl of Ormond hearing of it after the execution, too late to prevent the cruelty, expostulated with the Lords Justices about it in Council. They pretended to be surprised at it, and excused themselves from having any hand in the fact, by their having given Sir Charles Coote a general authority to do such things without consulting them.

There is something so extraordinary in this proceeding of Sir Charles Coote and the Lords Justices, that one is afraid of guessing at the motives thereof. The hanging of a man of character, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none, but that of his religion, looked as if they had a mind to countenance the notion (which they pretended in their letters to guard against) of this being a war of religion. The hanging of him in such a manner by martial law, by Sir Charles Coote's authority, without a particular warrant from the State, seems so perfectly well calculated to justify the fears, which the Lords of the Pale pretended to have of trusting themselves in a place whereof that gentleman was Governor, that whatsoever the motives were, they certainly must be very strong in their influence to overbalance the considerations and the respect due to the Earl of Ormond's merit and dignity, though probably not very honourable in their nature, when the effects which they produced were so inconsistent with law, justice, and humanity. The Earl of Ormond suffered for a long time after a good deal of odium on account of this execution of Father Higgins, through a false representation made of it by some of the partisans of the Nuncio."

These two accounts need no comment. They show too clearly the motives which influenced the Lords Justices and their chosen instrument, Sir Charles Coote. The latter on this occasion verified the description which Lord Castlehaven gives of him¹:—"Sir Charles Coote, a hot-headed and bloody man, and as such accounted by the English and Protestants. Yet this was the man whom the Lords Justices picked out to entrust with a commission of martial law, to put to death rebels and traitors; *i. e.*, all such as *he* should *deem* to be so; which he performed with delight, and a wanton kind of cruelty." Borlase gives the plain facts, but Carte's own reflections are particularly instructive. As far as his bigotry allowed him, or as far as he dared to tell the truth, he confesses that "the hanging of a man of character, deserving in many respects, and exceptionable in none, but that of his religion," though he was "afraid of guessing at the motives thereof," did seem to countenance "the notion of this being a war of religion." His chief concern is to defend his hero, Ormond. And in this he succeeds, for the Earl was not guilty of the sacrilegious murder as it actually occurred.

¹ MS. Vindication of his own *Memoirs*, p. 132.

He had even promised to save Father O'Higgins' life. We do not know his motives in this instance; but we may believe this description of his character: "He was less violent than Parsons and Borlase, yet more dangerous: his arguments were softer than the rack, yet more demoralizing."

However, we are not going to judge either him or Coote (though Father O'Higgins said on the scaffold that they were the cause of his death; however he appears to have been mistaken as regards Ormond); it is enough for us that Borlase and Carte seem to contain statements which indicate that the Dominican was executed "in odium fidei;" and in confirmation of it we now turn to the Catholic writers.

"R. P. FR. JOANNIS PONCHII, ORD. MIN. 'D. RICHARDI BELLINGHII VINDICLÆ EVERSÆ—PARISIIS, 1653.'"

"Id tibi stomachum movet, et calumniam forte haberi vis quod Ormonius etiam sacerdotum sanguine maculatus dicitur. Sed quo quæso te, nisi Ormonio exercitum ducente Venerabiles viri, Henricus Vitus sacerdos sæcularis, et Petrus Higgins ordinis Prædicatorum perierunt? Vitum, octogenarium, virum mansuetum, pacificum, et nobili genere oriundum, a se patriam exercitu percurrente, in pago de Ballinacurri, cum confessiones exciperet, captum, tanquam proditorem, virum nefarium, ac Regis hostem, cum revera nullum aliud crimen ipsius probari posset, nisi quod confessiones audiverat (nequaquam, ut innocenti et venerando seni parceret, litteris obsecrante Comite Westmediæ) in pago de Raconel vita privavit Ormonius; qui etiam Patrem Higgins in oppido de Naas repertum, ubi suæ innocentiae conscius cum nihil timeret, eum quamvis fugere poterat, intrepide expectavit, Dublinium duci jubet, promittens tamen nihil mali ei eventurum; qui tamen, quæ Ormonii fides est, per plateas civitatis Dubliniensis tractus, ad furcas damnatus est, et cum jam scalas ascendisset, sic populum allocutus (sunt jam Parisiis totius Historiæ testes oculares) Propter quod scelus ad hoc infame supplicium trahor? sumne inventus armatus in hostium castris, an quidpiam unquam contra serenissimum Regem molitus sum; nonne Ormonio cum exercitu oppidum de Naas ingredienti, cum facile fugere potuissem, ultro me obtuli? An ideo perduellis habeor, quod afflictos aliquot protestantes a morte eripui, et eorum bona ac fortunas servavi? Aliorum certe, quæ Dei gratia est, criminum mihi conscius non sum; semper pro viribus conservandæ pacis author eram: non sum secutus eorum partes, qui in Regno turbas excitasse feruntur: In hac civitate, & partibus vicinis, in quibus authoritas Regis adhuc florere dicitur, semper habitavi, nulla senatus Regii arcana hosti aperui, nec potui quidem, quia nulla mihi communicata

fuere. Quoad reliquam meam vitam, spero eam in omnium vestrum opinione culpa et labe vacare; cur ego insons morti adjudicor? Excellentissimus D. Ormonia Marchio spondit mihi vitam; ipsi fidem habui, quam certe Carolo Coot, hujus urbis Gubernatori, innocentium ac infantium sanguinis effusori non habuissem. Id mihi summo solatio est, quod innocens, ac Regi meo summe fidelis moriar, cui ut omnia feliciter succedant, Deum vehementer obsecro, Marchio Ormonia necis meae reus est, ei tamen, Carolo Coot et caeteris, qui in meam mortem conspirarunt, ex animo penitus ignosco. Hæc eo dicente, nonnulli protestantes, iis fortassis, qui viri optimi charitatem experti sunt, in lachrymas prorupere, quorum etiam unus, isque, ut vocant, Verbi Dei minister, amare flens, Heu, inquit, moritur vir miser: cors, qui charitatis flamma succensus, me licet adversæ Religionis, sub lectulo suo a rebellium furore, custodivit, nudum vestivit, pecuniis juvit, incolumem dimisit. Ira Dei de coelo super effundentes justi et innocentis sanguinem descendet. Habes ergo D. Bellinge Ormonium tuum duorum Sacerdotum sanguine maculatum, idque et dici & scribi posse sine ulla calumnia aut animi violentia."

Poncius agrees in substance with the others. He has not all that O'Daly, Borlase, and Carte have; but, on the other hand, he gives us some additional knowledge. On the scaffold, the martyr protested that he was loyal to Charles the First (no doubt in order to refute the calumny that he was condemned for high-treason); some Protestants who were present at the execution burst into tears, and one of them, a minister, declared that he owed his life to Father O'Higgins, who had concealed him under his own bed, given him clothes and money, and seen him safe off on his departure. This minister exclaimed, that the anger of God would fall on those who shed the blood of the innocent.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

(To be continued.)

Documents

RENEWAL "AD QUINQUENNium" OF THE PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND TO EXERCISE IN FAVOUR OF STUDENTS RESIDENT IN MAYNOOTH COLLEGE, AND IN THE IRISH COLLEGE, PARIS, THE DISPENSING POWER CONTAINED IN THE FORMULA VI. RESPECTING INTERSTICES AND THE AGE FOR PRIESTHOOD

BEATISSIME PATER,

Michael Cardinalis Logue, Archiepiscopus Armacanus, manum Beatitudinis suae deosculans, humillime petit prorogationem ad aliud quinquennium facultatum die 5 Augusti 1888 Episcopis Hiberniae concessarum, videlicet eatenus utendi facultatibus in Formula VI. n. n. 26 et 27 concessis extra fines dioecesium suarum ut cum subditis suis in Collegio Maynutiano et in Collegio S. Patritii apud Lutetiam Parisiorum ad ordines sacros promovendos dispensare valeant super intersticiis et super defectu aetatis unius anni.

Ex Audientia SSⁿⁱ diei 29 Aprilis 1894.

SS^{us} Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne annuere dignatus est pro gratia iuxta preces ad aliud quinquennium in forma et terminis primaevae concessionis.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Cong^{is} de Propaganda Fide die et anno ut supra.

AUG. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

PRIVILEGE GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF IRELAND OF USING THE SHORT FORM IN THE BAPTISM OF ADULTS

Ex Audientia SSⁿⁱ die habita 27 Aprilis, 1894.

SS^{us} Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII. referente me infrascripto S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario R. P. D. Cardinali Primati totius Hiberniae et cuilibet alio Ordinario ejusdem regionis auctoritatem facit utendi in adultis sacro fonte abluendis breviori formula pro baptisate parvulorum in Rituali Romano praescripta, ommissa longiori pro adultis ibidem statuta, dictamque facultatem Missionariis sibi subditis subdelegandi. Enixe tamen curet Episcopus Orator ut

res quancitius ad praescriptiones eiusdem Ritualis Romani reducantur.

Datum Romae ex Aed. S. Congn̄is de Propaganda fide die et anno ut supra.

AUG. ARCHIEP. LARISSEN, *Secr.*

Gratis quocumque titulo.

THE PENANCE TO BE IMPOSED ON THE OCCASION OF
MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION

S. Poenitentiaria Ap: 8 Aprilis 1890.—Ep. Nicotrien et Tropien.

In dispensationibus matrimonialibus a S. Poenitentiaria expeditis, saepe iuxta causas expositas, inseritur clausula: *cum gravi et diuturna poenitentia salutari*; et in quibusdam aliis legitur haec praescriptio: *cum gravi poenitentia salutari*. Attenta hodie dominante corruptione, pessimaque dispensatorum voluntate, qui quidem labiis promittunt, ac deinde promissa non exequuntur, atque etiam aliquoties impotentia eorum, eo quod a mane ad vesperam labori incumbere debeant, ut sibi victum comparent, quaeritur:—Potestne iniungi poenitentia per tres tantum menses, verum pluribus per hebdomadam vicibus adimplenda, quando praescripta est *gravis et diuturna*, ac per unum solum mensem, cum statuta fuit *gravis poenitentia salutaris*, idque ad evitandum novum sponsorum peccatum, stante firma certitudine, quod, celebrato semel matrimonio, iam nihil amplius curent, cum gravi propriae conscientiae damno?

R. In praefinienda poenitentiae qualitate, gravitate, duratione, etc., quae dispensantis aut delegati arbitrio iuri conformi remittuntur, neque severitatis, neque humanitatis fines esse excedendos, rationemque habendam conditionis, aetatis, infirmitatis, officii, sexus, etc., eorum quibus poena irrogari iniungitur.

REGARDING THE CLAUSE REQUIRING ABSOLUTION FROM
CENSURE IN THE CASE OF A MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATION

S. Poenitent. Ap. 2 Iulii 1891.

Utrum casu quo nullam praevidet Ordinarius censuram ab oratoribus fuisse contractam, debet nihilominus Ordinarius, qui dispensationem matrimonialem vi alicuius indulti concedit, clausulam absolutionis ad cautelam praemittere, quam Sacra Poenitentiaria et Apostolica Dataria praemittere consueverunt.

R. Absolutionem a censuris, in casu de quo agitur, laudabiliter praemitti.

REGARDING THE CEREMONY OF MARRIAGE PERFORMED IN
AN HERETICAL TEMPLE, IN OBEDIENCE TO THE LAW OF
THE STATE

S. C. S. Officii 27 Augusti 1658.

Cum in praedictarum (Belgii) Provinciarum aliquibus politica iubeant statuta, ut catholici omnes qui matrimonia inire volent, in templis haereticis coram praedicante et populo calvinistis contrahant sub hac formula sponsorum reciproca: *accipio N. N. in conjugem meam coram hac sancta communitate*, quaeritur: 1. An id possit permitti. 2. An possint a parochio catholico coniungi in matrimonium immediate postquam contraxerint coram praedicante et populo calvinistis cum illa verborum formula *coram hac sancta communitate* antequam de tali synagoga haeretica pro sancta agnita poeniteant.

*R. Ad. 1. Negative. Ad 2. Qui contraxerunt coram tali communitate pro sancta cognita, ac denuo petunt coniungi coram parochio catholico, posse et debere coniungi antequam poeniteant. Ex charitate tamen esse monendos ut interius poeniteant, et, si fieri potest, prius confiteantur, et imponatur illis aliqua suavis poenitentia salutaris. Qui vero prius contraxerunt coram parochio catholico, monendos esse ne compareant ad contrahendum coram praedicante et populo haeretico cum illa formula *coram hac sancta communitate*.*

THE RECEPTION OF HOLY COMMUNION BEFORE MARRIAGE

S. C. S. Officii 9 Maii 1821.—Mission Kentucky.

Passim ad matrimonium se afferunt, qui nedum communicant; licetne hoc Sacramentum (Matrimonii) dare antequam communicent? Communiter accidit quod, post contractum matrimonium, ad vomitum redeant cunctaque negligent.

R. Animarum pastores totis viribus in id incumbere debent, ut nupturi rite in catholicae doctrinae rudimentis sint instructi, peccata sacramentaliter confiteri, sacraeque mensae accedere consueverint, atque curare ut matrimonii celebrationi Sacramentum Communionem purificatis animis perceptam, adiungant.

MAY A BISHOP OR MISSIONARY PRIEST ASSIST AT THE
MARRIAGE OF HERETICS

S. C. S. Officii 20 Decembris 1837.

Ep. Barden. (Bardstow seu Louisville).

Humiliter exponit quod multi protestantes, absque ulla intentione religionem catholicam amplectendi, saepe sollicitant,

ut vel coram uno e suis sacerdotibus, vel coram Episcopo ipso consensum ad matrimonium contrahendum praestent, Notandum est quod in talibus circumstantiis non tamquam sacerdotes, sed sicut magistratus civiles agerent Episcopus et sacerdotes, quod legibus reipublicae licitum est. Nunc quaerit utrum ipsi missionariisque suis liceat talibus praeesse matrimoniis.

R. Si agatur de matrimonio inter duas partes haereticas, licet huiusmodi interventus non ita reprobetur, ut numquam licitus esse possit, communiter tamen esse dissuadendum. Si vero altera pars sit catholica, obtenta dispensatione ab impedimento mixtae religionis, et servatis solitis clausulis et conditionibus, licere.

Notices of Books

INSTITUTIONES THEODICAEAE, SIVE THEOLOGIAE NATURALIS, SECUNDUM PRINCIPIA S. THOMAE AQUINATIS AD USUM SCHOLASTICUM ACCOMODATAE Joseph Hontheim, S.J. Friburgia Brisgovia: Sumptibus Herder.

IN August, 1879, His Holiness Leo XIII. addressed to the archbishops and bishops of the Catholic world a letter, in which he explained the necessity of sound philosophical teaching. Stimulated by this, the Jesuits determined to publish a series of volumes on the whole course of philosophy. Already, in fulfilment of this resolution, they have published works on natural philosophy, logic, and moral philosophy. Now Father Hontheim enlarges the series by the present volume on natural theology.

The work is divided into two parts. The first treats of God as He is in Himself; the second treats of the origin of things from God's creative power. The first part contains two sections—one on God's existence and essence; the other on His attributes. About two hundred and eighty pages are devoted to the existence of God. The usual metaphysical, physical, and moral arguments are discussed in their many forms, and the more important objections against these arguments are replied to at great length. The metaphysical essence of God is shown to be His Aseity; His physical essence is proved to consist of all perfections, while, at the same time, it has the greatest unity. The attributes of God are treated of in two sections. In the first are discussed the attributes of the Divine *esse*; while the second is devoted to

attributes of the divine action, such as the Divine intellect and will. The second portion of the volume, which concerns the divine origin of things, embraces five chapters—on the origin of possible things, creation, conservation, divine concursus, and divine providence.

The controverted questions about God's knowledge and concursus are debated from a Molinist point of view. In a disputation of much force Father Hontheim undertakes to prove that St. Thomas was not a defender of the doctrine of "Praemotio Physica." We are pleased to see that he devotes a special chapter to a discussion of the system which he calls "Praemotio Physica Indifferens." Though it is rejected by the author, it seems to avoid many serious difficulties of the Molinist and advanced Thomist doctrines.

Father Hontheim's work has many valuable qualities to recommend it to the student of philosophy. It treats very fully every question that belongs to natural theology. It devotes much space to an explanation not only of philosophical truth, but also of the erroneous teachings of such men as Hegel, Kant, Darwin, Spinoza, &c. Nearly one hundred and thirty pages are given to an historical, doctrinal, and critical examination of Materialism and Pantheism. Though this addition renders the work very useful for advanced students of philosophy, it is rather a drawback for ordinary students, for whom the work seems to be primarily intended. Father Hontheim's wealth of argument deserves special mention. Nearly every doctrine that he undertakes to defend is backed up by many forcible arguments. The clearness, too, with which he explains his propositions renders the work very valuable. These qualities cannot fail to gain popularity for this volume. We can recommend it as a really good book on natural theology.

J. M. H.

ST. THOMAS'S PRIORY. By Joseph Gillow. London :
Burns & Oates.

THIS handsome volume narrates the history of Catholicity in Stafford, and gives an interesting account of the priests who laboured there from the Reformation to our own time. St. Thomas's Priory, from which the book derives its name, was a convent of the Black Canons situated near Stafford, and, after the dissolution of religious houses, was granted by Henry VIII. to Rowland Lee, one of the faithless bishops who recognised Henry as "supreme head of the Church and clergy of England."

After his death it passed into the hands of his nephew, Bryan Fowler, who was a staunch supporter of the old faith, and maintained a chaplaincy at the priory, from which, Mr. Gillow tells us, "the Stafford Mission derives its immediate descent." Mr. Gillow gives an interesting account of the subsequent history of the priory, and of the good Catholic family, the Fowlers, whose chief seat it continued to be for many years.

Mr. Gillow's sketches of the lives of the different priests who served the Stafford mission, during the dark days of persecution, and on down to the present time, are full of interest. They picture vividly for the reader the hardships and perils the Catholic priest had to encounter on the English Mission, for many weary years after the protean creed of the Reformers became the national religion. They enable us, too, to appreciate more fully the great change that has since supervened in the attitude of the English people towards the religion of their forefathers, and the wonderful progress the Church has made among them.

St. Thomas's Priory is evidently the fruit of much labour and research on the part of Mr. Gillow. It is written without the stiffness and severity of formal history, and is interspersed with many entertaining anecdotes. The reader cannot fail to derive much interesting information from the perusal of it.

P. J. B.

MANUAL OF PRAYERS FOR YOUTH. By Rev. John Morris, S.J. London: Catholic Truth Society.

THIS manual contains, in a small compass, a large number of simple, yet very beautiful prayers for the use of young people. The devotions for Confession and Communion are singularly beautiful, the very simplicity of their wording rendering them even more touching, and making them particularly appropriate for the young. In fact we can have nothing but praise for this excellent little manual, and can cordially recommend it to those who may be seeking a prayer-book thoroughly adapted to the use of the young.

A CONCISE HISTORY OF IRELAND. By P. W. Joyce, author of a *Short History of Ireland, Irish Names of Places, &c.* Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. Price 2s.

IN the space of three hundred pages, Dr. Joyce gives a connected view of the chief events of the history of Ireland. He

divides the book into five parts. In the first, there are several small chapters on the manners, customs, and institutions of the ancient Irish, among them being some on such interesting subjects as the Irish Language and Literature, its Annals, Histories, and Genealogies, The Brehon Law, Grades and Groups of Society, Tenure of Land, Music, Art, &c. In the next part we have the history of Ireland down to the English Invasion; in the third part, it is continued down to the pacification under Henry VIII.; in the fourth, to 1695; and the fifth part brings it down to 1837. Reference is made easy by means of numbers placed before most of the paragraphs, and an index.

The history is interesting and sympathetic, and the reputation gained by the author, through his *Short History of Ireland*, is a voucher for its impartiality and accuracy. It should prove very acceptable to those who wish to get condensed and reliable information on the general history of our country; and among the number should certainly be every Irishman who can read and afford the sum of two shillings. As a rule, Irishmen know little about the history and antiquities of their country. How many, for example, could tell one, accurately, what were the main features of the Brehon code, and why it was so called; who was Art MacMurragh Kavanagh; what was Poynings' Law, &c. Perhaps up to now we have had the excuse that no history was written in which such main facts were told in a condensed and interesting form, and in which, too, the information was reliable, and the author was in sympathy with our country. But that excuse no longer exists, and patriotism should lead every Irishman to know as much about his country as he will find set forth in a very readable manner in Dr. Joyce's little book. We shall be much surprised if Intermediate students do not find it specially useful as a class-book for the course of Irish History.

P. M.

THE PLACE OF DREAMS. By Rev. W. Barry, D.D.
London: Catholic Truth Society.

WE do not think Dr. Barry has been fortunate in the selection of a name for his book. The title is certainly not attractive, though not inappropriate, for the four tales of which the volume is composed have something weird, something passing strange about them, that would make the reader, by times, fancy himself in a land of dreams. But if the rev. author cannot be congratulated

on the title of his book, he certainly deserves congratulations for his keen appreciation of nature in all her changing forms, and the elegance and ease with which he presents to the imagination vivid pictures of rural scenery. Deeply Catholic in sentiment, narrated in a pleasing style, the tales are most interesting, and at the same time—like every story worth the telling—convey a moral. The strange story of the quiet, student-like old priest, narrated in the *House of Shadows*, ought to warn the curious from seeking after forbidden knowledge; while the sad fate of the young monk, detailed in *St. Anthony's Flask*, whose prospects were once so bright, shows the evil of giving way to pride, and the awful danger of preaching the Gospel "in the persuasive words of human wisdom."

THOMAS CRANMER; An Historical Sketch. J. R. Willington, M.A. Art & Book Company, London. 1893.

THIS pamphlet is a very strong indictment of Archbishop Cranmer for cruelty, cowardice, faithlessness, perjury, and absolute unscrupulousness. Nowadays no Protestant with a knowledge of history professes to believe that either Thomas Cranmer, Martin Luther, Calvin, or any other of the prime movers of the Reformation was a saint. On the contrary, it is very well known that the majority of them were considerably wicked, even as laymen go, though inasmuch as they were ecclesiastics, a far stricter obligation of sanctity lay on them. But Thomas Cranmer was one of the very worst of the lot, and it would be difficult to find a parallel among them for the meanness, unmanliness, and treachery of the ecclesiastical director of the Reformation in England. Lord Macaulay, as quoted by our author, says of him, that he was saintly in his professions, but unscrupulous in his dealings, zealous for nothing, and a coward in action. The Protestant Dr. Littledale is quoted by our author as saying that it was a marvel to him how anyone could look upon Cranmer with any sentiments save those of disgust and indignation. He goes on to say: "Every crime which tempted him, he committed; every crime which any one in power wished to commit, he assisted, or condoned." Such is Thomas Cranmer even in the eyes of Protestants nowadays, and such our pamphlet proves him to have been, and we commend it to those who in their ignorance of historical truth still think, as even well-read men once thought, that Thomas Cranmer was a saint and a martyr.

The pamphlet is written in a pleasing style.

P. M.

THE JACOBITE WAR IN IRELAND (1688-1691). By Charles O'Kelly, Colonel in King James's Army; edited by Count Plunkett, B.L., and Rev. Edm. Hogan, S.J. Dublin: Sealy, Bryers, & Walker.

WE cannot, in the space allotted to us, write a critical review of this little book, comparing its historical value with the other accounts we have of the Jacobite War in this country, This would require a long article. We shall, therefore, confine ourselves to a brief notice of its author and contents. Charles O'Kelly was born in the County of Galway, in 1621; was colonel in King James's Army, and served throughout the Irish War until the capitulation of Limerick, when he retired to his Galway home, and wrote his recollections of the war. These recollections commence with James's arrival in Ireland, and end with the flight of the wild geese. Though two editions of the work have been published, it is only now, as the learned editors remark, that it is put in a readable form before the general public. The present edition is printed from a manuscript in Clongowes Wood College, which was unknown to previous editors. It belongs to the Irish Home Library Series. It can be had for one shilling. And while we congratulate the learned editors on their useful and successful efforts for the public, we hope the public will show their appreciation of their efforts, by buying and reading this little book. In page 86 there is a printer's error—a line that should follow another is put before it.

D. C.

LIFE OF AUGUSTUS H. LAW, S.J. By Ellis Schreiber. Burns & Oates. Quarterly Series. Price 6s.

MR. SCHREIBER had certainly a pleasant work to do in writing Father Law's life. His life both as a sailor and a priest is so full of changed and varied interest, that it reads like a traveller's journal. As a midshipman he spent several years cruising in all parts of the Southern Hemisphere from Valparaiso to Hong Kong, whilst as a priest he spent some years in British Guiana, different parts of Scotland, and in South Africa. Perhaps the most interesting part of the story is the description of his efforts to spread the Gospel in the land of the Matabele and the Mashonas, it may be because, on account of recent occurrences out there, we take a special interest in all that relates to Lo Bengula and his territories.

He describes Lo Bengula as a man of gigantic stature

and exceptionally dark colour even among the Amandabele, as Father Law always calls the Matabele. The King lived in a hut of circular form to which Father Law and his fellow Jesuit gained entrance by crawling on their hands and feet. At their first interview with him they had to postpone the consideration of business matters, as the king was too busily engaged in devouring his dinner—some large pieces of meat which he held in his hand, and tore with his teeth. He was absolutely naked, with the exception of a waist cloth. They got permission from him to settle in the country and teach there, but they made no converts. Even the Protestant ministers who had been there for twenty years previously, did not pretend to have made any converts. The people though intelligent were not prepared for our religion of self-denial, slaves as they were to witchcraft, and steeped in polygamy. Besides it was forbidden to become a Christian, and no one dared to disobey the word of their absolute ruler. Personally Father Law liked Lo Bengula very much. He was friendly, naturally of a good heart, and well disposed towards the white men, but unless they succeeded in converting himself, it was useless to expect the conversion of his people. Whatever may be the rights of the dispute between Lo and the Chartered Company, the success of the latter has proved decidedly advantageous from the point of view of religion and civilization. The inhabitants of Matabele land may now become Catholics without fear.

We cannot leave this subject without letting Father Law tell in his own words the use to which the Matabele put the Bibles they had received from the Protestant missionaries. He is describing a dance he saw, and goes on to say:—“Amongst the dancers we noticed about ten men whose head-dress struck us as being of a peculiar and novel description. It consisted of a good-sized book, which they wore spread open, fastened on the head so that the pages fluttered in the wind with every movement of the dancer. We discovered that the volumes put to so original a use were Protestant Bibles.” Father Law went on to Umzila’s Kraal, about two hundred miles nearer the coast than Gubulawayo, Lo’s capital. Here he was neglected by the chief men, his health gave way, and he died from neglect and the want of sufficient food, attended only by one lay-brother almost as sick as himself.

His character was lovable and saintly, his disposition genial

and sanguine; he always took the most cheerful view of things and in general he reminds us of St. Francis de Sales. A convert from Protestantism himself, his zeal for the conversion of Protestants and the spread of the Church, amounted in its intensity to that of a passion, and he died, as an apostle, alone, among the people he went to evangelize.

We may mention, in conclusion, that Father Law's family was very highly connected. His father was the brother of Lord Eilenborough, and through his mother he claimed descent from the blessed Thomas More. His father, a vicar of the Protestant Establishment, had been converted a short time before himself, and the rest of the family were converted soon after.

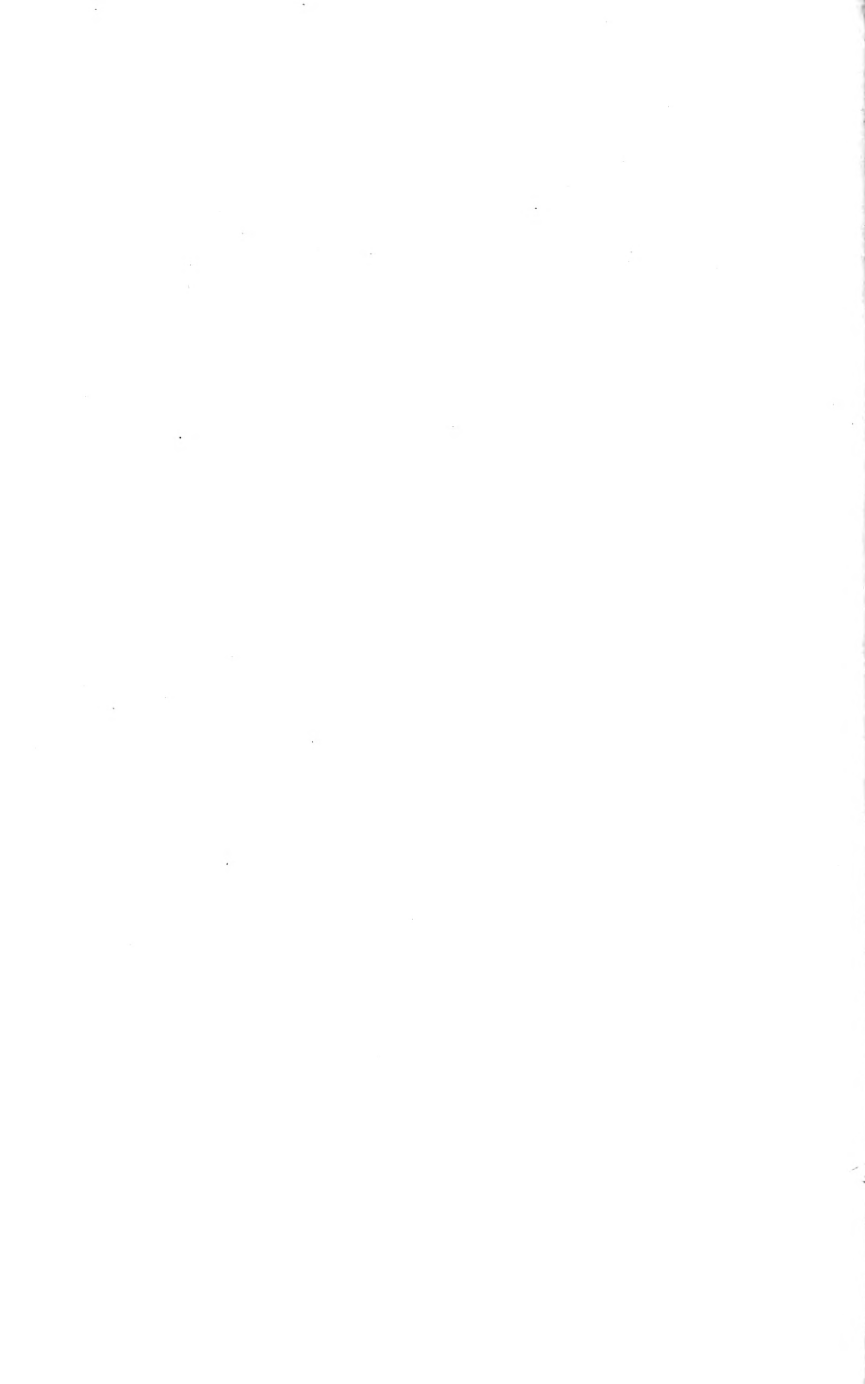
We can say with truth, that we have seldom read a more interesting life. P. M.

THE TRIAL OF MARGARET BRERETON. By Pleydell North.
London: Catholic Truth Society.

THIS short story affords an illustration of the evil effects of a mixed marriage. A Catholic mother is united with a good-natured, easy-tempered Protestant, and the children are being brought up pious Catholics. The prospect of a large inheritance for one of his children determines the father to send his youngest son to an uncle's house, there to be trained in the Protestant religion. Then followed estrangement between husband and wife, and jealousies among the children, leading to terrible results; and the mother's days were darkened by storms that only shifted towards the end of her life.

A NEW ELEMENTARY LATIN GRAMMAR. By Henry Belchere, M.A. (Lond.), Fellow of King's College, &c.
London: Hachette & Co., 18, King William-street.

THIS is an admirable text-book for beginners. The declensions and conjugations are presented in a form which catch the eye, and assist the memory. In the second part, which may be had separately, the rules of syntax are stated with brevity and clearness, and illustrated with numerous examples from the classical authors. The enterprising firm of Hachette & Co. deserves to be congratulated on this the latest addition to their excellent list of school books.



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